

A study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86, with editions of selected texts, and with special reference to late Middle English prose forms of confession.

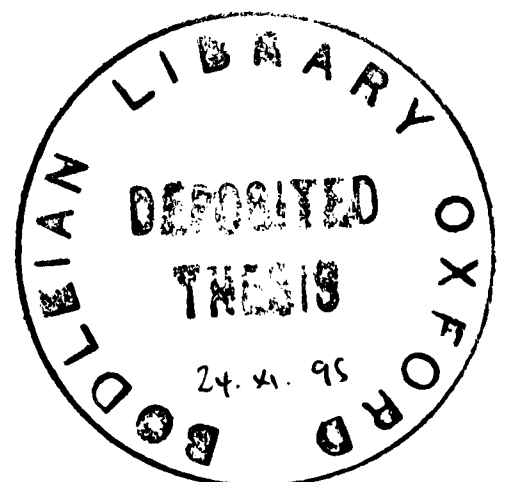
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Degree: D.Phil.

Submission: Trinity, 1994. ^{ie 1995} MT

VOLUME TWO



PART TWO.

**A study of Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86,
with editions of selected texts.**

Note: This description is at all points, and particularly in the discussions of date and script, greatly indebted to the generous advice of Dr.M.B.Parkes. Any errors or misjudgements are, of course, entirely my own.

For a printed description of this manuscript, see H.O.Coxe, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur (Oxford, 1852) II, pp.34-35. The most recent account of the English prose items in this manuscript is that of S.J.Ogilvie-Thomson in IMEP VIII, pp.97-101. In the account of the contents of the manuscript given below, I provide a cross-reference to Ogilvie-Thomson's description of each text, in the form Ogilvie-Thomson followed in square brackets by the number of each text in her description. Where she provides lists of other witnesses of a text, I note this, but do not reproduce this information in full here. I also provide references to Jolliffe, MWME, and IPMEP where appropriate; references to Jolliffe consist of the corresponding number in Jolliffe's handlist, while references to MWME give volume and page numbers, followed by the number of the numbered sections of each part of MWME in square brackets. The numbers of texts in IPMEP are given in square brackets.

Date.

Hand A¹ (fols. ivr-28r, 42r-49v, 50r, 50*r-54v): 1506.

Hand B (fols. vv, 28v, 29r-41r, and addition at base of fol. 27v), Hand C (fol. 54v), Hand D (fol. 55r-v), Hand E (fols. 56v-71v), Hand F (fols. 72r-73r), Hand G (fols. 73r-86v): s. xvi in., after 1506.

Hand A is dated on the basis of the explicit to the Visio Pauli on fol. 54v, Deo gracia scriptum anno domini 1506. It should be noted that this date thus applies strictly only to this text, fols. 50*r-54v, and that other items copied by this scribe may have been copied at different times.

All other hands are dated on paleographical grounds. The terminus post quem is derived from the assumption that the items in Hand A represent the earliest part of the collection. A more detailed discussion of the hands of the manuscript and the order of compilation of the collection is given below under Script, where dates are also assigned to the hands of later additions.

¹ A fuller account of the division of the hands of the manuscript and the order of copying of items is given below under Script.

Contents.

Major post-medieval additions are listed separately at the end of this section.

1) fols.ivr-vr, A note in Latin on the levying of tithes, with references to canon law and to archbishop Stratford's constitutions of Lambeth.

Incipit: Omnes curatores tenentur parochianos suos in-|formare

Explicit: de | decimis partiendis iii capitulum pastorale in glossario ordinarius et glossario Innocenti.

2) fol.vv. Latin distich describing character of a confessor. Walther (II) 3067.

Text: Confessor dulcis / affabilis / atque suavis.

Prudens / discretus / mitis / pius / atque benignus.

3) fols.1r-19v, Form of Confession, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [1]; Jolliffe C.29; MWME VII 2562-5 [211] versions D and Z.² See edition below, pp.46-78.

4) fols.19v-21r, Three Latin forms of absolution, the second being intended for the absolution of those under sentence of

² Raymo classifies fols.1r-21r, 48r-v, and 56v-69r as a single text, version D, and then again separately classifies fols.1r-19v as version Z and fols.48r-v as version LL.

suspension or interdict, and the third for those under sentence of either the minor or major forms of excommunication.

Heading, fol.19v, l.18: **Forma absolucionis generalis.**

Incipit, fol.20r: Dominus iesus cristus te absoluat et ego vice |
et autoritate apostolorum petri et pauli | et virtute sancte matris
ecclesie / absoluo te ab omnibus | peccatis tuis

Explicit: de quibus confiteri velles si tue occurrerent | memorie
ego absoluo te In nomine patris et filii et | spiritus sancti Amen.

5) fols.21v-28r, Guide to the visitation of the sick, in Latin.

Heading: **ORdo ad visitandum infirmum.**

Incipit: Postquam | dixerit sacerdos vii. psalmos et cetera | patet
in manuali priusquam vngatur aut commu|nicetur exhortetur eum
sacerdos hoc modo. | Frater karissime gracias age omnipotenti deo
pro vniuersis | beneficiis suis.

Explicit: In manus tuas domine | comendo spiritum meum redemisti
me domine deus | veritatis. Amen.

6) fol.28v, Notes of Seven Sacraments and days on which it is forbidden to celebrate matrimony, followed by a line of verse, in Latin. Compare with Walther (II) 1579.

Incipit: **Septem sacramenta ecclesie. |.1. Baptismus. |.2.**
Confirmacio. |.3. Penitencia.

Explicit: **.V..E..R..S..V..S. | Aspiciens. veterens. circum. quasi**
quis. benedicta.

7) fol.29r-v, Cross-row; Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria and Creed, in Latin.

8) fol.30r-v, l.8, The Ten Commandments, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [2]; the sequence of texts occupying fols.30r-71v is listed in MWME VII 2495 [24].

Heading: Here bygynnep þe {.} `x` comaundementis | of god þt euery man & woman | must kepe.

Incipit: The fryst comaundement of god | ys þys þu schalt loue by lord. | god aboue al þynge.

Explicit: If we kepe not | the comaundementis of god we schal | be cursyd in al oure werkys as it is | w^{ri}ten in þe same boke & in manye opir | placis of hys lawe.

9) fols.30v,1.8,-31v,1.8, The Seven Deadly Sins, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [3], where further manuscripts are listed; Jolliffe F.21; MWME VII 2529 [115].

Heading: Here sueþ | þe .vii. dedely synnes þt eche man | & woman muste fle.

Incipit: Pride. wraþe. & envie. coueitice. | glotenye. slouþe. & lecherye. | Pride wraþe & envie ben synnes of þe | ffynde.

Explicit: To slouþe longyþ bemothe. Iobe | þe fo`u`rty. chapyter. To leccherie longyþ | asmodens. Tobie þe þridde capitulo.

10) fols.31v,1.9,-32r,1.4, The Seven Principal Virtues, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [4], where the text is transcribed in

full, and one other manuscript listed; MWME VII 2495 [24].

Heading: Here sueþ þe .vii. principal. vertu=|es þt ben remediis
a3ens þese synnes.

Incipit: Mekenes. patience. charite. lar=|genes in almesdedis /
Discrete | abstynence: holy besynes: And wylfull | chastite.
Mekenes is Root of all oper | vertues

Explicit: Holy || besynes ys Remedy a3ens þe synne of | slouþe. And
wylfull chastyte | is Remedy a3en's þe synne of lec=|chery.

11) fol.32r,1.4,-v,1.1, The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy, in
English. Ogilvie-Thomson [5], where other manuscripts are listed,
but see also below p.140, n.24, and p.144, n.1; MWME VII 2517 [50].
Heading: Here sueþ þe .vii. wer=|kys of mercy þt crist schal
reherce | at þe day of doom.

Incipit: Come 3e blessyd of my fadyr. | & take 3e the kingdome of
he=|uenes þt was ordeynyd for 3u from |þe makyng of þe {word}
world.

Explicit: And al þese .vii. wer=|kys of mercy men doon to cryst ||
Whanne þey doon hem to hys creaturis.

12) fol.32v,11.2-12, The Seven Works of Spiritual Mercy, in
English. Ogilvie-Thomson [6], where the text is transcribed in
full, and other manuscripts listed; MWME VII 2517 [51].

Heading: Here sueþ þe .vii. werkys of | mercy gostly.

Incipit: Teche. counseyle. chastice. con|fforte. ffor3eue. suffre.
& | preye. Teche hem þt be vnkunnynge.

Explicit: For3eue {wron} wrongys mekely. | Suffre disesys
pacyently. | And praye to god deuoutly.

13) fols.32v,1.13.-33r,1.16, The Five Bodily Wits, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [7], where other manuscripts are listed; MWME VII
2536 [156].

Heading: Here sueþ þe .v. bodely wyttis

Incipit: Heryng. Seyng. Smellyng. | tastyng. And tovchyng. | A man
synneþ in heryng whanne he | delytyþ him to here ydel spechys |
fablys foly & foule wordys.

Explicit: A man synneþ in touchyng whanne he | towchyþ ony þynge
þt steryth to synne | whyche ys fforfendyd of god & by | hys lawe.

14) fol.33r,1.17,-v,1.12, The Five Ghostly Wits, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [8], where other manuscripts are listed; MWME VII
2536 [156].

Heading: Here sueþ þe .v. goostly wyttis.

Incipit: Wylle. Mynde. vnderston|dyng. ymaginacyon'. {of} & |
Resoun. | Haue 3e full wyll. þt þe wylle of | god be doon byffore
þyne owen wyll

Explicit: Rule þi lyfe by Reson aftyr þe | forme of goddys lawe &
all þo | þt ben vndyr þy gouernaunce.

15) fols.33v,1.13,-34r,1.10, The Four Cardinal Virtues, in
English. Ogilvie-Thomson [9], where one other manuscript is listed.

Heading: Here sueþ þe .iiii. cardinall vertues

Incipit: Temporaunce. prudence | Ry3twysnes. And strenkþe. |
Temporaunce stonþ in mesurable | etyng & drynkyng. in slepyng.
| in wakyng. in worchyng. in resty/|nge. in styll beynge. in
cloyng. | & so forþ

Explicit: Strenkþe stonþ in my3ty wt|stonþyng þe temptaciouns
of oure. | goostly enemyes þt ys þe fende | þe world & þin owne
fleische.

16) fols.34r,1.11,-35r,1.5, The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost,
in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [10], where other manuscripts are
listed; MWME VII 2528 [112].

Heading: Here sueþ þe .vii. 3iftis of | the holy goost.

Incipit: The spyryt of wysdome. & of | vnderstonþyng. The | spyryt
of covnceyle & of strenke | The spyryt of kunnyng & of | pyte. And
þe spyryt of drede of | þe lorde.

Explicit: The spyryt of drede moueþ a man | to do {wt} þt god
comaundyþ to do wt|owthe eny gru{g}`cc`hyng & do forsake | all
prosperite þat ys a3en's goddis | wylle.

17) fol.35r,11.6-12, Six things which are against the Holy
Ghost, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [10]; this text is regarded by
Ogilvie-Thomson as part of the preceding text.

Heading: Here we muste be ware of | .vi. þyngys þt ben a3ens þe
holy goost.

Text: Presumpcioun. Houerhope. Dis=|peyre or wanhope. hardnes of
hert. | Dyspy3te of penaunce. wtstonþyng | þe goodnes of þe holy

goost. & wer=|ryng a3ens treuþe.

18) fols.35r,1.13,-36r,1.3, The Sixteen Conditions of Charity, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [11]; Jolliffe G.4(e); MWME VII 2518 [58]. See edition below, pp.144-226.

19) fol.36r,1.4,-v,1.19, The Eight Blessings of God, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [12]; MWME 2531 [128]. See edition below, pp.227-236.

20) fols.36v,1.20,-37r,1.15. Saint Augustine wonders about five things, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [13], where other manuscripts are listed.

Heading: Seynt austen wondryþ vppon ||.v. þyngys þt ben amonge þe peple.

Incipit: The fyrste ys þt eny man or wo=|man dare lyue in suche aliif | þt þey wold for no þynge dye þerynne.

Explicit: The .v. is þt {god} what venyaunce | & wondrys þt god sendyþ amonge | þe peple þt þey wyl not be akno=|we þt yt ys for synne.

21) fol.37r,1.16,-v,1.8, Four things by which a man may know if he is to be saved, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [14], where the text is transcribed in full, and other manuscripts listed; Jolliffe I.10; MWME VII 2534 [146].

Heading: Also austen seyþ by þese .iiii. | þyngys a man may knowe

yf | he schal be savyd or not

Text: The fyrste ys to haue a pure | & a quyke deuocyon in prayer
| to god. || The .ii. ys to haue a very loue to | god. | The .iii.
ys to haue a very contri=|cion for synne | The .iiii. ys to haue
contynu=|ely in mynde þe byttyr passyoun of | oure lorde iesu cryst
þt he suffryd | ffor þe loue of man.

22) fols.37v,1.9,-38r,1.4, The Seven Lettings, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [15], where the text is transcribed in full, and
other manuscripts listed; MWME VII 2525 [96].

Heading: But euery man & woman. | byhoueþ to be ware of .vii.
let=|tyngys þt letten men to rede treu=|ly þe boke of here
consciens.

Incipit: The fyrst ys manttenynge of | synne | The .ii. ys
excusynge of synne.

Explicit: The .vi. is multyplynge of synne | The .vii. ys grete
occupacion | aboute worldly þingys

23) fol.38r,1.5,-v,1.12, The Four Needful Things, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [16], where other manuscripts are listed; Jolliffe
I.9; MWME VII 2535 [147].

Heading: Here sueþ .iiii. nedeful þingys | to euery man & woman.

Incipit: The fyrste ys to here þe word | of god and hys lawes. |
The .ii. is to vnderstonde yt / for | þou3 we here þe word of god
prechyd | or red to vs: & we haue noon vn=dyrstondinge þere of yt
profytyþ not | to vs.

Explicit: & so to contynue in good lyuyngge | vn to þe ende of oure
liif and þt | we may come to þt liif & ioie þt | euere schal last
/ amen

24) fols.38v,1.13,-41r, A series of Biblical maxims, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [17], where other manuscripts are listed.

Incipit: Iobe seyþ In sekeneſ growyþ | vertu. And salomon seiþ in
ſapience. | Wyckyð þou3tys departen aman | ffro god. be þou ware
in þy {s} wylle | þt wyckyð þou3tys vndyr crepe þe | not & make þe
do euele:

Explicit: For what profytyþ to a man yf he | wyne all þe world &
ſuffre pey=|rynge to hys ſoule.

Colophon: For þe loue of god lernyth | thys lesson for yt wooll be
| prophytable for vs at the day of | doome. A.M.E.N.

The remainder of fol.41r is taken up by an illustration in red
and black ink, showing a heart with five bleeding wounds, beneath
which appears the following Latin note:

wulnera dira Iesu {c'} sint c'b' memoratu.

25) fol.42r-v,1.6, The Visitation of the Sick, in English. A
translation of Anslem's Admonitio Morienti (PL CLVIII, 685-8);
Ogilvie-Thomson [18], where other manuscripts are listed; Jolliffe
L.6/N.12; MWME VII 2565 [215]; IPMEP [573].

Later heading: The Visitation of þe Sick.

Incipit: SEynt Ancelm saythe and teche the preyst | to aske of the

seke whan he is anelyd and | {pe} neygyth to dethe. Brother arte
thou glad that yu | shalte deye in crysten byleue.

Explicit: lorde in hondys thyne. I be take soule myne. Lord | as
thou boughtyst me: body and soule I take | the Amen.

26) fols.42v,1.7,-43r, Marriage Ceremony with Vows, in English.
An English extract from the Sarum manual. Ogilvie-Thomson [19],
where other manuscripts are listed; MWME VII 2564 [213]; IPMEP
[313].

Later heading: The Solemnization of Matrimony

Incipit: LO brethen we be come togyder a fore | god & hys angels
in the syght of | holy chyrch to ioyne to gedyr twey bodyes þt |
is to say of thys man & of thys woman

Explicit: & only to | hym to drawe as long as {as} 3our' eyther
lyfe | lasteth. Respondeat mulier I wyll..

27) fols.44r-47r, De Sentenciis Excommunicationis, in English.
See O.S.Pickering, "Notes on the Sentence of Cursing in Middle
English; or, a Case for the Index of Middle English Prose", Leeds
Studies in English, n.s., 12 (1981), pp.237-238. Ogilvie-Thomson
[20], where other manuscripts are listed; MWME VII 2573 [229];
IPMEP [122].

Heading: De sentenciis excommunicacionis.

Incipit: Alle thoo be a cursed þt the fraunchise | of holy chirche
breke or trobyll & | all that are a3en the pees or the. | ryght
state of holy chirche.

Explicit: All thoo that knowe hem self | gyilty in the poyntes that
I haue reherced I | dennonce a curced thorought the autoryte of |
god almy³ty and oure lady seinte marye and | all the company of
heue vnto the tyme | that they come to amendement.

28) fols.47v-48r,1.8, Narratio, on the subject of a miracle
performed by St.Augustine at Compton in Oxfordshire, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [21], where the text is summarized.

Heading: Narracio

Incipit: In the tyme when seint Augustyne preched a|boute in thys
reme on a tyme he come in to a toune | the whyche is callyd Comtoun
in oxenfordshire

Explicit: And aftyrward he and the prest went to | her graues ther
to a byde the day of dome.

29) fol.48r,1.11,-v,1.8, General Form of Confession, in English.
Ogilvie-Thomson [22]; Jolliffe C.41; MWME VII 2562-5 [211] versions
D and LL (see above, note 2). See edition below, pp.128-129.

30) fols.48v,1.12,-49v,1.2, Sentence of Excommunication, in
English. The final curse from the Sarum Manual. See Pickering,
"Sentence of Cursing", pp.233-234. Ogilvie-Thomson [23]; MWME VII
2573 [229]; IPMEP [122].

Later heading: Here suep | The forme of þe Sentence | of
Excommunicatione.

Incipit: By the autorite of owre lorde god all=myghty and oure

lady seynt Mary & | all the {com} seyntis in heuyn. of angels.
Archan=gels. Patryarchys. Prophetys. Apostollys. | Euuangelystys.
Marterys. Confessorys and | Vyrghnes
Explicit: And ryght as thys candell is quenched and | departyd fro
lyght. so thou for to be departyd fro || god that is the lyght of
the worlde for euer & duell | in hell in derkenes wt oute ende fiat
fiat amen.

31) fol.50r, List of sins requiring the authority of a bishop
for absolution, in English; ends incomplete at bottom of recto.
Ogilvie-Thomson [24].

Heading: In these poyntes folowyng the byschop | or hys penytencer
schall assoyle them þt | be gyilty, Except them that ben' priuyleged
| or ells in articulo mortis.

Incipit: Fyrst for all | irregularite. Allso for vsury. Allso for
sy|mony. Also them þt wyllingly set fyre to | hurte any person or
ther godes.

Explicit: Also them | that wyllingly do manslaghtr'. Also them |
that do sacrylege. Also them that ley hondys | yn vyolence on fader
or modre. Also them

32) fols.50*r-54v,1.5, a version of the Visio Pauli, in Latin.
Heading: De penis inferni. quomodo deus voluit vt | Sanctus Michael
ostenderet sancto paulo penas | sequentes.

Incipit: Dies dominicus est dies leticie in quo angeli | plus
gaudent quam in aliis diebus.

Explicit: In die dominica sedet ad dexteram dei patris. | In die dominica. erit dies iudicii. etcetera. Deo gracia. scriptum anno domini 1506.

33) fol.54v, ll.8-16, Fragment of a treatise on the Decalogue, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [25], where the text is transcribed in full, and other manuscripts listed.

Text: Here men now lerne what maner of men | breken þe .x. commaundementys of god | Primum mandatum. Thow schalte haue | oo god in worschep. Ho brekyth þis | commaundement: Proude men: Wor=|dely men: and fleishly men: Wy proude | men for they make þe deuel here god | Why wordely men: for they make here | woordly goodys here god:

34) fol.55r-v, a narration from the Golden Legend, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [26]; Ogilvie-Thomson states that "the same story is found in the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine, but verbally it is dissimilar to Caxton's 1483 translation", IMEP VIII p.100.

Incipit: Ye schal have vpon ³ daye the holy feeste | called the Concepcion of ovre lady virgyn mary. | whych daye sche was conceyved of her blessyd | modyr seynt An.

Explicit: And wt þt. the fayr | ymage styed vp to heven. & þe abbot wt hys holle | company & wt ful pleasant w{h}edr' & wynde com | home to Englonde agayn. & every wher' preched as he | was byd for

³ Pencil addition in gap, probably nineteenth-century: 8th.

to do.

35) fols.56v-69r, l.18, Form of Confession, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [27]; Jolliffe C.7; MWME VII 2562-5 [211] version D (see above, note 2). See edition below, pp.87-116.

36) fols.69r, l.19, -71v, A lytyl addicioun for more perfyte serche of confession, in English. Ogilvie-Thomson [28]; Jolliffe C.19; MWME VII 2562-5 [211] version P. See transcription below, pp.121-127.

37) fol.72r-86v, Extracts from a penitential manual, in Latin. Possibly ends incomplete. I have been unable to identify the source of these extracts.

Heading: De Amissione Virginitatis.

Incipit: Qui cum uirgine coierit vno anno pener=|et illam non amittat.

Explicit:ex quod per secretam confessionem

Major Later Additions:

The manuscript contains a very large number of post-medieval additions, mostly in the form of brief marginal additions and pen-trials. Some of the more substantial additions are recorded here, while a selective account of the remainder will be found below under Script.

1, a-i) fol.vv, A series of notes in various hands.

a: And wantinge vse of eyes their eyes | began to close. |

b: When I was Wryt noe man | Can tell / but what I | Am you may now
Wett / | When in toledo first I stouded | it was my chaunce to wryt

a /

c: Elizabeth marowe 17s 13I.

d: he whom in henri I loue | stanching from the beseidged

e: If i liues I loues / | Margarie Marowe /

f: Mary Marowe is my nam / | and with my pen I rit /

g: The rosse is rede / the leaues | be green / god saue Elizabeth/

h: {Train dedonne dedily singe Fiddell}

i: sing Fidell

2) fol.20v, left margin, -21r, lower half; The form of a bond, recording a debt owed by Thomas Cooke to Rogar Patricke, both of Barkyswell in Warwickshire, to be paid at the house of John Moore of the same parish.

3) fols.30v-31r, marginal and interlinear additions.

fol.30v,1.4, the ii | Thow schalt not | make to thi selfe | any grauen Image | nor etc.

Interlinear addition: & have none other god

11.7-end, i added to ii and all subsequent numerals.

1.10, "pin holy day" is crossed through, with an addition in the right margin: the sabaoth day.

11.18-22, The ninth and tenth commandments are grouped together with a line, and the following addition is found in the right margin: Idolatros papist, | this ys but one | comawndment

fol.31r,1.1, Addition in left margin: How can a papist | be blessed / when | he cleane raseth | owt the second commawndment wc | most concerneth | Godys glory.

4) fol.40r, marginal additions to an item in the series of Biblical maxims.

Original text: Daudid seip. | Blessyd be þey þt serchen god=dys wytnessyngys & sekyþ out | god in al herte. þey ben cursyd | þt bowen fro goddys heestys.

Additions in right margin: papist | how can they serche | them, that are forbidn | to reade them? | papist, look to your | grauen Images.

5) fol.47r, Addition in right margin: Also all heretikys | þt maks the peopl | beleve church | to be devided. | contrari to the | holy and anscent | apostolicall faith

6) fol.47v, Marginal additions in right margin to Narratio.

Text: Comton I knowe | But Comton never | knew this to be | true,
I trowe. | {...} Augustyn the | moncke might be | acquaynted wth
| makyng of this | matter / | But blessed true St | Augustyne wold
blush | for shame, at all | suche clytter clat|ter.

7) fol.48r, ll.9-10, Addition: a notable example of chastisd
| knaveri / or show of holsom doctrine |

8) fol. 49v, An addition made above the final two lines of the
Form of Excommunication, the final three lines being copied on the
left of the first three.

Text: To him that lys pro strate Lament|tinge for his sin full Lyfe
| by for his mercyes gate which gat | whych gat there | openest
wide to | thos that doe lament | their sin.

9) fol.50v, A poem in five stanzas, rhyming abab, with an extra
line in the fifth stanza, concluding with a rhymed couplet. (Not
included in IMEV).

Heading: The contentys of St Michels & pawles viage | into hell.

Incipit: pawle was desyros for to walk into Hell. |

God gave hym leave, (but yeat wt a Guyde)

Explicit: read on the Text, the doctryne ys most pure, | yf Lyes
may make thee lawgh, <the> lawgh thow {.} | shalte be sure.

10) fol.61r, l.10, Addition in right margin, beside phrase "that I haue worshypped false goddys," in the Form of Confession.

Text: That' true wylfull | papist, for thow | dost wyllingly, to
| that ende, obscure | the commawndment | that forbyddeth þt |
evell.

Endleaves.

The endleaves, front and back, are parchment, severely trimmed. At the front of the manuscript there is a single endleaf, copied in double columns, containing a fragment of a theological commentary, s.xiv in med. There are three endleaves at the back of the manuscript, copied in single columns, containing fragments of ecclesiastical law and an account of a dispute between two Oxford priors, all in Latin, in an Oxford hand, s.xiv in.

Material.

The first three quires are made up of an irregular assortment of parchment and paper. The first quire consists of five bifolia of alternating parchment and paper; the first, third and fifth leaves being of parchment, and the second and fourth paper. The second and third quires each consist of four bifolia; the first and third in each case being of paper, and the second and fourth

parchment.

The remaining quires consist entirely of paper.

Number of Leaves: $i+90+iv$

Dimensions of Leaf and of Written Space:

Dimensions of leaf: 196x132mm

Dimensions of written space, in millimetres:

ivr	127x86mm	30-41	129x86
ivv	130x86	42-43	126x86
v	127x90	44-49	123x86
1	127x87	50-56	128x86
2	128x87	51	124x87 (=one less line)
16	123x87	55	132x96
17	127x87	57-59	129x85
18-20	124x87	60v-71	133x85
20	124x87	72-75	132x85
22	120x87	77-84	125x87
24	127x87	85-86	128x88
25-29	131x87		

Foliation.

The manuscript is foliated iv-v, followed by 1-86, with the numerals 50 and 62 occurring twice. In each case the second occurrence of the numeral is accompanied by a mark *. (In IMEP VII, Ogilvie-Thomson counts fol.50* as 51, and therefore adds one to all subsequent folio numbers.)

Pricking.

Pricking is visible only in the far right margin of fol.50*.

Ruling.

Throughout the manuscript the ruled space is defined by pairs of parallel lines. There are changes in the instrument used in defining this space on fols.29r, 50r, 55r, 62*r, 70r, and 77r.

Dimensions of ruled space: fols.iv-43, 130x87mm; fols.44-49, 126x86mm; fols.50-61, 130x87mm; fols.62*-69, 131x87mm; fols.70ff., 132x87mm; fols.77ff., 126x86mm; fols.85-86, 130x88mm.

Within this space, ruling of lines are found only in the stints of Hand A, and where Hand C has used the lower part of a leaf already ruled by Hand A.

Number of lines per page (ruled only in material copied by Hand A):

fol.		fol.		fol.	
ivr	22	50*r	24	70r	26
ivv	22	v	24	v	25
v	19	51r	23	71r	28
1ff.	19	v	22	72r	26
9ff.	18	52r	22	v	29
25ff.	21	v	21	73r	22
29r	16	53r	22	v	23
v	18	v	22	74r	23
30r	22	54r	21	v	23
v	23	v	22 ⁴	75r	23
31r	21	56r	24	v	23
v	22	v	23	76r	22
32r	21	57r	27	v	20
v	21	v	25	77r	22
33r	22	58r	26	v	21
v	22	v	26	78r	22
34r	21	59r	26	v	21
v	20	v	26	79r	22
35r	20	60r	25	v	22
v	21	v	26	80r	22
36r	20	61r	28	v	22
v	20	v	27	81r	22
37r	21	62r	29	v	21
v	19	v	27	82r	21
38r	20	62*r	27	v	21
v	21	v	27	83r	20
39r	19	63r	27	v	22
v	20	v	27	84r	21
40r	20	64r	28	v	21
v	20	v	26	85r	21
42r	19	65r	26	v	23
v	18	v	26	86r	23
43r	18	66r	27	v	23
44r	19	v	26		
v	19	67r	26		
45r-v	19	v	28		
46r-v	19	68r	27		
47r	18	v	27		
48ff.	17	69r	25		
50	20	v	25		

⁴ = ruled for 22 lines.

Collation.

i 10 (fols.iv-8), ii 8 (fols.9-16), iii 8 (fols.17-24), iv 4 (fols.25-28), a singleton fol.29, v 8 (fols.30-37), vi 4 (fols.38-41), vii 2 (fols.42-43), viii 8 (fols.44-49, lacks two leaves after fol.49), ix 6 (fols.50, 50*, 51-54), a singleton fol.55, x 8 (fols.56-62*), xi 8 (fols.63-70), xii 2 (fols.71-72), xiii 4 (fols.73-76), xiv 8 (fols.77-84), xv 2 (fols.85-86).

The first three quires can be identified by the alternation of parchment and paper described above under Material, and this division is supported by changes in the number of lines per page from a regular nineteen to eighteen at the beginning of quire ii, and again from a regular eighteen to twenty-one at the beginning of quire iv.

In the absence of catchwords or quire signatures, and with watermarks not clearly visible even under an ultra-violet lamp, the collation of the rest of the manuscript is extremely difficult, and the collation offered here, which is based chiefly upon the division of texts and the stints of different scribes, must remain extremely tentative.

Signatures.

There are no quire signatures at any point in the manuscript.

Catchwords.

There are no catchwords at any point in the manuscript. However, on three consecutive folios in the fifth quire (fols. 31, 32, and 33), the first word of the verso is found also at the bottom right hand corner of the recto, probably intended as an aid in assembling the quire in the correct order.

Script.

Hand A: fols. ivr-28r, 42r-49v, 50r, 50*r-54v.

Hand B: fols. vv, 28v, 29r-41r, and addition at base of fol. 27v.

Hand C: fol. 54v, lower half.

Hand D: fol. 55r-v.

Hand E: fols. 56r-71v.

Hand F: fols. 72r-73r, l. 2, vel nouerca.

Hand G: fol. 73r, l. 2, vel pri - fol. 86v; marginal annotations, fol. 72r.

On fols. 1r-28r the scribe here designated Hand A employs a complicated commercial hand in which variant letter forms occur from a variety of scripts (for instance, on fol. 20v two forms of the letter <g> are found side by side in the word *aggrauantibus*, l. 8). By contrast on fols. ivr-vr and on fols. 50*r-54v the same scribe employs a more functional hand with less ornamentation and

a more extensive repertory of marks of abbreviation (the latter observation holds even for the copying of Latin texts; fols. ivr-vr show a far greater range of marks of abbreviation than fols. 20r-28r).⁵ Hand A is the only scribe in the manuscript to rule the written space.

Hand B is far less accomplished, and has added notes to material copied by Hand A at the base of fol. 27v, and in space left vacant by Hand A at the end of a text on fols. vv and 28v. Fol. 29r-v was copied at a different date from these notes, and fols. 30r-41r at another date again. It is possible that Hand B is the hand of the user for whom Hand A has copied material. In common with subsequent extensions to the manuscript up to the final stint of Hand G, Hand B has adopted roughly the same dimensions of written space employed by Hand A.

Hand C copies only the opening of a prose tract on the ten commandments in available space at the end of a text copied by Hand A.

Hand D is responsible for only a single leaf, possibly a singleton, as in the tentative collation offered above, or perhaps an empty leaf at the end of a quire.

Hand E has added two major pieces to the collection. It shows neither the clarity nor the sophistication of Hand A, but

⁵ In such instances, where a commercial scribe employs a variety of hands, it is difficult to be certain that only a single scribe is responsible for the copying. I have decided to designate all of this material as the work of one scribe in the absence of any clear evidence to the contrary to avoid the unnecessary multiplication of hands.

nonetheless does show consistent division of a long and complex text by rubrication, affording ready access to any part of it.

Hands F and G are responsible for the final item in the collection. Hand G is characteristic of a scholar, copying a complex Latin text most probably for personal use.

The following is a selective list of post-medieval hands (see note above, p.17):

Hands 1-3, fols.ivr-vr: Marginalia and penitentials in three different hands.

Hands 4-7, fol.vv: Verses, items 1 a to i under Contents above, s.xvii ex./xviii in., including signatures of Margarie (items e and h), Mary (item g) and Elizabeth (item c) Marowe, the last of which is dated 1713.⁶ (The hand of items a, b, d and g is probably earlier; a verse in the same hand occurs also on fol.27v; Hand 9 is perhaps a more current example of the hand of the same scribe).⁷

Hand 8, fol.10r: Penitential, deleted, {This is my hand this is my deed is}, s.xvi ex./xvii in.; further erased and deleted note in the same hand, fol.15v: The devell rend John | Aromb<es>.

⁶ If what is represented here is in fact a date: 17^s; 13^Æ

⁷ See further below under "Provenance".

Hand 9, fols.20v-21r: Form of a bond, item 2 in list of major additions above, s.xvi ex./xvii in. Possibly the same hand as is responsible for item 1 a, b, d and g.

Hand 10, fol.23v: Pentrials, including what is possibly a partial copy of the form of a bond described above. Signature: Robart Stepey. s.xvi ex./xvii in. Further pentrials in the same hand, including an alphabet, fols.36v-37r; opening of bond with signature again, fol.41v.

Hand 11, fols.30v-31r, 40r, 47v, 50v and 61r: Marginal additions listed above under Contents. Also marginal annotations in Latin: fol.52r, *monstrum horrendum* with Star of David as mark; fol.53r, *secundum cornelium papam*. A further deleted marginal annotation probably in the same hand occurs on fol.38r, beginning with the word *papist*, erased and deleted with heavy cross-hatching. See further below under "Provenance".

Hand 12, fol.34v, marginal annotation, s.xvi ex./xvii in., <Exemplum> in my beginn<in>ge god verry speede | in grase and vertue to proseade, s.xvi ex./xvii in.

Hand 13, fol.43r: Fragments of Latin verse in a display hand, s.xvii/xviii. E dira Satanae facta est mea pelle | crimena. | Iam cruces nullas illa temere | potest /

Hand 14, fols.47r and 48r, items 5 and 7 in the list of major additions above, s.xvi ex./xvii in.; (the second of these is transcribed, inaccurately, in the lower margin in a hand s.xviii ex./xix in.).

Hand 15, fol.49v: item 8 in list of major additions, s.xviii in.

Hand 16, fol.54v: Ave Maria, in Latin, copied upside down, with explicit: **per me Thomam Chiuallo**; court-hand, therefore earlier than 4 George II, otherwise extremely difficult to date.

Hand 17, fol.56r: Notes on contents of manuscript, with signature **Henry Didis**, s.xvii ex./xviii in.

Hands 14-18, fol.86v: Notes in different hands, s.xvi ex./xvii in., including probable ownership inscriptions **Edward belandyE Smyth** and **Edwarde Marowe**, the latter below a Marian prayer in the same hand, both copied upside down. Marginal note: **Ignotus notus | Ingenium.**

At many points in the manuscript explanatory notes have been added in a hand probably of the early nineteenth century, along with headings in an archaizing script, as at fols.42r, 42v, 43r, 48r, and 48v. It is probably the same hand that is responsible for the frequent addition of decoration to illuminated initials, as at

fols.20v, 21v, 42r,⁸ 44r, and 48v.

In addition to these, there are frequent annotations in pencil, as on fols.ivr and 56v, in the hand of James Ingram, President of Trinity College, Oxford from 1824 to 1850.

Punctuation.

Throughout the manuscript the punctus, < . >, and punctus elevatus, < ' >, are used to mark minor and major pauses respectively. Hand B is characterized by the use of a stroke, either double < // > or single < / >, in addition to the paraph in marking major divisions.

Decoration.

On post-medieval, probably nineteenth-century, additions to and alterations of the decoration at many points, see note at the end of the section on Script above.

Capitals two lines deep in red are found on the following leaves: iv, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r; 20r; 20v; 21v; 42r,⁹ 42v;

⁸ The silver added to this initial is possibly also the addition of this hand.

⁹ See previous note.

48r; 48v; 53r; 56v, 59v, 60v, 61r, 62r, 62v, 62*r, 62*v, 63v, 64r, 64v, 65r, 66v, 67r, 69r; 73r. Capitals two lines deep in blue are found on: 6v, 8v, 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13r, 13v, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r. There are capitals two lines deep in blue and red on fols.2v and 3v, one two lines deep in black and red on 47v, and one six lines deep in black on fol.1r. There are two capitals two lines deep in gold and black with ornamentation spreading over the margin on fol.29r, and a single capital three lines deep in red on the verso. Capitals two lines deep in red and black with ornamentation spreading over the margin are found on fols.30v, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r, 33v, 34r, 35r, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v, and 41r, while similar capitals in blue and red are found on fols.30r and 34r. A single capital four lines deep in red is found on fol.44r. Capitals three lines deep in red are found on fols. 50r, 50*r, and 72r.

Binding.

The main leather-covered boards of the current binding are probably of eighteenth-century origin. The repairs to the spine and restitching are modern, perhaps represented by an entry in the accounts of Trinity College Library, 23rd December 1848, for the sum of £53, 7s, 6d to Omash for "repairing manuscripts".

Dicta Probatoria: oues ille

Origin, Provenance, and Subsequent History.

The assortment of items found in the manuscript suggests that it was intended initially for use by a parish priest as a manual, with later adaptation for use by a more specialised user, most probably a private confessor.

The material in Hand A forms the core of the collection. This is the work of a commercial scribe (or at least, of one who had had training as a professional scribe and had learnt a variety of letter forms), and was most probably purchased by scribe B, who then added notes and supplementary material to this collection, as at fols.vv, 27v and 28v.

As noted above, among the contributions of Hand A, the note on the collection of tithes and the Visio Pauli are copied in a much more functional hand (if indeed all of these items are the work of the same scribe). This is perhaps a result of the less public, directly functional nature of these two texts.

The material copied by Hand A constitutes a suitable collection for the use of a priest with cure of souls, possibly a parish priest. The items on fols.42r-50r have clear practical, pastoral applications, as has the Latin note on the payment of tithes. The moral and didactic material contained in the Visio Pauli is also suitable for adaptation for pastoral use. The possible exceptions to this are the long form of confession and the subsequent Latin forms of absolution and guide to visiting the sick, which are discussed in detail below (pp.37-45).

Quires v and vi (fols.30-41) show signs of particular wear, as does folio 29 (all in Hand B). This may be a result of the nature of the catechetic material contained on these leaves, suggesting frequent consultation as part of a process of Lenten instruction. It may also indicate a period of use for these leaves independently of the surrounding material. However, one should consider also the arguments advanced above that Hand B has adopted the dimensions of the written space used by Hand A, and therefore that incorporation of these leaves into the manuscript was seen at least as a possibility from the outset.

The items added by Hands C and D are in keeping with the nature of the collection up to this point, and are most likely the additions of subsequent users of the manuscript.

The addition of the two confessional items in Hand E is rather more difficult to explain, and this question is considered in detail below (pp.85-86).

The nature of the material copied in Hands F and G, and the facility and sophistication of Hand G in copying Latin, suggest an educated later user of the manuscript; the penitential content of this material suggests that the confessional items form the main interest in the existing collection for this user.

The only clue as to the localization of the manuscript is given by item 28 in the list of contents above, describing a miracle said to have been performed by St. Augustine at Comtoun in Oxfordshire. This may perhaps be taken to refer to Long Compton, in the Kington Hundred of Warwickshire, the southernmost part of

the county, close to the boundary with Oxfordshire,¹⁰ or to one of the other place-names in the vicinity Long Compton which also include the element "Compton".

Warwickshire ownership in the early seventeenth century is suggested both by the form of a bond, the second item in the list of major additional items above, and by the Edward Marowe ownership inscription on the last folio. Oxford college records show three sons, Edward, Francis and Thomas, the eldest born in 1602, of an Edward Marow, knight, of the same Berkswell in Warwickshire as is mentioned in the bond.¹¹ Unlike Long Compton, Berkswell is in the northernmost part of Warwickshire, in the Hemlingford Hundred.

The post-medieval history of the manuscript, as deduced from the evidence of marginal annotations and possible ownership ascriptions, is very complicated. Hand 11 shows close attention to the contents of the manuscript on the part of a Protestant reader. The annotations to the Visio Pauli show that this reader is of considerable education; I have, however, been unable to match this hand with specimens of autograph handwriting of any of the Protestant churchmen or collectors of this period. Hand 14 shows

¹⁰ This localization is possibly also supported by the Oxford origin of the endleaves, although there is no evidence to indicate when they became part of the manuscript.

¹¹ J.Forster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714 (Oxford, 1891), vol.3, p.972. The Edward Marow whose name is recorded in the manuscript may be either this Edward or his son. For further details of the Marow family, and for a possible identification of the Elizabeth Marow whose name appears on fol.vv, see further L.F.Salzman, ed., The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Warwick, vol.iv (Oxford, 1947), pp.29-30.

a reading of the manuscript during roughly the same period by someone of very different religious sympathies, whether recusant or high-church Anglican. The question remains of why the manuscript was not destroyed, or the offending passages erased, by the Protestant reader; possibly the manuscript was at some stage lent to him for reading or consultation, but never his own property.

Other annotations of this period and later, where they show any religious sympathies, are much closer to the sympathies of Hand 14. The copying of an Ave Maria by Thomas Chivallo on fol.54v, and of a Marian prayer on fol.86v by Edward Marow, both upside down, strongly suggest recusant use (or at least Catholic sympathies in Marow's case if he is indeed the Oxford graduate), as does item 1b in the list of major additions.

The pencil annotations in the hand of James Ingram, Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford and President of Trinity College, Oxford, suggest that the manuscript entered the possession of Trinity College with other of Ingram's books at his death on 4th September, 1850.

Editions of four confessional texts from Trinity.

- p.37 Discussion of fols.1r-19v.
p.46 Edition of fols.1r-19v.
p.76 Textual and explanatory notes.
p.79 Discussion of fols.56v-69r.
p.87 Edition of fols.56v-69r.
p.116 Textual notes.
p.117 Discussion of fols.69r-71v.
p.121 Edition of fols.69r-71v.
p.128 Edition of fol.48r-v.

Discussion of fols.1r-19v.

Function.

In its present form, this text is intended as a guide to making a full, private confession of specific sins in accordance with the demands of Lateran IV, as indicated by 419-427. Comments at 633-635 further make it clear that this guide is to be used before, rather than during, a confession.

Both of these passages are, however, among a number of passages in the text, all rubricated, where the first-person, "confessional" voice is replaced by a third-person, "editorial" voice. The use of rubrication to mark these passages is remarkably consistent (the only exception being at 367 where the words *and sey as it is* are not rubricated¹). These passages do not merely repeat in an interrogatory form the material already rehearsed in the confessional format, but frequently introduce new topics, as at 262-276, 302-309, 310-312, 332-335, 435-447, 454-469 (where the topic of simony is introduced), 542-546, 601-603, and 613-616.

It is possible that, by the addition of these rubricated passages, an existing general form of confession has been extended and adapted for use as a guide to making a specific confession of particular sins.

¹ The unrubricated words *bodyly thus* at 387 may also be such a case; however, in this instance it is also possible that "confessional" material has at this point been omitted by a reviser.

It should be noted that at 277-282 a sentence which begins in the "confessional" voice, and is here not copied in red, is completed by the words *thus or thus*, rubricated, followed by further instructions to the penitent in the "editorial" voice; the material in the "confessional" voice could, however, easily stand alone as a complete sentence, which has been extended by the reviser of the text.

At 363-372 rubricated "editorial" passages introduce alternative, unrubricated, "confessional" passages to be used in particular circumstances.² If the "editorial" material has indeed been added by a reviser, then these two "optional" passages may be assumed to have been added at the same time. Only at 486 does a rubricated, "editorial" passage seem redundant.

During the discussion of the fifth commandment, 385-415, the more literal, and serious, manifestations of manslaughter and murder are confined to "editorial", rubricated material.³ However, such a clear distinction is not found elsewhere, although "editorial" passages do frequently deal with serious sins, as would be appropriate had a general form of confession been adapted for

² A passage on praying for a dead father and mother occurs also in the second long form of confession in this manuscript at 243-245; however, in this instance there is no attempt to mark this passage in any way as being for "optional" use. A similar situation occurs again in the discussion of the sacrament of wedlock in this second text; see further the discussion of this text below.

³ It is tempting to see a distinction being drawn here between mortal and deadly manifestations of sin against this commandment; however, on the problems inherent in such distinctions, see above, Part 1, pp.6-9.

use as a guide to making a specific confession of particular sins.⁴

Since no other copy survives, and in the absence of any further evidence, it is impossible to determine whether the "editorial" passages do indeed represent adaptation of an existing text. As is clear from the discussion below of the implied audience for the text, it is in many respects an "omnium-gatherum" text in both the "editorial" and "confessional" passages, suitable for use by a variety of different categories of penitent. Furthermore, in considering the position of this text within Trinity, it is its present form which is of most interest. Nonetheless, in the subsequent discussion I attempt where possible to keep in mind the distinction between "confessional" and "editorial" material, and to examine to what extent observations made of material in the one voice are true also of material in the other.

Audience.

The stress on considerable wealth, including land, gold and jewels, as at 46-51, 55-56 and 186-187, suggests that the intended audience of the text is wealthy and of significant social rank, as does the condemnation of giving unnecessary gifts and holding feasts at 190-192. The reference to pride of kin and lineage at

⁴ General confessions which also contain references to very serious sins are, however, frequent in the survey in Part 1.

56-58 may also suggest that the text is intended for one of high birth. (All of these passages are in the "confessional" voice).

That the intended audience is male is shown by 249 and 254 (the former instance in a passage in the "editorial" voice, and the latter in the "confessional").

Further than this, the intended audience is very difficult to determine. At 310-312 there are directions to a married man in the "editorial" voice. However, in the same voice at 459-464 there is a condemnation of illicit means of gaining clerical advancement, and at 465-471 of administering the sacraments only for worldly profit and benefit (citing John 10:1 as authority for condemning false teachers).⁵ Each of these passages begins as a question in the same way, *If thou be a man that hast wyffe & chyldren...*, *If thou be auanced or benefyced in gree and state of relygyon or seculer...*, *If thou be a preyst...*, and they would seem to be intended for selection by different categories of users according to their own needs.

While the text thus seems, in its present form, to be intended for use by readers who may be either clerical or lay, there are surprisingly few passages addressed directly to a layman. In particular, the discussions of lechery in the sections dealing with both the seven deadly sins and the ten commandments omit any reference to sins within wedlock (a common topic in texts addressed

⁵ By contrast, in the brief discussion of the sacraments at 542-546, again in the "editorial" voice, only the eucharist is specifically mentioned, with no reference to the sacrament of priestly orders.

to layfolk examined in Part 1).

In the "editorial" voice, lechery in holy places is condemned at both 265-266 and 424. In the same "editorial" voice, masturbation is treated at unusually great length at both 267-276 and 584-591, the latter during the discussion of the five bodily wits. Both of these topics may possibly be considered to be more likely to be of particular concern to celibate clerics than to laymen.

The parts of the text in the "confessional" voice are less obviously tailored to particular categories of user than those in the "editorial" voice. The reference to singing and hearing one's hours at 121-122 seems determinedly unspecific; the evidence of MED for deutees in the same passage reveals a variety of possible meanings with reference to regular religious, clerics or the laity. At 328-331 not coming to matins, mass, evensong and all other services on Sundays and other feast days is condemned, a requirement certainly greater than those usually made of the laity, but perhaps here reflecting the growth of lay piety rather than referring specifically to the duties of one in orders.

Other characteristics.

There is at many points in the text a stress upon the social and spiritual responsibilities of the penitent. During the discussion of sloth there is an unusual condemnation of not

correcting one's fellow Christians' faults and praying for their amendment (140-146), and also of not praying for those who have given one any help or assistance (147-148). At 622-629 neglecting promptings to do good, both from within and from outside, is condemned. In the discussion of the seven bodily works of mercy, not only is not giving food and drink to the hungry and thirsty condemned, but also not giving of the best one has (507-509), and making the needy beg for what they are to receive (509-510). During the discussion of the third commandment, performing the deeds of mercy is specified as a fitting activity for the remainder of feast days and Sundays when the penitent is not attending divine service (346-348).

These passages, all occurring in the "confessional" voice, show a particular concern with the spiritual duties of the penitent, especially in those areas where this touches the wider community. This is quite unlike the stress upon the social manifestations of sins found in many of the texts discussed in section 1 of Part 1 of this study, where the concern is with the role of confession as a means of maintaining social harmony within a parish. The present text is instead concerned with the spiritual manifestations of communal life, and is thus much closer in its concerns to the longer versions of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity printed below.

Such concerns are possibly again reflected by the particular stress placed upon respect for the sacrament of the eucharist both at 381-383 and at 542-546, (the former passage in the

"confessional" voice and the latter in the "editorial"), although here the pressures of heterodoxy are probably of greater significance as a reason for inclusion.⁶

Relationship to other material copied in Hand A.

The nature of this text does not accord well with the other English items in Hand A. The series of items on fols.42r-50r, (a simple guide to the visitation of the sick, a summary of the marriage ceremony with the vows, a list of offences requiring excommunication, an exemplary narration, a brief general form of confession for public recitation (see below, pp.128-129), a sentence of excommunication, and an incomplete list of sins reserved for absolution by the bishop), are all such as would be of use to a parish priest in general administration of the cure of souls. The catechetical material copied in Hand B, the probable purchaser of the material copied in Hand A,⁷ is also well suited to a pastoral function.

It is difficult to see the reason for the inclusion of the present form of confession in such a context. The address to a penitent of high social standing, and the concentration both upon

⁶ In this respect one should see also the discussion in Part 1 above of the longer of the two forms of confession preserved in Yale, University Library, MS Beinecke 317.

⁷ See further the description of the manuscript above.

the private moral and devotional life of the penitent and upon the spiritual aspects of the communal life, suggest that the text is intended for use within a more restricted milieu, such as confession to a private confessor. As an aid in hearing the confessions of parishioners, a parish priest would find a form of confession like that in London, British Library, MS Sloane 1584, fols.55v-62r,⁸ of far greater practical assistance.

Similarly, the Latin items immediately following this form of confession in Trinity are all rather unusual items for a parish priest like John Gysborn⁹ to be using. The Latin form of visitation of the sick is unusually detailed for such a user, and, while it is possible that under certain circumstances any priest could absolve excommunicates,¹⁰ it is very unusual to find together three alternative forms of absolution for use in different circumstances.¹¹

It is possible that the form of confession and the subsequent Latin material (fols.1r-28r) have all been copied from a common source, and their inclusion in the present collection may well result from the commercial availability of material. The original

⁸ See above, Part 1, pp.31-34.

⁹ The scribe and user of London, British Library, MS Sloane 1584; see above, Part 1, pp.21-26, 31-34, and appendix A.

¹⁰ For details of the regulations concerning the absolution of excommunicates, see F.D.Logan, Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England (Toronto, 1968), pp.137-139.

¹¹ See further the description of these items in the full account of the contents of the manuscript above, p.3.

user of the manuscript (whether this is Hand B or a possible earlier user) may have purchased leaves which had already been copied by Hand A (possibly also with the note on tithes which occupies the first two leaves of quire i), or alternatively this may have been the only confessional material available to the copyist, and thus copied for want of any more appropriate texts.

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86.

fols.1r-19v, Form of Confession.

Benedicite Dominus.

I knowleche to God of heuene, and to oure lady Seynt
Mary, and to all the holy company of heuene, & to the,
gostely fader, that I, synfull wrecche, haue synned and
5 trespased a3en the commaundementys of my God, wetyngly
and vnwetyngly, slepyng & wakyng, goyng & syttyng, &
pryncypaly yn my seuen dedly synnes and yn all the spyces
& braunches of hem.

I knowleche that I haue be prou3d in worde, yn wyll;
10 and ofte & many tymes I haue be prou3d a3ens my God, in
that I haue not 3oue me to kepe hys commaundementes, ner
forto reule me aftyr hys lore & hys laue, to hys
plesaunce & to hys worshype & mekenes, for pryde of myn
herte, as I ought forto do; but ofte I haue desyred forto
15 haue myn owne lust, myn owne desyre, myn owne wyll, howso
that euer the wyll of God be refreynd or not fulfyllyd.
f.1v Thus & many weyes moo | I haue be proude a3ens my lorde
God. Wherof I crye God mercy.

Also I haue be proude a3ens myn euencristen, as yn
20 hy beryng & hy spekyng; & oftetyms I had hem in despyte
& in indygnacion for foule pryde of myn hert. Therfor I
beseche God of mercy.

Also I haue be proude oftetye of myselfe & myche
iholde of myselfe, & not knowe myself as I ought forto
25 haue do; for I haue ofte be proude of godes that God
hathe sente & lente me, bothe of godes of grace, of godes
of kynde, & of godes of fortune.

I haue be proude of godes of grace thus oftymes: of
redyng, of syngyng, of ioyfull facunde, of cunyng, of
30 soteltee, of crafte, of alle the wytte & vndyrstondyng
that God hathe lente me; & holde myselfe the gretter &
the more excellent, and nott referred these 3yftes of
grace only as I ought forto do for pryde of myselfe.
Therof I beseche Iesu Crist of mercy.

I haue be proude of godes of kynde thus oftetye: of
35 strengthe and euel dysposed it a3en the plesur of my
f.2r God; also of fayrnes & welfar | and of all other fetures
of my body, be the whyche I haue holde moche more of
myselfe than I ought forto haue do, & lasse of myn
40 euencristen. Therof I beseche God of mercy.

Also I haue be proude of godes of fortune that God
hathe lente me: thus I haue be proude of apparayll of my
wrecched body, & superfluly & outragely arayde me yn that
entent, to haue a name & worshype of the worlde; & more
45 coueytede to be in syght of men and women for my stoute
aray, to haue an ydell preysyng of þe worlde. Also I haue
be proude of other godes of fortune: of golde, of syluer,
& of other tresor that God hathe sent me; of londes, of

rentes, of hors, of harnes; of all other rychesse that
50 God hathe sent me, I haue be ofte proud and bore me þe
heyer a3ens myn euencristen.

Also I haue be ofte proude, & avaunted & bosted of
thyngys that I coude do or myght do, & ofte further than
f.2v I coude or myght do; also of thyngys that I haue | had,
55 as of rychesse, of golde, or tresor, or other maner of
gewels; of grete howsyng & of stoute byldyng; also of
kynrede & grete lynage, & bore me the hyer and the
prouder. Therof I beseche god of mercy.

Also of vaynglory that I haue had in myn selfe, of
60 vertues & of graces that I hade of God; & sumtyme thought
that I haue had suche vertues & graces pryncypally
thorowe myn owne beryng & deseruyng, and not only
referrede it to the grace & godenes of God as I ought
forto do. Therefore I beseche God of mercy.

Also of ypocrysye I 3elde me gylty, that I haue ofte
65 shewed me bettyr & holyer outwarde than I haue be
ynwarde, & desyred to be holde holy and gode; & sumtyme
the openlyer I do gode dedes, yf I haue do any, forto be
preysed & to haue a name. þerof I beseche God mercy. &
70 of all other cyrcumstances of pryde, w`h`ere I haue
offendyd yn, I 3eld me gylty & crye God mercy.

63 ought] MS h canc. ought.

Ira.

f.3r Also I 3elde me gylty yn wrathe, for ofte I haue be
75 wroth | and malycyous to myn euencristen, bothe yn dede,
& in worde & in thought.

Yn dede, for I haue be venymous & venyable to myn
euencristen & to hem that haue greued me, - wyth my body,
wyth my catell, more to avenge my angry herte then for
eny ryghtwesnes; & yf my myght wolde haue streyght
80 further, I wolde haue do worse.

In worde also, for ofte for angre of myselfe I haue
spoke sterne wordis & bytter to myn euencristeyn, & the
rather stered hem to wrath, and spoke euel behynde hem
moche worse than I wolde awy[t]e afore hem, or that I
85 wolde that they had spoke be me.

Also I haue be wroth ofte in myselfe yn thought,
they I myght not or durste not be dede or be worde; for
lyghtly & ofte I haue be sone steryde to wrathe, and
lenger thought peron & borne it in myn herte, and fayn
90 her[de] oper forto depraue hem that I haue had wrathe to,
as I wolde & allso dyde myselfe.

f.3v Of all po[y]ntes & of all oper cyrcumstances | of
wrathe, I cry God mercy.

84 awy[te] MS awye.
poyntes] MS pountes.

90 herde] MS her'.

92

Inuidia.

95 Also I haue trespassed yn enuye, for ofte I haue be
enuyous to myn euencristen, to them þat haue be of
gretter then I, or more excellent in any vertu of
cunnyng, or ryches, or ellis worldes worschype or
reuerence, or yn any prosperyte or wele of thys worlde,
100 or more belouyd than I, or more sett by be lordschype or
frenshype or kyn, and though[t] me as able to `be michel
sett by` as they; & more vnkyndly I haue spoke of hem
then I ought forto do.

 Also I haue be enuyous to hem that be or haue be of
105 euen degre wyth me, & I hade enuye that they shulde be
ought honoured or had yn reuerence or sett by as moche
as I, so that I wolde be preferred & haue be holde of
more than they yf I had myght; and yf they haue had any
losse of catell, or of name, or any wrathe of other, I
110 haue be ofte well payed for enuye of myn owne herte.

 Also I haue be enuyous to hem that haue be of lower
f.4r degre than | I, & had enuye & indyngnacion that they
shuld ryse to any worschype or prosperyte ny to me, &
conceled my wytt & my kunnyng & my catell fro hem that
115 I myght haue forthered hem by; for I wolde algate be of
more reputacion then they.

101 thought] MS though.

105 euen] MS . canc. euen.

Of all these poyntes of enuye, & of many other, I
3elde me gylty and crye God mercy.

Accidia.

120 I haue trespased also many tymes in slouth, for ofte
I haue be slouthefull to God in all myn owres, syngyng
or heryng, & not had myn herte & thought stedfastly in
hem, ner in non oper deutes that I ought to say or here,
as I ought forto haue do; but occupied my thought in the
125 menetyme in many oper varyaunt thoughtes.

Also I haue be slouful & reccheles in comyng to
chyrche & to Godes seruyce, or to any other thyng longyng
to Goddes seruyce & to hys worshype.

Also I haue be sloufull to fulfyll my penaunce, &
130 not fulfyllyd it wyth full deuocion, or wyth so wylfull
f.4v herte as I haue | trespasyd before. Ner I had parfytt
contricion in myn herte for my mysdedes; ner I sought
'how' I myght come therto be grace; ner vsed the grace
that God 3eue me wyth vertues leuyng as I ought & myght
135 haue do. & so I haue be vnkynde & sloufull to vndyrstonde
& to vse the grace of my lorde God; & yf I haue begunne
eny gode dede, they it be seylde, 3it I haue sone be wery
therof, & selde brought it to eny gode perfeccion for
slouthe of myselfe.

140 Also yf I haue wyst any faute by any of myn
euencrystene, I haue nott amended hem, or do procur forto

amende hem, in the best wyse that I myght or cowde be my
dilygence, for slouthe of myselfe, or for I wold not take
haterade of hem. & so I haue be a fals gloser, ner I haue
145 not prayed for hem to come to amendement `as I` shulde
haue do.

Also I haue not prayed for all thoo that I haue had
any sustynans or socur [by] as I ought forto do; ner I
f.5r thanked my lorde God of all the benyfyttes | and
150 godnesses that he hathe do & dothe to me, as I ought
forto do.

Also I haue be slouful & lothe to here & to
vndyrstond þe worde of God, as prechyng & other godenes,
the whych myght haue steryd me to bettyr leuyng, & to
155 more louyng & plesyng of my lorde God; & sumtyme lettyd
other þat had wyll to here, by myn euell ensample.

Also I haue spended the tyme of my lyfe in ydylnes,
in iapes, in pleyes, and in many other dyuerce vyces,
bothe by dayes & by nyghtes. & also I haue be cauce of
160 other in the same wyse many a tyme.

Also I am moche in slouthe in that I be not
confessed so sone ner so ofte as I haue heuyly trespassed
a3ens my God, & thorowe soche slouth for3ete many of my
trepaces. Therfor I beseche God mercy.

148 any sustynans or socur by] MS by any sustynans or
socur.

165 Of all these poyntes, & of many other poyntes of
slouthe, I 3ylde me gylty & crye God mercy.

Auaricia.

f.5v I knowelech myselfe gylty allso ofte tymes | in
couetyse, for ofte I haue coueyted worldly ryches, &
170 bysyly ymagend in my herte how I myght haue come to hem
by any sle3te or sotelte or fayre wordes, or by any other
wyle; & sumtyme I spared more for drede & shame of the
world than only for the loue of my lorde God.

 If thou haue take any mannes godes away, other be
175 any extorsyon or by thefte, or falsly wytheholde any
mannes godes, or borrowed & in euel wyll to paye, telle
all these poyntes wyth her cyrcumstaunces here.

 Also I haue coueyted reuerence & worshypes, and to
haue a grete name of the worlde; forto haue wysdom of the
180 worlde, forto be sett moche by more ofte than forto plese
my lorde Gode by.

 Also I haue coueyted grett & stoute aray to my body,
to my chambyr, & in all other degrees, moche more than
I nedyd, and nott holde me plesed wyth that state þat God
185 hathe sente me as `I` ought forto do.

 Also I haue coueyted londes & rentes, houses &

172 wyle] MS wor canc. wyle.

f.6r tenementes, hors and | harnes, & other maner of godes
a3en the commaundement of my lorde Gode; & the godes that
God hath lente me, not departed hem & deled hem ther ned
was to pore & to nedy men in plesyng of my God as I ought
190 forto haue do, for nygardy of myselfe, but rather spended
ther no nede was, as in 3yftes, in festys, & such ydle
costes, - sometye to ryche & sumtyme to grete, for loue
and lordeshype, & sumtyme for bobaunce and for boste, &
for pride of myselfe, forto haue a name, & sumtyme for
195 fleshly loue.

 If thou ha[ue] any thyng founde & not 3ylde it a3en,
tell it here. If þu for eny nygardy or for euel wyll haue
wythholde any tythes or offerynges of holy chyrch, telle
it here. Or yf þu haue rered or procured to arere any
200 euel custome be wey of couytyse, telle it allso here, and
howe long thou hast contynued thys custom; for rere[r]s
& procutors or contynuours of soch vnleful customs be
lyghtly acursed.

f.6v Gula. |
205 Also I haue synned in gloteny, for ofte I haue ete
& also dronke more than me nedyd as to nedeful

191 such] MS suchy.
201 rerers] MS reres.

196 haue any] MS hany.
206 me] MS . canc. me.

sustynaunce of my body, butt only for gredynes & lustynes
of my fleshe, - thorowe the vnmesurabylnes of the whych
metes & drynkes my wrecched fleshe hathe be the more redy
210 & enclynnyng to all other synnes: to pryde, to wrathe, to
slouthe, to lecchery, & to all other `wrecched`nes; for
yf I had 3eue my body to skylful abstynence, I had nott
synned as I haue.

If thou haue do fyrthermore eny excesse outhur by
215 etyng or drynkyng, of þe whych þey it be shamefull to
telle, 3yt tell it here as it is in thys poynte.

Also I knowlech that I haue for gredynes of my selfe
`other`whyle ouer erly ete & dronke, & otherwhyle ouer
late, & otherwhyle ofter than I nedyd, & oftetyme be
220 euell ensamepull to myn euencrysten, & draue hem to suche
gloteny, for glosyng & plesyng & desyryng of wordly &
f.7r fleshly loue, & ofte for such loue and | lust I haue
spended the godes that God hath sente me on hem and nede
not.

225 Also I haue stodyed ofte & cast how I myght come to
delycyus and deyntes metes & drynkes to make my sorry bely
at ese.

215 whych] MS whychy with final letter deleted.
222 such] MS such<.> with final letter deleted.
226 and] MS me canc. and.

Also I haue oftetyemes for lust of my fleshe more
gredelyer take my mete than I ought; not manerly ner
230 mesurablylly reuled myselfe as I ought forto do, & so I
cesede nott as reson & gode abstynence wolde.

Also I haue had deyntee to be seruyd wyth many
d[i]uerse metes for lyghtnes of myn herte & lust of
myselfe, so that I haue be replete to lust as well as to
235 nedefull sustynaunce.

Luxuria.

Also I haue synned in lechery: in thought, in worde,
in wylle & in dede. I haue synned ofte in lechery be
thought, for I haue thought oftetyemes on that synne,
240 bothe be nyght and be day, & longe abyde vpon suche
s[h]rewed thoughtes; þe whych thoughtes be myn oune
f.7v defaute haue gendred | in me shrewed delytes & lustes,
& thoroue such foule thoughtes I haue inwarde lust & wyl
in myne herte forto trespace dedly, yf I myght haue come
245 to my purpos; and ofte I haue spared more for shame &
slaundre of the worlde, than for the loue or drede of my
lorde God.

233 diuerse] MS duerse. 241 shrewed] MS srewed.
243 such] MS suchy with final letter deleted.

If þu haue ymage[n]d in thyne herte to trespace wyth
any woman, wedded or sengle, þey thou fulfylled it nott
250 in dede, 3yt telle it here; or yf thoue haue 3eue any
3yftes for that entent, or spendyd any mony, or drawe
the to any ryott, or company, or presence of women for
fleshly loue or lust of synne, telle it allso her.

Also I haue synnyd ofte in ragyng wyth women, in
255 clyppying and kyssyng, & in all shrewed countenaunce to
turne hem to my luste.

Also I haue oftetymes arayed me the stouter & the
gayer forto turne hem to my synfull loue & synne, & ofte
I haue 3eue me the more to syn to syngyng, & to
260 f.8r daunesyng, and to other vnlefull | myrthes for lust &
desyryng of lecchery.

If thou haue trespaced wythe any woman in dede,
wedded or sengle or whatt degre she be, telle itt her;
also how, and how ofte, & how longe thou hast contynued
265 that synne, or how many tymes; yf thou fouled any holy
place be that synne.

Yf thou haue trespassed & fouled thyselfe vnkyndly in
handelyng & touchyng of thyne owne fleshe to make it
ryse, & thus tempted thyselfe or any other, beware & shew
270 sykyrly all the cyrcumstaunces, for thys synne ys full

248 ymagend] MS ymaged.

256 luste] MS o canc. luste.

perylous and heuy & foule; for it is sodomiticum, - that
is forto sey, a maner of synne that Sodom & Gomor wer
damned for. & therfor, I that wryte thys lettre drede
for to wryte þe cyrcumstaunces of þis synne; but neuer the
275 lesse, thou þat arte gylty, spare nott to shryue the as
ferfurthe as euer þu knowest.

f.8v Also I haue anyghtes in my sleep imat of synne | and
of lechery, & thought that I haue trespaced thus or thus;
& sey as it is, and how ofte þu hast do so, & how thou
280 come therto, - whether by any excesse of metys and
drynkes, of superfluyte of þyselpe, or by euell thoughtes
& ymagynacyons of that synne before in wakyng.

Fyrþermore, avyse the yf thou haue take any hote
metes & drynkes, to steyr or to meue thy wrecched flesh
285 to that synne, & shryue the therof.

In all these vii dedly synnes, wyth all the
cyrcumstaunces of hem, & all the braunches, I 3elde me,
synfull wrecche, gylty, & beseche hy God of hys mercy.

Decem mandata.

290 Fyrthermore, I synfull wrecche knowleche that I haue
myskepte my ten commaundementes wythoute noumbyr; for
ther I shuld worshype & loue my God ouer all thyng & haue
no fals goddes in worshype, I haue falsly broke that
commaundement, for I haue nott worshype & loued my God

295 f.9r ouer all thyng as I ought forto do. For I | haue
oftetymes myche more louyd worldly godes & ryches, & more
sett myn herte vpon hem than on my God; I haue more dred
frenshype and lordeshype of the worlde than my God, &
ofte more affyed me perinne than I sholde, and on my
300 worldly godes allso. Also I haue more sett my herte on
proude aray for my foule body, than on my God.

If thou for any helthe of thy body, or for any avowe
made paraunter att thyne oune lust be whych is nott
acordyng to Goddes wyll, ha[st had] any byleue or do any
305 reuerence to a thyng that may nott helpe itselfe, beware
perof in thys commaundement & shryue be therof; for so
thou myghtest beneme God of hys dewe ryght, & that is all
worshype, and so 3eue it to anoper thyng to the whych it
is no[t] dewe.

310 f.9v If thou be a man | that hast wyffe & chyldren, &
[hast] ouermyche sett pyn herte on hem, & the worse
honowred thy God, telle it allso here.

Secundum mandatum.

I haue also namyd be name of God oftetye in
315 ydlennesse & nedelessely & recchelesly, for euell custome

304 hast had] MS hauyng. 308 whych] MS whychy.
309 not] MS no. 311 hast] MS om.

& vsage, & ofte dyspitosly for pryde of myn herte, & ofte dysmembred my Lordes body by sweryng be dyuers lymmes of hys precyous body. And tell her all togydyr how and be what lymmes as ferfurth as thou canst.

320 Also I haue ofte, be shrewed custom of sweryng, falsly swore, and thus despysed my Lordes name; & ful ofte 3eue euel ensampull & occasion to many other of foule sweryng; & therefore I beseche God mercy.

Tercium mandatum.

325 I haue not kepte myn halydayes in holynes &
f.10r spendyd hem in worshype | of God as I ought forto do, for
ofte I haue 3eue me on the halyday to worldly bysynes &
occupacyons for shrewed couetyse, & so I had lyttell
deuocion in the seruyce of God, & nott come to matyns,
330 to masse, to euesong, & to all other seruyse of God as
I ought forto do.

335 If thou be a man þat hast seruauntes, & makest hem
for thy couetyse to breke her halyday so that they may
not be att þe seruyce of God, speke therof her wyth all
other such cyrcumstaunces.

Also I haue 3eue me on the halyday all to ydelnes,
long forto ly abedde, & than after 3eue me on the day to

325 in] MS . canc. in.

335 such] MS suchy.

many dyuerce bodyly myrthes, & iapes, & pleyes, and thus
occupied the halydayes in syn; & thus, thorow myn euel
340 ensampull, drawe many to do amys be such wrecchednes as
I haue do.

If thou do eny dedly syn in þe halyday, & 3eue the
f.10v rather to harlotrye and | lustyng of syn for leysur on
the halyday, tell it here, how & how ofte, wyth all the
345 braunches.

Also I haue nott on þe halyday after heryng of my
seruice in tyme of vacacion fulfyllyd the dedes of mercy
as I ought forto do; therof and of all these I cry God
mercy.

350 **Quartum mandatum.**

Also I haue be vnbuxom to my fader and to my moder,
bodely and gostly. To my fader and moder bodyly þat
brought me into thys worlde I haue be vnbuxom, rebell &
proude, and not fulfylled her byddyng as I myght & ought
355 for`to` haue do; butt for euell wyll, and slouthe, &
angyr of myn herte, take indygnacion & skorne of hem, &
haue be vnlusty to do hem worshype & bodely reuerence,
or in seruyce abylnesse, nor holpe hem, nor socored hem
f.11r wyth my worldly catell as I myght and | as I ought forto

360 350 quartum] MS iiiii'.

360 haue do. In many mo maners I haue be vnbuxom to hem ofte,
and vncurteys, & in rebell wordes nott receyuyd her
rulyng and her techyng mekely as I shuld haue do.

Yf they be in fer places from the, thou mayst sey
thus:

365 I haue nott vysited hem, to comforte hem & solace hem as
I myght haue do, for nygardy & pryde of myselfe, or be
ashamed of dysese & pouerte; and sey as it is.

If they be dede, than thou myght sey thus:

I haue not prayed for hem hertely, nor holpe hem wyth
370 almesdedes as I am bounde forto do, & mygh[t] haue do,
but rather spendyd bothe my tyme an[d] my gode in wast
and in ydylnes. Therfor I beseche almyghty God of mercy.

Fyrthermore, I haue be vnbuxom to my gostely fader
f.11v that hath the cure of my | soule; sumtyme rather depraued
375 hym be vnkynd wordes then I do after any gode ensamepul
or informacion of hym.

Also to my gostly moder holy chyrche; for I haue
nott kepte þe commandementes of holy chyrch as I sholde
haue do, butt ofte igrucched a3ens fastyng and penaunce
380 & all other remedyes ordeyned for helpe & bote of soules;
& not ihade the sacramentes of holy chyrche, & specyally
the sacrament of the auter, - Crystes body, -in dewe

370 myght] MS mygh.

371 and] MS an.

worshype and reuerence as I shulde haue had. perfor I crye God mercy.

385 **Quintum mandatum.**

I knowlech also that I am gylty of manslaughter, bothe bodyly and gostely. Bodyly thus:

390 If thou haue kylde any man wyth wepyne or wyth any other thyng, or yf þu haue assented, or procured, or counseled therto, tell it as it is.

f.12r If thou haue assented to any | mannes deth be processe of lawe, - for hate, or for 3yftes, or for any other fals conieccion, - tell it as yt is.

395 If thou haue, for any euell wyll or nygardye, wythholde any of thy gode fro hym that hath be in myschef, & he for such faute or myschef hath faulle into more woo, tell it how þu hast do.

400 Also gostly I haue be a mansleer; for I haue sleyin myn owne soule wyth dedely syn that I haue lede my lyfe in. Also myn euencrystenes, as I drede, be euell ensampull that I haue shewed.

Also in euell wyll I haue synned in manslaughter; for I haue ofte thorow malyce & euell wyll desyred other mennes dethe, or els grete myschefe to haue come to hem.

405 If thou haue desyred any mannes dethe for fals loue of hys gode, tell it as it is.

Also I haue leued in manslaughter, by deprauyng &

f.12v bakbytyng | myn euencrysten; for I haue be shrewed and
malycyous of my tong, to speke euell of myn euencrysten
410 behynd hym, and ofte falsly depraued & peyred hem be my
wykked wordes, and moche worse spoke behynd hem than I
wolde avowe afore hem, or than I wolde that they had
spoke by me. Therof I beseche God of mercy.

If thou haue slaundred any man or woman, tell it
415 otturly as it is.

Sextum mandatum.

Also I shuld do no leccherye. I knowleche that I am
gyilty, & haue broke wykkydly thys commaundement.

And telle here the cyrcumstaunces, wyth euery poynt
420 specyaly, be thyselfe and not in generall; as forto sey
thus: "I haue synned in lechery." But pou must sey:
whedyr thou hast do thys syn in dede, or in wyll, or
elles in bothe; whan that was; if it haue be in any holy
f.13r tyme; wheper | it haue be in any holy place; how ofte
425 also; & how long contynued in that syne; or of what degre
that person was that pu synnedest by, or coueytest forto
synne by.

416 sextum] MS vi.

Septimum mandatum.

430 I shulde do no thefte. I knowlech that I haue; for
I haue mysused & spendyd vertues and graces that God hath
sente me.

Also my godes that God hath lent me, falsly and
synnefully spended hem; and thus I haue do thefte to God
and to my soule.

435 If thou haue stole any thyng, priuyly or openly, of
any bodyes, telle it here and the ful valor.

If thou haue had any mannes godes be any maner of
extorsion, or fals chaffar, mesures or weyghtes, be any
fals seruyce, or scan[t]ly tythed, or dystroyed any of
440 f.13v thyne neyghbores godes, tell how pou hast do and |
beseche God mercy, & spede the to make amendes.

If thou haue gote any mannes gode be eny vnlefull
games & pleyes, telle it as it is; for it may be in som
cas a foule dedely synne.

445 If thou haue lent any gode be wey of vsurry, - that
ys forto haue any wynnyng for the lendyng, - telle it
here.

Octavum mandatum.

Fals wytnes I haue bore also, be lyght speche and

428 septimum] MS vii.
448 octavum] MS viii.

439 scantly] MS scanly.

450 reccheles wordes that I haue ofte seyde, & made men forto
haue credence to my fals wordes; & ofte for fauor more
holde wyth a fals party than wyth a trewe, and many a
grette lesyng made.

And tell here why thou hast made hem. Fyrthermore,
455 yf thou haue egged any other to swere or forto go ber eny
fals wytnes, or thou thy self hast bore any fals wytnes
f.14r be othes swore vpon a boke, tell it fyrst and | the cauce
touchyng to that synne.

If thou be auauanced or benefyced in gree and state
460 of relygyon or seculer, yf thou come to any order or
benefyce be prayer or 3yfte of thyselve or of thy
frendshype, telle it allso, for that is a synne of symony
& is ful perylous, - for he that is therynne is acursed
of holy chyrch tyll he come to amendement.

465 If thou be a preyst and mynster any sacramentes only
for mede of the worlde, or preche Goddes worde forto take
3yftes or any worldly worshyp therfor, tell all these
poyntes here, for be the gspell pou arte bothe a priuy
theffe & an open.

470 Qui non intrat per ostium in ouile ouium sed
ascendit aliunde / ille fur est & latro.

Nonum mandatum.

The nynthe commaundement is: I shulde not
f.14v coueyt a mannes | wyffe.

475 If thou haue coueyted any mannes wyffe, doughter,
or seruaunt, or any oper woman, forto synne wyth hem,
and rather hast spared for shame of the worlde than drede
of God or for parell of thy soule, tell it here as it
is, and how myche thou hast swed to fulfyll thy foule
480 wyll.

If thou haue had dremyng in thy slepe of such synne,
tell how and how ofte and what was the cause.

Decimum mandatum.

The tenthe commaundement is that thou shalt coueyt
485 no mannes catell.

Than thou mayst sey thus:

I haue coueyted other mennes gode, - as londes &
rentes, hors and harnes, and oper aray of herne and other
catell also, - if I mygh haue come therto be any quentyse
490 or wyle; and sumtyme more I spared for drede of the world
f.15r than for drede of | God.

472 nonum] MS ix.

473 is] MS is canc. is.

478 God] MS drede canc. God.

483 decimum] MS x.

Of all these ten commandementes, I synfull wreche
3elde me gylty; that I haue trespaced in hem and broke
hem I cannot sey how ofte and how myche. Therfor I
495 beseche God mercy.

Septem opera misericordie.

Fyrthymore, I knowlecche that I haue not fulfyllled
the vii dedes of mercy as I am bounde & myght & ought
forto haue do; for where that I haue had clothyng gay,
500 and chaungyng enow to myne owne body, and haue seye other
suffer colde or defaute to body or to hedde, I haue not
clothed hem or releued hem as I myght and ought to haue
do. Therfor I crye God mercy.

Cibum & potum.

505 Though I haue seyn my euencristen nedy of mete or of
drynke, I haue not fed hem nor socurred hem as I ought
f.15v | forto haue do; or yf I haue ought 3eue hem to ete or
to drynke, I haue 3eue hem of the worst, & fede myn owne
foule bely wyth the beste, & 3yt late hem crye thereafter
510 or they haue had it. Therfor I beseche God mercy.

Hospicium.

I haue nott herbored hem that wer herborowles as I
shuld haue do, for euell wylle and hardnes of myselfe,

or for drede of losse of my gode; and so I haue louyd
515 more my wrecched godes than myn euencrysten, a3en the
com^{ma}undement of God. Therfor I crye God mercy.

Visitacio infirmorum.

I haue not vysyted hem that haue be syke or bedred,
nor comfort hem wyth my bodyly presence, ner wyth my
520 catell as I myght & shuld haue do, or as I wolde
peraunter yf they had be rycher than I for loue of her
f.16r godes or for worldly frenshype; but I haue | had
indygnacion of hem for foule pride of myn herte. Therfor
I cry God mercy.

525 **Visitacio carceratorum.**

I haue not vysyted nor comforted hem that be in
preson, nother be myn owne person nor be 3yftes, nother
had pety of her dysese as I shuld. perof I cry God mercy.

Sepultura mortuorum.

530 I haue not holpe to bryng dede bodyes to here graue,
ner holpe in other execucions, nother in other thynges
that haue be nedefull therto, for indygnesse of myselfe,
& pryncypaly yf it haue be a pore mannes body.

535 Of all thyse defautes, & of all other that I am
gylty ynne in thyse dedes of mercy, as ferfurth as I were

worthy to be accused & blamed for hem at the day of dome,
I besech God of hys mercy.

f.16v If I haue stonde in any error or mysbeleue, wyttyng
540 or onwyttyng, owther any thyng thought, yma|genyd, or
spoke, or do a3ens any of the artycles of the feyth &
parfyte beleue of holy chyrche, I cry God mercy.

Loke here in thy conscience yf thou be in doute of
any sacrament of holy chyrch, and pryncypally in the
sacrament of the auter, - Crystes body vnder fourme of
545 wyne, sacred thoroue vertu of his wordes. If thou be in
any doute telle thy confessor that he may enforme the.

Quinque sensus.

I haue myspended my v wyttes, and all the partes of
my body mysvsed in synne and euell lyuyng.

550 Wyth my mouthe I haue spoke many wordes: of synne;
of lechery; of bakbytyng; of slaundryng; of bost; of
bobaunce of myselfe; of my catell; of my cunnyng; of my
f.17r frendshyp; of | my kendred; of grete opes & lesynges; and
all other rybaudye wyth my mouthe spoke.

539 thyng] MS thought canc. thyng.

555 Also in kyssyng of women, to turne hem to synne many
tymes and ofte. Therof I crye God mercy.

Secundus sensus.

560 Wyth nose I haue smelled and tasted gredely gode
metes and drynkes thorowe lust an[d] lykyng that I haue
had; by that sauour more I take of suche metes and
drynkes than I ought forto haue do. I crye God mercy.

Tercius sensus.

565 Wyth my yen I haue seyn many vnlefull and vnhonest
syghtes. I haue mych cast my syght to wrecched spectacles
of the worlde, - as to pleyes, & to iapes, and suche
ydylnes, - and ofte beholdyng on women vnlefully, be the
f.17v whych syght my flesshe hathe [be] moche the more | freel
and lusti to synne. And ofte I haue cast my syght to my
worldly catell, and that syght hathe caused me to haue
570 hade such lykyng perin, that I haue for3ete moche the
more the loue of my God.

Quartus sensus.

 Wythe eres I herd. I haue ofte 3eue myn heryng to
tales of rybaudye and of ydyll wordes, that sowned

559 and] MS an.

567 be] MS om..

575 nothyng to the plesur of God, nother to helpe of mannes
soule; but to bakbytyng, scornynge, slaun[d]ryng; of
leccherye, of lesynges, and of all other maner of
wrecchednes; and ofte be heuy of heryng of Goddes worde,
and rather ofte I scornyd hem that haue spoke hem than
580 delyted in hem. Therfor I crye God mercy.

Quintus sensus.

Wyth handes I handled. I haue hanled ofte myn owne
f.18r | flessch etcetera.

585 If thou haue handeled thyne owne flessch, or any
others, be pe wey of synne, telle here how and in what
maner, and what synne hath come perof, - for some
cyrcumstaunces be full perylous and in hape grete dedly
synne and foule forto wryte of; and therfor I cese
therof, for it is wrytten thus:

590 Contra naturam culpam non exprimat ullam .s.
confessor.

Wyth fote.

595 Wyth fote igo. I haue ofte goo to vnconuenabyll
myrthes: as to pleyes; to many dyuers spectacles of [the]
world; to many vn honest places; to tauerners; to

576 slaundryng] MS slaunryng. 578 heryng] MS g canc.
heryng. 588 foule] MS in canc. foule. 594 the]
MS om.

ryotters; there þat any huntyng or lykyng or steryng of
synne [was]; -to euell leuyng of myself & euell ensauple
of my euencrysten. And [I haue be] sleufull and euell
wyllled to goo to Goddes seruyce and to holy chyrche,
600 owther to do any other gode dede of almes.

f.18v If thou haue | be a goer betwene other, a medeler
of any synne of other, tell it here, for it is a shrewed
poynt.

Cogitacio.

605 Wyth myn herte I haue thought many srewed thoughtes
& vnlefull thoughtes wythoute nouber: as thoughtes of
lecchery, how that I myght haue had my lust and my wyll
of that synne; thoughtes of couetyse, how I myght haue
had moo godes of the world and forto haue be rycher
610 tha[n] God hath vouchesauf to make me; thoughtes of other
fantasyes, that turned to no plesaunces of God, butt
rather to fleshly lykyng wyth no profytt in the ende.

 If thou haue thought and ymagyned in thyne herte to
do thyn euencristen any euell turne, - though thou myght

596 was] MS om. 598 I haue be] MS om.
606 wythoute] MS wythowyteoute with the letters owyte
deleted. 610 than] MS that. 614 any] MS i can.
any.

615 nott perfourme it in dede, - telle it here if thou
f.19r haue for3ete it whan | thou spake of enuy.

Totum corpus.

620 Wyth all my body I haue myswrought; for all my body
and all my strength hathe be 3eue moch to all maner of
shrewednes and of synne, wyth long contynuance and moch
delectacion. Therof I cry God mercy.

625 Also I haue ofte be steryd to some godenes be many
maner weyes, both outward and inwarde, - outward as be
gode ensample of myn euencrysten; and inwarde by myn owne
spyritt, forto do some gode dedes or forto sey some
preyors, - and 3it for slouthe and vnlustynes of my selfe
I haue lefte of, and thus I l[o]st and queynt the grace
that hathe be 3eue to me of God in the tyme. Therfor I
besech God of grace and of hys mercy.

630 Also yf I haue fall in any poynte of the sentence,
f.19v wyttyng or vnwyttyng, I cry God mercy, | and holyly I
3elde me to the lawe of holy chyrch.

But yf thou knowe pat thou arte in any poynte of
sentence wytyngly, tell it in the begynnyng of thy

618 myswrought] MS myspe canc. myswrought.
627 lost] MS lust.

635 shryfte.

Also if I haue comoned, - that is to say, etyn or
dronken, or be in company, - wyth any cursed man or
woman, I cry God mercy.

640 If thou haue comoned wyth any soch wetyngly, tell it
as it is, & excuse the not for the former clause.

And as moch as God almyghty knowyth me, synfull
wrecch, gylty in worde, or dede, or though[t], fro that
tyme that I cam into thys world into thys tyme, I besech
my lorde Iesu Cryst of hys mercy, and hys swete moder
645 Seynt Mary, and all the company of heuyn, and the, gostly
fadyr, pray for me and of penaunce for my mysdedes, and
of absolucion for charyte. Amen.

641 synfull] MS g canc. synfull.
though.

642 thought] MS

Textual and explanatory notes.

These textual notes, like those appended to the subsequent text also, are intended to provide a certain amount of glosses in place of a full glossary, together with a very limited amount of explanatory material. They are in no way intended as a full literary commentary on the text, for which one should refer back to the detailed discussion of the text given above.

84 awy[t]e: Most probably from awiten v. (3), (a) "to blame or accuse," with the original form obscured by scribal error.

89-90 fayn her[de] oper forto depraue hem that I haue had wrathe to: It is uncertain whether the additional stroke attached to the bar of the <r> of her is intended as a mark of abbreviation or, as is frequent in this scribe, as a decorative otiose stroke. Emendation to her[de] gives rather better sense in this passage, possibly to be glossed "gladly heard others defame those with whom I have been angry," although it does not entirely explain the presence of the word forto.

199 rered: reren vb. (1), 7 (a) "to raise revenue; collect tithes; raise (money, rent, etc.), collect; assess (a fine, duty, tax, etc.), levy, collect." Rere[r]s, 201, may thus be taken as a form of rerer n. obscured by scribal error, in a sense, not recorded by MED, derived from the same meaning of reren vb.

200 custome: *custum*(e n., 7 "an exaction of tax or tribute; a charge," or possibly one of the more specialised meanings under senses 5 or 6.

202 *procutors*: *procutor* n., 1 (a) "one who acts in another place, a deputy," or possibly one of the more specialised meanings under senses 1 or 2. (MED does not record a sense derived from *procuren* vb., 1 (a) "to cause (sth.), bring (sth.) about," the sense in which *procured* is to be taken, 199).

215 of *þe whych*: The syntax here leaves it unclear whether the relative refers to the actions which it is shameful to confess or to the *metes & drynkes* of 210.

241 *s[h]rewed*, MS *srewed*: One example of *ssrewed* is recorded by MED, but none with only a single <s>, and therefore it has been thought better here to emend to the more common *shrewed*.

248 *ymagend*, MS *ymaged*: *ymaged* is perhaps possible from *imagen* vb., (a) "to form a mental picture of (sth.), imagine," for which this form is recorded by MED in the slightly different sense (b) "to plot (sth.)..." However, in view of the occurrence of *ymagend* at 170, it has been decided here to emend to this form here also, from the much more common verb *imainen*.

273 lettre: The abbreviation is in the form of a single horizontal stroke above the <r>; I have been unable to find an example of this word similarly abbreviated elsewhere, and thus this interpretation must remain tentative.

470-471: John 10:1.

532 indygnesse: Possibly an unrecorded negative substantive from **digne** adj., 1 (a) "of a person, deity, etc.: worthy of great honour or reverence; noble, worshipful..."

590-591: I have been unable to identify the source for this passage, which is presumably to be taken in the sense, "a confessor should not enquire into any sin which is against nature." The rubricated letter <s> with a point on either side perhaps indicates the name of the author or the title of the source.

Discussion of fols.56v-69r.

Function.

The bulk of this text (16-644) is a general confession. While the exact meaning of 13-14 is in isolation somewhat unclear, 645-646 indicate that it is intended that the penitent should say the Latin Confiteor as far as the words *Ideo precor sanctam Mariam* (presumably stopping after saying the words *mea maxima culpa*), at which point he should read the English general confession given here, followed by the remainder of the Confiteor from *Ideo precor* onwards.

In this context the opening directions on self-examination, 1-7, are somewhat puzzling, since they seem to include reflection not only upon venial and forgotten sins, but upon all sins, including deadly sins requiring separate confession. Presumably it is expected that the penitent will make a full and individual confession of any major sins, according to the requirements of Omnis utriusque sexus. Possibly this is what is intended by 13-14, per ye shal begynne in þe ende of youre confessioun; 11, ye - 15, thus, might thus be construed:

You shall say your Confiteor in Latin, up until the words "Ideo precor sanctam Mariam"; then, you shall leave off saying the Confiteor, and start to make your own confession, after which you shall say as follows:

However, this interpretation of these lines is by no means certain;

the words from and þer, 12, onwards, could also be construed:

then you will have come to the beginning of the last part of your confession, where you shall leave off saying the Confiteor, and then say as follows:

This reading perhaps better accounts for the words ye shal begynne in þe ende of youre confessioun; however, the former reading better explains after, 15.

Directions to make a general confession during the course of the Confiteor also occur in The Clensyng of Mannes Soule and in a confessional text preserved in Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, MS Pepys 2125, fols.56v-60v.¹ The latter text states that those who adopt this manner of confession break off in the Confiteor at et peccauī nimis (i.e., quia peccavi nimis in the post-Tridentine Missal), while The Clensyng of Mannes Soule states that some break off at this point and others at mea culpa.

Audience.

Unlike the other long form of confession preserved in this manuscript, this text is unambiguously addressed to a lay audience. The discussion of the seven sacraments does include a brief section addressed to one who intends to become a priest (514-516); however,

¹ For further discussion of the relevant passages in both texts, see the note on rejected manuscripts in Part 1 above, pp.138-142.

this immediately follows a much longer section on marriage which includes passages addressed both to one who intends to marry and to one who is already married (503-513).² The lack of a similar passage dealing with one who is already in orders clearly indicates that this is not perceived as a possibility for the intended audience of this text.³ The treatment of behaviour in church during the section on sloth (147-151) again lacks any specific reference to the duties of a cleric. During the discussion of Avarice a reference to simony is clearly tailored to a lay audience (136-138), defining the offence as selling anything at a higher price because of its holiness, an offence which could be committed by either a layman or a cleric, rather than as selling sacred goods for profit or accepting payment for prayers and sermons.

As with the other long form of confession in this manuscript, there occur during the discussion of pride references to *blode & kyne* and to *rychesse, golde, syluer, lyuelode, honoure, dignite, clothyng and aparel*. While such considerations are relevant to discussions of goods of nature and of fortune respectively, it may

² The section dealing with marriage also rules out women religious as the intended audience for this text. Elsewhere the terms *souereyns* (64), *superior* (444), and *subgettys* (445) could all either have specific reference to the milieu of a religious house, or more general reference to social and familial relationships (in each instance MED and OED both give ample evidence for either meaning at this date); I have accordingly decided to regard each of these terms as here having only the more general of its possible meanings.

³ One should not also that, unlike the other long form of confession in this manuscript, this text lacks any specific treatment of the sacrament of the eucharist. (The discussion of the sacraments also lacks any separate treatment of the last rites).

be observed that they would be of considerably greater concern to a wealthy audience of high social standing than otherwise.

The gender of the intended audience is unclear. The treatment of the ninth commandment makes no mention of either wives or husbands (272-276), and the discussion of lechery (191-207) likewise fails to specify the gender of the penitent, while the later treatment of the sixth commandment (257-260) simply refers the user back to this earlier discussion (the latter characteristic reflecting a degree of sophistication on the part of both writer and user). During the discussion of sins of sight, 290-296 seem more applicable to a female than to a male audience. However, although not impossible in a text intended for female use, *man*, 469, should be contrasted with the careful usage of such texts as that preserved in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 229,⁴ where *woman* is used throughout.

Other characteristics.

An educational intention is prominent in this text. Discussions of the seven deadly sins, the ten commandments, the five bodily senses and the seven bodily and spiritual works of mercy, usually the staple of a form of confession, take up only a little over half of the text (to 356). The remainder is taken up

⁴ See Part 1 above, pp.59-61.

with what are essentially summaries of various theological and devotional topics: the theological virtues (including in the treatment of faith a lengthy summary of the articles of the faith); the cardinal virtues; the seven sacraments; the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and the Beatitudes.⁵ A primary function of the text is thus to convey a large amount of basic religious knowledge.⁶

There is also a stress upon the devotional life of the penitent. Communal responsibility is shown by the discussion of visiting those sick in body or soul on the Sabbath (231-233).⁷

In the same passage, private devotional activity on the Sabbath is prescribed as prayer and *redyng of goode bokys* (229); again at 526-527, during the discussion of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the contemplative life is defined as *holy prayeris, redyng and meditacyoun*. The latter formulation is particularly close to contemporary accounts of the nature of devotional reading,⁸

⁵ The lengthy summary of the Beatitudes in this text is textually related neither to the Wycliffite Bible nor to The Eight Blessings of God derived from it (see further the edition of the latter text below).

⁶ In this respect it should be compared with several of the texts discussed in Part 1 above, and in particular with the longer of the two English forms of confession preserved in Yale, University Library, MS Beinecke 317.

⁷ This should be compared with the similar discussion of performing the works of mercy on Sundays and feast days in the other long form of confession in this manuscript.

⁸ See, for example, V. Gillespie, "Lukyng in haly bukes: *Lectio* in some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies", Spätmittelalterliche Geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache, 2, *Analecta Cartusiana* 106 (1984), pp.1-28; M.B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity", (revised version), Scribes, Scripts and Readers (London, 1991), pp.275-298.

although here the traditional order of reading, meditation and prayer is not adhered to, (thus leading one to question to what extent the three activities are here regarded as being part of a single process). In both of these passages it should be noted that the penitent is assumed to be at least partially literate.⁹

In the final part of the text, the summary of the Beatitudes (551-634), there is a strong devotional element. Expressions such as not remembryng the pryson and exile place þat I am in (587-588), and I shuld haue an hertyly desyre, as hungry man hath of mete, to execute þe dede of ryghtwysnesse (600-601) are highly affective, moving beyond the intention of conveying information to invite an active emotional response from the reader.

While addressed to a lay audience, this text is nonetheless notable for a highly developed devotional content. Like the other long form of confession in this manuscript, and even more strikingly the longer of the two forms of confession preserved in Yale, University Library, MS Beinecke 317, it is concerned to convey a large amount of sometimes quite sophisticated devotional and theological information to an audience who lead a highly devout and committed devotional life.¹⁰

⁹ On the extent of the literacy implied in lay devotional reading and the possibility of the use of devotional writings by the illiterate, one should, however, see again Gillespie, "Lukyng", *passim*, and also Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, pp.222-223.

¹⁰ See again Part 1, pp.92-102, above, and also the transcription of this text, Appendix C.

Relationship to other material in the manuscript.

It is very possible that this form of confession has been copied as a companion piece to the other long form of confession in this manuscript (fols.1r-19v). As argued above, the other text constitutes, in its present form at least, a guide to making a full confession of all sins, including specific sins requiring individual confession; by contrast, the present text presents a general confession of venial and forgotten sins.

While the audience of the first text is less easily determined than that of the present text, both texts may be seen to address penitents of a similar social milieu. More strikingly, the concern with the spiritual manifestations of communal life shown by the first text is mirrored here by the concentration upon the devotional life in both its private and its public aspects.

Thus, while it is possible that the inclusion of the first form of confession in the collection was determined by the availability of material, it is likely that the copier of the present text was alert to the particular characteristics of the material already contained in the collection. Furthermore, it is most probable that this scribe is a specialist user, such as a private confessor,¹¹ rather than a simple parish priest whose requirements might be met by material such as that contained in

¹¹ In this context one should consider also the nature of the subsequent additioun to this text, discussed below, pp.114-117.

John Gysborn's collection.¹² Indeed, it is possible that the main interest of the pre-existing collection for this scribe was the presence of the long form of confession and its accompanying Latin material.

¹² London, British Library, MS Sloane 1584; see above, Part 1, pp.21-26, 31-34, and Appendix A.

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86.
fols.56v-69r, Form of Confession.

5 Firste, - aftyr ye haue had a profound study to
serch for youre synnes, and to reduce them to mynde; and
also a dysplesure that ye haue don suche ayens þe wyll
of oure Lorde, wherby ye haue deseruyd his ennemyte and
10 grete p[u]nysshment acordyng to his ryghtwysnes; and
after haue had wyll to suffre payne for þem and to amende
from thens forward, - ye shal sitt down, and take youre
confessour on your ryght honde, and make a crosse on
15 youre forhede & another at youre mouthe, & oon at youre
herte, & after say, "benedycite." And whanne þe
confessoure hath answeyd þerto, ye shal say youre
confiteor in Laten, tyl ye come at: "Ideo precor sanctam
Mariam," and þer ye shal begynne in þe ende of youre
confessioun, and make an ende of youre confiteor, and
20 after say þus:

I knowlege to God, to hys blyssed Moder, & to alle
þe courte of heven, and to yow my gostely fader, þat I
f.57r wrecchyd synner haue of|fendyd my Lorde syth the laste

5 punysshment] MS pnysshment.

20 tyme þat I was reconsylyd in dyuerse wyse: in thought;
in desyre; in worde; werke; and in þe circumstaunce of
my dedys, whiche I haue not doon vnder a dew fourme, ne
in place & tyme acordyng, nor wyth a dew entente for a
good ende.

25 Also by commyssioun, & doyng euyl werkys which I
ought not to haue done.

And by omyssioun, & levyng of gode werkys whyche I
ought to haue done.

30 Also by recyduacyoun, and turnyng ayen to suche
synnes, of þe whyche I truste in þe mercy of oure Lorde
I haue had foryefnesse.

Also I haue offendyd of power of þe Fader, by frele
and grete mocyonys to synne, which I haue felyd in
mysilfe.

35 Also I haue offendyd ayens þe Sone, by ignoraunce in
defaute I knew not what I ought forto do. Of the whiche
ignorauns somtyme I haue be cause mysilfe, for I myght
haue had techyng yf I wolde haue ben diligent to aske for
the trowthe. And somtyme þer I myght haue esely lernyd,
yet I desyryd to be ignoraunt, trustyng þerby þat my
40 synne schulde haue be þe lesse.

Also I haue offendyd ayens þe Holy Goste, by malice
of obstynate will whanne I knew what was to be done to
þe plesure of God; yet by malice maliciousely I haue done
f.57v contrary, - more redy | to fulfyllle my propyr wylde wyl

45 thanne þe will of God. Wherfore I aske oure Lorde mercy,
and beseche hym of grace to amende from̄ hensforthe.

Superbia.

I haue offendyd in þe vii deedly synnes. Fyrst in
pryde. I haue had immoderate loue unto mysylfe, and such
50 godes as I receyuyd of oure Lorde I haue be proude of as
godes of nature, - gostly as of natural witt, cunnyng,
of liberte of will, - also of þe bodyly godes, as of
beaute, eloquence, heichte, strengthe, of semelynes of
body; also of my blode & kynne.

55 Also I haue be proude of fortune, as of rychesse;
golde; syluer; lyuelode; honoure; dignite; cloth yng and
`a`parel of my body, - and `a`parel me on þe goode day
more for þe loue of man þan þe honoure of God.

60 Also I haue ben proude of þe godes of grace, as of
vertue & gode werkys.

These thre maner of godes I haue desyryd & vsyd more
for þe vaynglory of þe worlde þan for þe loue & plesure
of God. Wherfore I aske God mercy.

65 f.58r Also by pryde I haue be disobedient to my souereyns,
dyspysyng þem þat ben of lower degre þan | I, and lytyl
settyng by my felowys.

57 `a`parel(1)] MS re canc. `a`parel. `a`parel(2)] MS
re canc. `a`parel.

Also by pryde I haue ben vnkynde to oure Lorde, not
thankyng hym for suche godes as I haue receyuyd of hym,
& vsyd them contrary to the plesure of hym. Wherfore I
70 aske God mercy.

Also I haue bostyd mysylf in suche good as I haue
receyuyd of oure Lorde, and somtyme saying I haue had
suche godes whyche I haue not had, and displesynge oþer
whiche I haue herd commendyd, or mockyd þem.

75 Also by ipocrysy I shewyd mysylf more holy þan I
haue be, for þe vaynglory and love of man, and not
disposyd me to grete vertue of mekenesse, ne lytyl
settyng by mysilfe.

Ira.

80 In ire I haue offendyd. I haue be angry wyth suche
as haue sayd or done contrary to my plesure, whether it
were sayde or done to þe plesure of God or not; and not
only mysylfe haue be angry wyth þem, but also I haue ben
glad þat oþer haue ben angry wyth þem, and somtymes
85 steryd oþer to be angry wyth þem. And of þis cursyd vice
I haue be moved dyuerse tymes to chyde, to curse, to
murmure, & grutche ayens suche as haue displesyd me; and
f.58v not wythstondyng att som season I haue kepte | my mouthe,
yet I haue chidde in my mynde; and somtyme I haue stryken
90 wyth myn hande vndiscretely to revenge mysilfe.

Thus I haue fowlyd my soule wyth þis fowle synne of

ire in þe syght of God; I haue not disposyd me to þe
vertue of pacience, to þe wyll of God, and profite to my
soule. Wherfore I aske god mercy and grace to amende from
95 hens forwarde.

Inuidia.

I haue offendyd God by þe vyce off enuy; for I haue
be sory of the welfare of suche as I haue not lovyd, &
be gladde of þer euylfare. I haue ben sory when I haue
100 herde þem more commendyd þen mysylfe, and by detraccioun
I haue spokyn euyl vpon þem, to brynge them oute of þe
favoure of oper folk.

Also I haue be sory þat oper personys haue had more
beaute þan I, or bettyr arayment; and þat þe rayment hath
105 besemyd þem so wele as it did.

Also I haue ben sory þat som haue had more
commendacioun in vertue þan I, and þat þey haue profited
in vertue more þan I. I haue sowen discorde bytwene
person & persoun by þis cursyd vice of enuy. I haue ben
110 sory þat oper haue had higher place þan I, and gon afore
f.59r me or on þe hygher honde; & þat þey stonde more | in
fauoure of my souereyn þan I.

Thus by dyuerse wyse I haue fowlyd my soule wyth þis
stynkyng synne of enuy, and haue not disposyd me to þe
115 vertue of charyte contrarye to þis vice. Wherfore I aske
God mercy and beseche hym of grace to amende me.

[Auaricia].

120 I haue offendyd hym in [in]ordinate love & desyre of
worldly gode, as golde; sylver; lyuelode; clothes, - not
beynge contente wyth suche goode as God hap gyven me, ne
gyuen hym thankys for them acordyng for my dutye.

I haue desyred whych were not myne, & haue not
forsed, so þat I myght have had þem, how I myght com by
them.

125 Also I haue take goode whiche was not myn
wrongefully by thefte, and haue not recompensyd þerfore.

130 And suche godes as hath be in my kepynge, I haue not
sene þerto as my dutye hath be; and þere as I have ought
gode, I haue not `be` redy to contente, & diuerse tymes
haue brokyn my promyses in contentacyoun.

By sacrylege I haue takyn holy thyng oute of holy
place, or holy þing oute of place not holy.

135 I haue offendyd by false byeng & sellyng, wyth false
measure and weyghte, or more takyn þan þe þinge was
worthe; also in vsery, lenyng syluer in hope to haue
f.59v | avauntage | therby, or sellyng derrere for þe day; also
in symony, sellynge any þing for syluer derrer for þe
holynesse þerof, - and haue not disposyd me to þe vertue
contrarye, as to liberalite or voluntary pouerte, not

117 Auaricia] MS om.

118 inordinate] MS ordinate.

140 beyng contente wyth suche as oure Lorde sendeþ to me for
better þan I haue deseruyd. Wherfore I aske God mercy.

[Accidia].

Also I haue offendyd in þe synne of slouthe and dul
disposicion of my soule, wherby I haue lefte vndone many
145 labourys and dedys whiche myght haue ben to þe plesure
of God in grete profite to my sowle.

I haue be slow to come to þe seruyce of God, and
whanne I haue ben there I haue not had my mynde on my
prayeres, ne askyd oure Lorde in myn herte suche thingis
150 as be to the helthe of my soule and profitable to my
saluacion.

I haue lettyd by iangelyng or by contenance oþer
personys of þeir prayeris.

I haue had inmoderate delectacion in slepyng, by
155 longe lyenge in bedde and slow reparailng of myself.

I haue come late to þe seruise of God, and lost
parte of matenys or of messe through þis dulle
disposicion of my sowle.

I haue be negligent to lerne thingys profitable to
160 f.60r þe honoure of God and increse of | vertue.

I haue ben slowe in doyng of my penaunce, and

142 Accidia] MS om.

somtyme by negligens haue forgete parte þerof & holy
prechyng & counseyl, whyche I haue had to þe profite of
my soule.

165 I haue not disposyd me to þe vertue contrary to þis
vice, as to þe vertue of perseueraunce in good
occupacyonys and customys which I haue begonne; and by
þys vice I haue lefte þem afore I cam to 'þe' perfeccioun
of them. Wherof I aske God mercy.

170 **Gula.**

I haue synned in gloteny: by unmoderate appetyte &
desyre of mete and drynke, whiche I haue desyryd more for
plesure & delectacyoun of my sensual appetyte þan to þe
helthe of my body and profite to my soule; by excesse of
175 mete & drynke, and specyally of such as haue not be
accordyng to me.

I haue disposyd my body to sekenesse, wherby I haue
be þe more vnable to serue God.

I haue felyd my stomake vntemperate, and somtyme
180 disposyd to vomytys & yelkyngys, and somtyme receytis of
drynkes.

I haue be dronkyn, wherby I haue not had reson so
perfytely as at oper tymes. Also by large reste of my
f.60v body | I haue ben dull to serue God.

185 Also I haue not kepte þe fastyng dayes of þe churche
acordyng to thordenaunce of þe churche, but haue take

brede and drynke besyde þe mele tyme more þan I ought to
do; and haue not disposyd me to þe vertue of abstinence
to kepe my body subgette to my soule, and to haue þe
190 grace of oure Lorde. Wherfore I aske God mercy.

Luxuria.

Also I haue offendyd in þe synne of lecchery: by
vnleful thoughtys and desyres of flesshly delectacyonys;
by wantoun countenaunce, desyryng that oper shulde haue
195 plesure in me, or that they shulde consente to synne wyth
me, notwythstondyng I consent not to synne wyth þem; or
that I haue consentyd to þat fowle synne of my flessh,
or exortyd it by vnclenly towchyng of myself, or by
halsyng and kyssyng of oper to þat intente, to prouoke
200 þem to haue flesshly plesure in me; or that I haue had
vnclenly dremys or mocyonys in my flessh of þe nyght, -
outher by euyl occupyeng of my mynde in wakyng afore, or
by large takyng of mete and drynke, wherby þat vnclene
f.61r mocyon of þe nyght hath be synneful to me and not |
205 disposyd me to þe fayre vertue of chastite acordyng to
þe plesure of God and to my wele. Wherfore I aske god
mercy, and beseche hym þat I may haue grace to amende me.

Here folowyth þe x commandmentis.

I haue not honouryd & louyd my lord God aboue al

210 þing, & haue not most trustyd in his helpe, ne fledde
from synne for hys love principally, but rather for fere
of peyne after þis life, or for fere of worldely shame.
That I haue worshypped false goddys, - that is to sey,
þat I haue lovyd creaturys more than God, and for them
215 haue not forsyd to breke þe comaundementys of god. I haue
gyue credens to wytchecraftys or suche as vsyd
nygromancy, where ofte tymes is done idolatrye, & dampnyd
spirites ben worshyppyd for goddys. Wherfore I aske God
mercy.

220 **Secundum mandatum.**

I haue brokyn þe ii comaundement, takyng þe name of
God in veyn, sweryng by oure Lorde or by oure Lady or
ony oþer creature falsly, - or for þing of value, or for
þinge of lytyl value, - and ofte tymes where I trustyd
225 credence shulde haue be gyven to me wythoutyn ony oothe.
Wherfore I aske God mercy.

Tercium mandatum.

I haue not kepte myn halyday, occupyeng myself in
good werkys, - as in prayeng; redyng of goode bokys

220 secundum] MS 2. 227 tercium] MS 3.

230 f.61v to lerne how I shulde | lyue acordyng to þe plesure of
allmyty God and saluacyon of my sowle; in dedys of pyte,
to vysyte & comforte suche as ben seke in body or sory
in soule, - but haue gyvyn my mynde more þat day þan
anoþer to vayne thoughtys, & my body to moche ydelnesse,
235 & to synne & vayne plesure of þe world. Wherfore I aske
God mercy.

Quartum mandatum.

I haue not honouryd ne wurshyppyd as I shulde doo my
bodyly fader and modyr; nor socouryd nor helpyd þem in
240 þeire nede after my powere; ne prayed for my gostly fader
nor for my gostly modyr þe churche, þat God for hys mercy
preserve in fayth & vertuouse lyvyng.

Also my fader & moder dede I haue not remembryd in
my prayere to oure Lorde, to delyuer þem from peynys.
245 Wherfore I aske God mercy.

Quintum mandatum.

I haue broke þe v comaundemente in desyryng bodyly
deth or hurte of any persone oþerwyse þan hath be
acordyng to love and eimyte.

230 to] MS to canc. to. 233 my] MS in my. 237
quartum] MS 4. 246 quintum] MS 5.

250 Also suche as I haue not lovyd I haue kyllyd wyth my
tunge in their good name & fame, by detraccyoun and
bakbytyng, and to brynge þem into slaunder of the peple.

 And whanne anythyng hath ben done contrarye to my
plesure I haue cursyd & chyd, and haue had wyll to
255 reuenge myselfe onlefffully, and not paciently take þe
f.62r worldly trouble. | Wherefore I aske God mercy.

Sextum mandatum.

 Ayenst þe vi commaundement I haue done leccherye
lyke as I haue rehersyd afore amonge þe vii dedly synnes.
260 Wherfore I aske God mercy.

Septimum mandatum.

 Ayenst þe vii comaundement I haue offendyd by doying
of theftys and takyng of oper mennys goodys, or kepyng
þem ayenst þer wyll, lyke as I seyde afore whanne I dyd
265 accuse myselfe of þe vii dedly synnes. Wherfor I crye
God mercy.

Octavum mandatum.

 Ayenst þe viii comaundement I haue borne false

257 sextum] MS 6.
octavum] MS 8.

261 septimum] MS 7.

267

270 wytnesse to excuse suche as I haue favouryd, and I haue
made lyes & accusyd suche as I haue not lovyd. Wherfor
I aske God mercy.

Nonum mandatum.

275 I haue offendyd & brokyn þe ix commaundement,
desyryng of þe movable godys of my neybur, - as of his
golde, silver, catell, servant, - contrary to consciens.
Wherfor I aske God mercy.

Decimum mandatum.

280 I haue brokyn þe x commaundment of God, desyryng by
wrongeful meanys þe [un]movable godys of my neyghbur, -
as hys house, feelde and lyvelode. Wherfore I aske God
mercy.

Here folowyth the v wyttys bodely.

285 f.62v The v sensual partys of my body, callyd my v wyttes,
I haue not gydyd acordyng to reasoun & grace of oure
Lord. Wherfor I aske God mercy. |

I haue myspent my syght, in beholdyng of suche
þingys whiche haue not ben profitable to my soule and to

272 nonum] MS 9.
unmovable] MS movable.

277 decimum] MS 10.

279

290 þe increase of vertue, but rather applyed to the
occasyonys of vice & euyl mocyonys in þe thoughte &
desyre of my soule. Also I haue had inmoderate plesure
in þe bewte & fayrenesse of myn heer and þe straytenesse
of my browys, and ofte tymes haue strykyd þem to make þem
schyne; & somtyme I haue movyd myn iyen purposely to
shewe þe beaute of them, and þat oþer shulde haue þe more
295 plesure in me, and somtyme wantonly to move them to haue
affeccion to me.

ii

300 I haue offendyd in heryng, applyeng myn eerys: to
here detraccyon and euyl spekyng of suche as I haue not
lovyd; to wordes of vnclennesse or rybaudry; to vayn
spekyng, - & haue had more plesure in them þan in holy
counselys & techyngys to þe edificacion of my soule. Also
I haue tak[en] þe sayeng of peple oþerwyse þan þey
intendyd.

305 iii

I haue myspente my smelleng by inordinate
delectacyoun þat I haue had in swete odourys, pryncepally
to my sensual plesure and not to the helthe of my body.

303 taken] MS takyng.

iiii

310 I haue myspente my tastyng, havyng disordynate
f.62*r plesure in þe delectable | taste of mete and drynke,
wherby I haue be movid diuerse tymes to desyre þem
unmoderately and to take þem to abundantly.

v

315 I haue myspent my towchyng by handelyng & towchyng
myself vnclenly, or ony oþer persone to thentente to
prouoke þem to synne, or ony werke haue doo wyth þem to
be displesure of God, and gon wyth my feete to any plase
princepaly to thentent to make any personne to synne or
320 þer to be synnefully occupied.

Thus I haue myspent my v wyttes: wyth myn iyen
seenge; wyth my nose smellyng; wyth myn eeris heryng;
wyth my mouthe tastyng; wyth my handys towchyng; wyth myn
herte pinkyng; and wyth al my body werkyng. I aske God
325 mercy.

Here folowyth þe vii werkys of mercy bodely.

I haue not fulfilled þe vii werkys of mercy bodyly.
I haue not fedde þe hungry, ne gyvyn drynke to þe
thrusty, ne clothyd þe nakyd. I haue not gyvyn lodgyng
330 to þe poore. I haue not comfortyd þe seke. I haue not

visityd þe prysoner. I haue not holpyn to bury suche as
haue ben vnburyed.

335 & þer wheras my power hath faylyd me to execute þe
dede of pyte, yette I haue not had wyll nor desyre
gretely þerto. I haue not had compassioun of crystene
folke accordyng to þe love of God. Wherfore I aske God
mercy, & grace to amende hereafter.

Here folowyth þe `vii` werkys of mercy gostely.

f.62*v | 1. I haue not fulfyllyd þe vii werkys of mercy gostely,
340 for I haue not techid suche as haue ben ignoraunte in þer
faythe, or how þey shulde lyue vertuously acordyng to
þe knowlege as oure Lorde hath gyvyn to me; ne holpyn
suche oþer as haue be vndyr my tuicion, shulde be techyd
by suche oþer as haue bettyr knowlege þan myselfe.

345 2. Also I haue not gyvyn goode counsayle to suche as
I haue seen or herde þem erre in þeir fayth, or in goode
condicionys.

3. I haue not chastysyd suche as I knew had offendyd
whiche haue be vnder my correccion.

350 4. I haue not comforyd suche as I knewe haue ben in
grete sorowe & grete hevynesse.

5. I haue not forgyvyn suche as haue offendyd me.

338 vii] MS v canc. `vii`.
canc. suche.

340 suche] MS sucihe

6. I haue not pacyently suffred suche as haue be angry wyth me, but by my wordys I haue prouokyd þem to angre.

355 7. I haue not prayed for myn enmyes þat þey myte be reducyd to parfyte charite.

Here folowyth þe vertuvs theologycal.

I haue not vsyd þese vertues theological accordyng to þe plesure & profite of any soule.

360 Fyrst I haue not be firme & stable in my fayth, trustyng parfutely all þese þingys to be trewe whych ben wryten in þe lawe of God, or dowtyd in þem oþerwyse þan
f.63r a faythful soule aught to do; and specyally | in þe xii articles, of þe whiche vi parteyne to þe diuynyte of God,
365 & vi to thumanyte of oure Savyour.

Fyrste þat þer is but on very God. þe ii þat he is omnipotent & may do al þing which is of perfeccion. The iii, he hath made heuen & erthe of nought. The iiii that þe Fader hath beyng only of hymself. The v þat þe Son hath beyng of þe Fader. The vi that the Holy Goste hathe beyng of þe Fader & þe Sone, and is on God wyth þem.

370

The vi perteynyng to thumanyte of oure lorde Iesu Cryste ben þese:

375 Fyrste þat he was conceuyd in þe wombe of þe virgyne Mary, by werkyng of þe Holy Goste wythoute þe

sede of man. The ii þat he was borun of þat virgyne. The
iii that he suffryd passioun and deth for þe redempcion
of man vndre Ponnse Pilate. The iiii that he rose fro
deth to lyfe þe þridde day. The fyfte þat he assendyd to
380 heuen, and sytten on þe ryght honde of þe Fader. The vi
þat he shal descende at þe day of iugement to deme þe
worlde.

Also I haue not beleuyd parfityly þe articles,
whiche be reducyd to þese, þat is to say: þat he
385 descendyd to lymbo and toke oute alle þo soulys which
were in þat pryson; also þat þe churche of Cryste is
f.63v very, catholical churche & uon; | also þat oure Savyoure
dyd ordeyne to soule helthe of man al þe sacramentys;
also þat euery man & woman shal ryse in þe same sowle &
390 body whiche þey haue in þis lyfe, and þat þe soules &
bodyes of good men & wymmen shal be put in possessioun
of euyrlastyng ioye, and þe soules of wykkyd men & wymmen
shal be dampnyd to euerlastyng payne.

If I haue offendyd in þese aticles whiche oure Lorde
395 hath ordeynyd for oure saluacioun, and I haue by
supersticioun bylevyd in suche þingys as be forbode by
þe lawe of God, as in charmys & sorsery, I aske God
mercy.

393 shal] MS & canc. shal.

Also þat I haue not had hope & desyre of þe eternal
400 lyfe, to regne wyth God thorow þe helpe of hys grace &
merytees of þis lyfe; but þat I haue presumyd to breke
þe comaundement of God, trustyng God wolde not punysse
euerlastyng for brekyng of his comaundementis; and þat
I haue presumyd to synne in hope of mercy, þer I wold not
405 haue synnyd if I had not trustyd þat God had [ben]
mercyfull.

Also by desperacioun if I haue offendyd oure Lorde,
- trustyng þat no meryte were suffisaunt for my
saluacyoun but þat I shulde be dampnyd, not remembrynge
410 f.64r þat þe merytes of Crystes passion be | sufficient for my
synne & alle þe worlde, & haue not [prayed] to hym by þe
merytis of his passioun for helpe & forgyfnesse, - I aske
God mercy.

Also þat I haue not kepte very charyte to oure
415 Lorde, lovyng above al þing and kepyng his
commaundementys; but haue contrary to charite, preferryng
my will afore hys, in brekyng his preceptis.

Also I haue not lovyd my neyghbur as I ought to love
mysilfe, in ordre to the eternal lyfe; but haue by my
420 worde or dede movyd hym to angrynes and enuye, or to do

405 ben] MS om.

411 prayed] MS om.

oper synnes wherby he hath dampnably offendyd & loste þe grace necessary to saluacion of his sowle, contrarye to charyte. Wherfore I aske God mercy.

Here folowyth þe iiii Cardinal uertues.

425 As prudence, iustyce, temperauns and fortitude, operwyse callyd gostly strengthe.

1. I haue not ordred my mynde to þe vertue of prudens, studyeng howe I myght lyve vertuosely & spende my tyme in good occupacion & vertuose werkys wyth al þe dewe
430 circumstaunce of vertu, - that is to seye, how I myghte doo them in place conuenient, vndre a dew forme, & wyth good intente, orderyng my werkys to good ende. Also by
f.64v þe vertue of prudence I haue not studyed | how I myght fle synne and ouercome dyuerse temptacyonys, by the
435 whiche I haue felt shrewde mocyonys in mysilfe, - somtyme by suggestion of þe deuyll, sumtyme by shrewde examples & prouokyng of þe worlde, sumtyme by freel & voluptuose desyryng of my flessh.

2. Also I haue not vsyd þe vertu of ryghtwysnesse,
440 gyvyng to God hys dewte, - þat is to saye, þe love of my herte wyth chyldeley drede. Also I haue not payed to God myn offryngys and my tythes. Also I haue not gyvyn to man

433 I haue not studyed] MS I haue not studyed I haue not studyed.

445 accordyng to my dutye & ryghte. I haue not gyvyn worshyp
to my superior, faouere to my fellow, correccion onto my
subgettys acordyng to ryght. I haue not payed my dettys,
ne kepte my promyse at my day prefixed.

3. Also I haue not, accordyng to þe vertue of
temperauns, made refreynyng, & refrayned myn appetyte in
desyre of suche plesurys as ben not acordyng to me, &
450 haue had more appetyte of þe prosperyte of þis lyfe þan
to the euerlastyng lyfe of heuen.

4. Also not by þe vertue of gostely strengthe applyed
f.65r myself to suffyr payne | for synne. Also to þe increse
of vertue & grace, & by temporal payne of thys life to
455 auoyde þe payne after thys lyfe, I haue not paciently
take the aduersite & tribulacion of þys lyfe to
thordenance of oure Lorde, & to þe vertue of gostely
strengthe. Wherfore I aske God mercy.

Here folowyth þe vii Sacramentis of þe churche.

460 The vii sacramentys of þe churche ben þese: the
sacramente of baptisme; the sacrament of confirmacioun;
þe sacrament of penaunce; the sacramente of þe body of
oure Lorde; the sacramente of wedloke; the sacramente of
ordre of preesthode; þe sacrament of anelyng, oþerwyse
465 callyd þe extreme vnccion.

I haue not gyve thankys to oure Lorde for þese
sacramentys þat I haue receyvyd.

I haue not hertyly thankyd hym þat he hap made me a
crysten man by the sacrament of baptyme, and confermyd
470 me by the grace of þe Holy Goste to stonde myghtely in
þe confession of his feyth, & neuer to reuye hit for no
peyne ne turmente þat my body may suffre.

I haue not dewly disposyd me to þe sacrament of
f.65v confession & penaunce. | I haue not had knowlege in
475 myself whan[þa]t I dyd offende in worde or in dede, þat
I myte accuse me in secrete courte of confessioun to þe
iuge of God, my gostely fader. Also I haue not profoundly
serchyd for my synnys wyth parfite study afore I come to
confessioun, to brynge þem to remembraunce. And whan I
480 haue remembryd þem, I haue not applyed mysylfe to sorowe
& contricion for þem, whyche haue made me to lose þe
fauoure of my soule in iupartye of eternal payne and
dampnacioun. Also I haue not had parfite wyll to leve
them, ne to do satisfaccyoun for them, acordyng to þe
485 lawe of God & þe wyll of my confessour. Also I haue not
shewyd my synnes in confession wyth alle þe circumstaunce
so grevously & shamefully as I haue done þem. Also I
haue not made an hole confession of my synnes, but
sumtime reteynynd for shame, feryng more shame of man þan
490 dampnacyon of my soule. Also I haue excusyd mysylf in

475 whan þat] MS whant.
soule.

482 soule] MS lorde canc.

confessioun to hyde þe grenes of my synnes, & longe gon
wyth dedly synne vnconfessyd & toke lytyl hede þerto. And
somye I haue come to confession more tavoyde shame
f.66r of þe world, | for I wolde be lyke oþer folke, þan þe
495 saluacyon of my soule; and haue not disposyd me dew to
receyue þe sacrament of þe aulter wyth grete honoure,
love, & drede, parfytely remembryng þat þer is my Lorde,
my Savyoure, my Maker, þe whiche shal iuge me at þe day
of dome & put me to perpetual ioye or perpetual payne, -
500 pryckyd myn herte by compunccon þat he shulde fynde no
fylthe of synne in me, wherby hys grace shulde be
offendyd.

Also I whiche intende to wedde haue not disposyd me
vertuously to þe sacrament of matrymony, but wantonly
505 sufferd my mynde to renne in certeyn personys, more
pryncypally to haue delectacyon of my flessh, þan any
love of any vertue which I haue not gretely seen in them
to brynge furthe frute to þe honoure of God; &
vnaduysydly haue trovblyd mysylfe by indiscrete contracte
510 or promyse of matrymony. Or I whiche haue receyuyd þe
sacrament of matrymony haue broke my spousage and þat
fayth whych I made in þe face of þe churche, and I haue
fowlyd þat holy sacrament.

493 I] MS þat I.

And I whiche intende to be a preest haue not
515 dysposyd mysylfe to holy lyvyng, to þe holy sacrament of
f.66v ordre, fleyng euyl felashyp and occasyonys of synne. |

Wherefore thus þat I haue not gyvyn lovyng to God
for þese holy sacramentys, and haue not kepte þem to þe
honoure of God and profyte to my sowle, I aske God mercy.

520 Here folowyth the vii 3yftys of þe Holy Gost.

The gyfte of vnderstondyng; the gyfte of wysedom;
the gyfte of counsayle; the gyfte of science; the gyfte
of strengthe; the gyfte of pyte; and þe gyfte of drede.

1. I haue not vsyd þe gyfte of vnderstondyng to knowe my
525 lorde God and thoo thyngys whiche perteynyth to þe
contemplatyf lyfe, - as holy prayeris, redyng and
meditacyoun; 2. ne þe gyfte of wysedom in chosyng of tho
thyngys perteynyng to þe contemplatyf lyf whiche haue be
moste accordyng to me; ne holyly ordryd myselve in þem,
530 ne in holy customys of contemplacyon.

3. I haue not vsyd þe gyfte of counsayle in knowyng of
mysylf, and of þo þingys whiche perteyne to the actyf
lyfe, - as in fulfylllyng of þe werkys of mercy and
obseruyng þe commaundementys of God; 4. ne þe gyfte of
535 science, knowyng whan, how & where I shulde most

522 counsayle] MS counsaysayle.

merytoryously do þo dedys.

5. I haue not vsyd þe gyfte of fortitude, mytely
f.67r resistyng temptacyonys & paciently | suffryng trybulacyon
in tyme of aduersyte; 6. ne [þe gyfte] of drede, in tyme
540 of prosperyte of þis vnstable lyfe, - for in that tyme
I haue not feeryd to offende God, inpartyng mysylf to
lose þe kyngdom of heuen to haue prosperyte and plesure
in þis mortal lyfe.

7. I haue not vsyd þe gyfte of pyte in ordre to my
545 neybur, seeng hym in grete nede of helpe, in soule or
body, and not applyed me to helpe of hym accordyng to my
power.

Thus þat I haue not vsyd þe gyftes of þe Holy Goste
to the profyte of my soule and of my neyghbur, I aske God
550 mercy.

Here folowyth þe viii blessynggis þat Cryst schall
reherse.

The viii beatitudys ar these: pouerte of spirite;
perfyte mekenesse of spiryte in aduersyte; perfite
555 mekenesse in prosperyte; hungre of ryghtwysnesse; perfyte
mercy; clenness of herte; pees in desyre; ioyeful
suffrauns of persecucion in þe cause of vertue.

539 þe gyfte] MS tyme.

I haue not had pouerte in spiryte, for I haue not
sette lytyl by the transitory & vayne godys of þis world,
560 nor haue ben prompte and redy to my spiryte to departe
wyth them ioyfully whan þe departyng myght haue be
honorable to God and profitable to my soule; ner I am not
f.67v redy to departe | wyth them yf cawse hap nyd expedient
þat I shulde do so; ne drawe me to suche a lyfe where I
565 myght haue moste reste in my sowle, and leste trouble
wyth them also.

2. I haue not disposyd me to þe ii beatitude, as to
parfite mekenesse of spiryte in thyngys perteynyng to
the aduersite of þis lyfe, - as in losse of goodys; losse
570 of helthe, as in tyme of sekenesse; in hungre, colde &
watch; in bodyly laboure where my body hath be made wery,
- I haue not take ioyefully & hertely, thankyng God of
them, remembrynge þat alle comyth by his ordynaunce &
prouydence whiche may not erre, but werke euerythyng to
575 þe moste wele and fynably to his most honoure &
declaracyon of his godenesse, and hath ordeynyd me these
lytyl temporall paynes of thys lyfe, - yf I take þem wele
- to be delyueryd from paynes after þis lyfe.

3. Also I haue not disposyd me to þe iii beatitude, as
580 to parfite mekenesse of spiryte in prosperite, whan I

578 to be delyueryd] MS to be delyueryd to be delyueryd.

haue seen þing plesaunte to myn iyen and tastyd thinge
delectable to my mouthe, as in metys & drynkis; or
delectable to my towchyng, as in thingys perteynyng to
þe flessly knowlege betwen man & woman; or perteynyng to
585 myn eeris, as in worldly melodye. I haue folowyd þe freel
f.68r disposicion of my self to take þe plesure | þat I myght
gete in them, not remembryng the pryson and exile place
þat I am in, nor what daungere & grete distresse þat I
am in, bothe in sowle & body; and haue not besyly applyed
590 to mytygate þe vayne plesurys, & to calle in my
remembraunce synne & wrecchyd lyvyng to enforce me to
sorowe for þem, & for þe delectacyoun & longe deferryng
of my ioye & glory in heven, myn owne contre & dwellyng
place, whedre I shulde ordre me by sorowyng & penaunce
595 of þe tyme of my miserable lyfe.

4. I haue not disposyd me to þe iiii beatitude, as to
haue hungre & thruste of ryghtwysnesse there I ought not
only to gyve euery man hys dewte in golde, silver,
labour, honoure & oþer þingis whych is dutye to them,
600 but I shuld haue an hertyly desyre, as hungry man hath
of mete, to execute þe dede of ryghtwysnesse and to haue
sore longynge & desyre to gyve euery man þat is his dutye
onto hem; but I haue deferryd to do my duties and studyed

587 not] MS & not.

be meanys of delacioun, and done þem wyth grutchyng
605 contrary to this beatitude, where I shuld be hungry to
be werkys of ryghtwysnesse lyke as I wolde be parfityly
sacyate wyth þe glory of God in rewarde of my werkys.
5. Also I haue not execute þe v beatitude, for I haue not
f.68v | [had] parfyte mercy & compassioun of suche as I haue
610 seen in grete payne & aduersite, lyke as I wolde oþer
shulde haue on me; and haue not redyly forgyve such as
offendyd me, & prayed for þem hertyly, & applyed me to
shewe kyndenesse ayens vnkyndenesse, folwyng the example
of oure Lorde, & haue not labouryd by vertue of goodnesse
615 to conquere þe males.
6. Also I haue not disposyd myselfe to þe vi beatitude,
which is callyd clenness of herte & mynde; þat is to
say, I haue not labou`r`yd to kepe my mynde from euyl
thought of synne and of vayne thingys of thys lyfe, &
620 fixyd it on my lord God, and of þe vertues & glory of his
godhede, and of þe articles of passion of his manhode,
wherby my soule shulde be disposyd to reuelacyonys and
singuler comferte causyd by hym in þys lyfe, &
euerlastyngly see hym in the eternal lyfe more clerely.
625 7. Also I haue not disposyd me to þe vii beatitude of
peas of spyryte, - sekyng no reste ne fulfylling of my

609 had] MS om.

desyre, but only in my lorde God knowyng þat alle perfyte
plesure whiche apperyth in a creature is infynyte more
in hym, & no plesure may quiete þe soule & euer lyke
630 fressh, but only þe plesure of þe hygh mageste and
f.69r ineffable glory of þe most blyssyd & excellent | Trynyte.
[8]. Also þat I haue not ordryd mysylf to sustene þe
enmyte & persecucion of man in þe cawse of God ioyefully,
forto have þe rewarde of þe kyngedom of heuen.

635 I aske God mercy þat I haue thus fylyd my soule by
ony of þe vii dedly synnes; not obseruyd þe
comaundementys; not fulfylling þe werkys of mercy, bodyly
and gostely; not executyd þe werkys of þe vertue
theological & cardinal; not vertuously spendyng þe
640 gyftes of þe Holy Goste; ne disposyd me diligently to þe
viii beatitudys.

I aske God mercy & grace, by þe merytys of hys
gloryouse passyoun, to amende; and beseche yow, my
gostely fader, of peanaunce and absolucyon.

645 þanne say þe residue of youre confiteor in Latyn:
Ideo precor sanctam Mariam etcetera.

632 8] MS om.

640 Goste] MS god canc. Goste.

Textual notes.

215 forsyd] presumably from OED force v.1 14.a.

249 eimyte] possibly a form of amite n.; however, this form is not recorded by MED.

575 fynably] finabli adv., "in perpetuity, forever"; or possibly an unrecorded adverb derived from fin n. (2), 4 "aim, purpose, end in view." The latter interpretation is, however, made less likely by the probable contrast with **temporall**, 577.

Discussion of fols.69r-71v.

Presentation and possible origin.

This text is copied, in the same hand, immediately after the preceding complete form of confession, with the heading Here folowyth a lytyl addicioun for more perfyte serche of confession. It is thus presented as an addition to the preceding text, presumably to be used in conjunction with it. However, there are many problems with such an interpretation of this text.

The lengthy peroration to this text at 113-121 immediately places it outside the structure of the preceding text, which has its own, shorter, closing formula (635-644, followed by the remainder of the Confiteor). It should also be noted that this peroration, like the rest of the text, makes no mention of a confessor, suggesting that this text may be intended for private examination of conscience rather than expressly for preparation for confession to a priest.

The deletion at 29, & wol not lerne faste, suggests that this text has been abbreviated from a longer text, since no similar phrase occurs in the text as it stands. Such a hypothesis would also offer a possible explanation of 19-20, where an omission between the end of 19 and the beginning of 20 might account for the repetition and the unusual syntax. However, it is difficult to see what the structure of such a text might have been. Lines 3-6

could be regarded as extracts from a preliminary discussion of preparation for confession, and similarly 7-11 from a subsequent discussion of pride, 12-18 from a discussion of avarice, and 23-30 from a discussion of sloth. However, even within these first thirty lines, 19-22 would seem also to come from a discussion of pride, and thus to contradict the assumption that these passages have been copied sequentially from a discussion of sins against the seven deadly sins, (whichever of the various possible orders the sins may have been arranged in). Similarly, while 67-76, 77-83, 84-90, and 91-93 may be material from discussions of the third, fifth, sixth and eighth commandments respectively, and likewise 111-112 a summary of the five bodily senses (omitting touch), and 98-108 a discussion of the seven ghostly works of mercy, it is more difficult to find any structural principle behind the seemingly random collocation of material at, for instance, 53-66 (where 59-62 and 65-66 seem to come from another discussion of pride).

It is therefore difficult to maintain the hypothesis that the material presented here has been extracted in order from a single complete form of confession.

Audience.

There also appears to be a lack of consistency in the audience addressed by this text. Without further evidence of context, it is difficult to be certain whether 29-30 and 31-34 are to be read

together with 23-28 and thus refer to ecclesiastical duties;¹ similarly, it is impossible to be certain whether the terms office of *dygnyte or worship'* or *seinghnoryte*, (19) here have a specifically ecclesiastical significance. However, 67-73 seem to refer less ambiguously to clerical duties, particularly the reference to not having kept the ordinal of *pe churche* (71),² whereas 74-75 and 41-49 seem better suited to the duties of a layman on Sundays and feast days.

Function.

A possible explanation of the rather random arrangement of the text, the irregular order of material, the often irregular syntax, and the inconsistent audience is that this text represents a memorial recollection of parts of a form of confession, most likely of the "omnium-gatherum" sort, such as that on fols.1r-19v of this manuscript, or alternatively of material from more than one such texts. This would also offer an alternative explanation for the deleted phrase at 29, representing an error of memory on the part of the scribe.

It remains to be explained why such a series of recollections

¹ On the possible fields of reference of *superiouris*, 32, see the discussion of the preceding text.

² On the possible interpretations of the passage dealing with simony (17-18), again see the discussion above of the preceding text.

are included immediately after a complete form of confession. The answer may be that the present text is intended as a series of notes to aid the penitent in preparation for confession, in contrast to the full general confession offered by the preceding text. The word addicioun in the heading to this text is therefore somewhat misleading; rather than offering additional material to be placed in the preceding confession, this text offers a supplementary means of preparation for confession, presumably for a user who already has some degree of skill in the method of framing and ordering a confession.

Unlike the majority of complete forms of confession, it is difficult to see how a priest could present this text to a penitent as a guide or model for making a confession. However, the material which seems addressed to a layman rather than a cleric would suggest that some such function is intended, and that the text is not intended solely for the private use of a cleric; possibly it is intended that by perusing this text, a confessor should be reminded of certain of the elements which may be included in the confession of either a lay or a clerical penitent.

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86.

fols.69r-71v, Addition to Form of Confession.

Textual note.

Because of the fragmentary nature of this text and the textual confusion evident at many points, as outlined in the discussion above, it is impossible to present a full critical edition here. With the exception of the correction of three examples of scribal error where the original meaning is clear, I have attempted nothing more here than a transcription with modern punctuation and capitalisation.

Transcription.

Here folowyth a lytyl addicioun for more perfyte serche of confession.

I haue not disposyd me afore þe sacrament of confessioun to contricion; ne to serche my synnes; nor

5 beyn playn in tellyng of my synnes wyth theire
circumstaunce.

 I haue ben sturdy & frowarde in worde & countenaunce
f.69v | to summe personys & to oper by adulatory & flatteryng.
I haue shewyd fauoure where I had non but haterede, and
10 haue commendyd such as I haue lovyd more for þer plesure
þan to þe plesure of God.

 In gevyng rewardys and gyftes wythoute discrecioun
and in receyuyng wythoute recompensyng or oper bodyly or
gostely.

15 In vsery, in lenyng þe lesse to receyue þe more,
outher in thought or in dede.

 In symony, sellyng holy þing dere bycause of þe
holynes.

 In office of dygnyte, or worshyp', or seinghnoryte.

20 In office of dignyte or worship', I haue pryde & not
vsysd accordyng to my dutye as God wolde I shulde haue
done `in` yt.

 In the churche and holy places, I haue not ben in
suche sadnesse as was accordyng to þe holynesse of þe
25 place.

 I haue not be diligent to serue God þere and gyve
good example, as I haue be bonde to do by þe lawe of God

5 beyn] MS beyng.
lenyng.

15 in lenyng] MS to rec canc. in

& of þe churche.

30 I haue be negligent in kepyng & mynystryng of suche
þingys as be commytty[d] & put to my cure.

f.70r I haue wythdrawe þe duties of oper personys from
þem, not gyvyng honoure and obediens to my superiouris,
ne correccion to suche as haue be | vnder my tuicioun &
kepyng.

35 I haue not releuyd þe poore by almesse, in dede ne
in wyll, acordyng to my dutye. I haue rebukyngly spokyn
to þe poore otherwyse þan I wolde haue spoke to þe ryche,
- in dyspysyng oper not lyke to myself, in compellyng or
counseylyng ony persone to do operwyse þan þey ought to
40 do.

In solempne feestys of God & of his seyntys, I haue
not disposyd me to deuocyon and to thonoure of God
acordyng to þe solempnyte. I haue not kepte my mynde in
holy meditacyonys, my mouthe from vayn spekyngis, more
45 þeise holy tymes þan oper; not dyetyd myself atte suche
tymes bothe in metys & also in drynkes þat may be to
thencrese of deuocioun of my sowle; & lettyng oper of
þeir deuocyon rather þan helpe þem; in makyng þem to
breke þat holy customys of þeir lif.

29 in] MS & wol not lerne faste canc. in. 30
commyttyd] MS commydtyng. 37 spoke] MS be spoke.

50 I haue not contente my dettys dewly in tyme
accordyng; to þe petycionys made to me, I haue not
fulfyllyd after my power.

I haue ben wantoun & dissolute in hye spekyng, in
gesture, & in countenance.

55 I haue don after þe euyl counsayle rather þan after
þe gode. I haue be negligent in cunnyng of suche þingis
as haue ben profitable to my soule.

I haue ben redy to speke & do euyll, & slow to do
f.70v wele. I | haue spoke irreuerently & frowardly, þer as I
60 shulde haue do reuerence.

I haue bacbytyd suche as I haue not lovyd. I haue
be glad to here detractyng & euyl spekyng of oper.

I haue not kepte my feyth & promyse.

I haue not drawen my syght fro þe natural delyng of
65 beestys, ne myn eerys from vnclene spekyng. I haue ben
of froward will, done ayenst my conscince.

I haue [synned in] vayn spekyng in tyme of my
seruyse. I haue not spokyn my wordys distyngly ne
pleynly. I haue omyttyd and lefte furth wordys, and
70 somtyme made iteracyonys & rehersyngys. I haue not kepte
the ordinal of þe churche. I haue songe & redde for lawde
& veynglory of þe worlde, & done þe seruyse of God

61 bacbytyd] MS not canc. bacbytyd. 68 synned in]
MS om. 69 seruyse] MS spekyng canc. seruyse.

negligently.

75 I haue not be desirouse to here & rede wordys
profitable to my soule. I haue com late to seruyse &
shorte whyle tary þere.

80 I haue not put euyl thoughtys from my mynde, but I
haue callyd þem in. I haue thought shrewdly of oþer
personys, and suspecte þem wythoute cause. I haue cursyd
& waryed. I haue consentyd to shrewde counseyle, and I
haue gyvyn shrewde counseyle. I haue madde compleyntes
f.71r more | grevously þan þe cause required, more for
haterede þan for reformacioun.

85 I haue had by vnclene imaginacionys of þe day, foule
pollucyonis in my flessh and vnclene mocyonys of þe
nyght. Also I haue offendyd by onclene towching of my
flessh; in superfluouse spekyng ther as I myght haue
reformyd & profityd by my speche. Also in sowyng betwen
personys; in mockyng & scornynge; in stryvyng &
90 vnresonable chydyng.

Also in deceyte & defraudyng, in worde & dede; in
murmuryng & grutchyng, bycause my wyl hath not be
fulfyllyd.

95 In moche slepyng in synne ayenst nature; in
dissimilacioun; in transgression; in brekyng not only þe

82 more] MS more more.

commaundementis of God, but also of holsom counseyle,
good doctrynes.

I haue not gyvyn holthesum counseyle to suche as I
haue seen erre aboute me.

100 I haue not taught suche as haue be ignoraunte &
vnknowyng. I haue not chastysed offences & synne in suche
as haue perteynynd to me.

I haue not comfortyd suche as haue be in hevynesse.

105 I haue not redely remytted and hertyly forgyvyn
suche offencys as haue be don to me.

I haue not paciently borne & suffred suche personys
as I haue seen ben oute of paciens. I haue not prayed for
f.71v suche as I haue knowen of euyll disposicion. |

110 I haue not `folowyd` good ensample in abstynence,
in prayere, in oper goode dedys to my power.

I haue synned in syght; in heryng; in tastyng; in
smellyng, - in these & many mo I haue offendid my makere.

115 I knowlege myself gyilty in þe syght of God,
wherefore I beseche þe holy & gloryouse Trynyte, my
savyour Iesu of mercy, and his gloryouse Moder; alle
thaungels of heuen; al seyntyngs, men & wymen, - afore whom
I make þis confession to pray for me at þe howre of deth,
þat I haue be confessyd of alle þese þat I haue be

109 folowyd] MS knowyn canc. `folowyd`.

confessyd of, to þe confusyonu of my gostely ennemye þat
þanne wyl accuse me, and to thencreas of grace and only
consolacyonu of my sowle. Amen.

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86.

fol.48r-v, General Form of Confession.

Note.

The following text is a general confession for public reading by a priest, with the congregation also reciting 2-12. For a full discussion of such texts and their function, see Part 1 above, pp.21-30. It is copied in Hand A among a series of items of practical use to a priest, for a detailed account of which, see above, pp.11-14, 32, and 43-45.

Transcription.

Sytte 3e doune vpon 3owre knees and sey aftur me:

I knowlech to Gode, and to oure lady Seynt Marye,
and to all the holy companye of heuen, that I haue synned
in the seuen dedly synnys: in pryde, in wrathe, in enuy,
5 in slowth, in couetyse, in gloteny, and lecherye. The ten
f.48v commaundementes I broke, my fyue wyttes mys|spendyd: wyth
myn eyn seye; wyth myn eres herde; wyth myn nose smellyd;
wyth my mowthe spoke; wyth myn handes handeled; wyth myn

4 seuen] MS v canc. vii.
MS all canc. myn.

5 ten] MS x.

7 myn]

10

fete goo; wyth myn herte thowte; wyth all my body
myswrowhte. And thereof I 3elde me gylty and beseche God
mercy, and pray the for seynt charite therof to assoyle
me.

Dicat presbiter: misereatur. Absolucionem.

11 for] MS of canc. for.
canc. misereatur.

13 misereatur] MS absolucio

Discussion of fols.29r-41r.

Fols.30r-41r comprise an extensive devotional manual consisting of a number of short prose items, all but the last in the form of lists of various sorts, all apparently copied at the same time. To these has been added a singleton (fol.29) containing a cross-row¹ and the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Creed in Latin, copied in the same hand as the other items. The degree of soiling on both the recto and the verso of this leaf suggests a period of use prior to its addition to the other leaves.

Function.

Such manuals are numerous, and frequently have educational associations.² London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, (the

¹ A cross-row, also sometimes known as criss-cross row, is a model alphabet preceded by a cross. For a discussion of cross-rows and other model alphabets see B.L.Wolpe, "Florilegium Alphabeticum: Alphabets in Medieval Manuscripts", Calligraphy and Palaeography: essays presented to Alfred Fairbank, ed.A.S.Osley (London, 1965), pp.69-74; see also N.Orme, The Schools of Medieval England (London, 1973), pp.60-62.

² On printed ABC's and devotional manuals, both manuscript and printed, see V.Gillespie, "The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual with Particular Reference to the Speculum Christiani", unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1981, pp.54-55; on "primers" see Orme, Schools, p.62; C.F.Brown, "Chaucer's 'Litel Clergeon'", Modern Philology, 3 (1906), pp.467-491. On manuals generally, see, C.A.Martin, "Middle English manuals of religious instruction", So meny people longages and tonges: philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh, edd.M.Benskin and M.L.Samuels, Edinburgh, 1981, pp.283-298; C.A.Martin, "Edinburgh University Library Manuscript

"Winchester Anthology"),³ fols.159v-179v, contains a series of basic devotional items in English comparable to that in Trinity, again preceded by a cross-row, and in this instance consistently copied on alternate ruled lines. This latter feature has led V.Gillespie to suggest that this part of the manuscript was used in the teaching of elementary reading and writing skills,⁴ and E.Wilson in the facsimile edition of the manuscript further suggests that the scribe may have made use of this series of items in the fulfilment of possible pedagogical duties.⁵ Elsewhere Gillespie states that this part of the manuscript "may have been copied from or show the influence of a schoolbook."⁶ It should be noted that at one point in the form of confession with which this sequence ends, on the lower part of fol.172r, copying between the lines is found in a later hand (and showing a form of the letter

93: An Annotated Edition of Selected Devotional Treatises with a Survey of Parallel Versions", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1978; V.Gillespie, "Doctrina and Predicacio: the Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals", Leeds Studies in English, n.s., 11 (1980), pp.36-50.

³ For a full description and discussion of this manuscript, see E.Wilson and I.Fenlon, The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577 with an Introduction and List of Contents by Edward Wilson and an Account of the Music by Iain Fenlon, (London, 1981). Wilson says of the main scribe that "it seems reasonably certain...that the principal scribe was a monk of St.Swithun's Priory, Winchester", p.13. See also Part 1 above, pp.121-123.

⁴ V.Gillespie, "Literary Form", pp.54-55.

⁵ E.Wilson and I.Fenlon, Winchester Anthology, pp.13-14.

⁶ V.Gillespie, "Vernacular Books of Religion", Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475, edd. J.Griffiths and D.Pearsall, (London, 1989), p.337, n.11.

< e > which is not found in the hand of the main scribe).

Elementary education in reading is not, however, the only intended function of such sequences. In discussing a similar sequence preserved in Manchester, University Library, MS Rylands English 85, which incorporates brief passages offering guidance to the reader in the use of this devotional material, V.Gillespie comments:⁷

The reference to 'every persone' ... suggests the freedom of movement enjoyed by this material and the absence of rigid divisions between children's catachesis and that of the adult laity.

The contents of such sequences frequently mirror the requirements of pastoralia for Lenten instruction of the laity, the best known of which is the so-called "Pechamite syllabus".⁸ (However, it should be noted that the contents of the sequence in Trinity, for instance, far exceed the demands of any of the pastoralia, while omitting other items included in Pecham's list).⁹ Clearly, the

⁷ Gillespie, "Literary Form", p.55; for further discussion of this sequence and textually related sequences in other manuscripts, see also a review by V.Gillespie of The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist II, in Medium Aevum, 57 (1988), pp.111-113.

⁸ Councils and Synods, II, pp.900-901. See also W.A.Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1955), pp.192-195; Gillespie, "Literary Form", passim; Martin, "Middle English manuals", p.284; G.H.Russell, "Vernacular Instruction of the Laity in the Late Middle Ages in England", Journal of Religious History, 2 (1962), pp.98-119; P.Hodgson, "Ignorancia Sacerdotum: a Fifteenth-Century Discourse on the Lambeth Constitutions", Review of English Studies, 24 (1948), pp.1-11; R.M.Haines, Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages, (Toronto, 1989).

⁹ See below, n.11. The possible reasons for the divergence between the areas of instruction specified by the pastoralia and the items which are actually included in vernacular sequences are discussed further below in my examination of the structure of the

emergence of such vernacular sequences is to a large extent motivated by the demands of pastoralia for instruction of the laity.

An example of the incorporation of elementary instruction of children within such a framework of Lenten instruction is provided by the tractatus de modo confitendi of John Drury.¹⁰ Within such a context it is frequently difficult to ascertain the exact function of a devotional sequence such as that in Trinity where additional evidence such as that provided by Drury is lacking. It is possible that, as the content of Drury's text suggests, Lenten instruction of the laity and elementary instruction of children were regarded as overlapping areas, for either of which much the same material might be used.

The presence of the cross-row at the beginning of the sequence in Trinity may reflect the role of a parish priest as schoolmaster, whether official or otherwise; however, it may also suggest nothing more than a frequent association of such material with elementary instruction in reading. The citation of passages of Scripture in Trinity by chapter numbers in The Ten Commandments, The Seven Deadly Sins and sporadically during the series of Biblical maxims with which the sequence ends, suggest an audience with a sophisticated degree of literacy, able to refer to the relevant

sequence in Trinity.

¹⁰ See above, Part 1, pp.120-121. On the adaptability of such material to different functions, see also Gillespie, "Doctrina and Predicacio".

Scriptural passage if required. This is particularly so in the case of The Seven Deadly Sins, where the passages are cited without quotation.

Some related sequences in other manuscripts.¹¹

Several manuscripts contain sequences very similar to that in Trinity. The closest parallel is found in London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 388 (henceforth: Lansdowne), fols.368r-370v, where the last nine items from the sequence in Trinity (items 16 to 24 in the description given above) are found copied in the same order in a late medieval hand at the beginning of a series of paper leaves.

¹¹ Within the scope of the present thesis it has been impossible to consult the vast number of manuscripts listed by catalogues as containing items with the same titles as those found in Trinity fols.29r-41r; such items are found in a multitude of different versions, the relationships of which to one another could only be determined by a great deal of close textual work. (For an extensive list of manuscripts containing similar items, see MWME, vol.7, pp.2273, 2495-2501). The manuscripts selected for discussion here are those which, in the course of the preparation of my editions of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God, I have found to provide the closest parallels with Trinity.

C.A.Martin's study of manuscripts containing similar sequences of texts, which he terms "manuals", provides a useful overview of the area; however, it should be noted that of the ten "core" items he regards as being essential to a "manual of this type" (Martin, "Middle English Manuals", p.289), The Fourteen Points of the Faith (or, indeed, even a discussion of the more usual twelve articles of the faith) is absent from all of the manuscripts considered here, and several other items are not always present. This omission also highlights the fact that the contents of such sequences are not directly tailored to the demands of the "Pechamite syllabus", where instruction in the fourteen articles is required.

The remainder of these leaves are taken up by a medical treatise and a short text in prose and rhymed verse dealing with the divination of dreams, Danyellis dremys, both copied in a different hand. The remainder of the manuscript consists of papers of varying dates associated chiefly with the life and researches of John Foxe the martyrologist.

It would be tempting to assume that the items on fols.368r-370v were a copy of the latter part of the sequence from Trinity, with the remainder presumably lost, were it not for the evidence of the editions of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God presented below. The textual relations of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity demonstrate that in this instance neither manuscript can have been derived from the other, while in the case of The Eight Blessings of God the absence in Lansdowne of a concluding passage found in Trinity and two other manuscripts suggests that the two manuscripts are textually at some distance from one another.¹²

Apart from Lansdowne, the closest parallel to the sequence in Trinity is New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 258.¹³ This manuscript consists of eight leaves copied in a single hand, containing a cross-row and the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Creed

¹² See further the detailed discussion of the textual relationships of the manuscripts of these texts below, pp.149-169 and 228-234.

¹³ For a facsimile of this manuscript, see George Plimpton, Education in the Age of Chaucer (London, 1935), Plates ix, 1-15.

in English,¹⁴ followed by all but two items from the sequence in Trinity, the Six Things Against the Holy Ghost and the series of Biblical Maxims. Apart from these omissions, the only differences in the presentation of the items are that the Seven Deadly Sins incorporates the Principal Virtues as remedies under the same heading rather than treating them separately as does Trinity, and that the Seven Lettings occur in between Augustine Wonders About Five Things and the Four Things by Which a Man May Know if he is to be Saved. This manuscript provides the closest physical parallel with Trinity, consisting of a self-contained unit of unbound leaves,¹⁵ much as fols.29r-41r probably existed prior to incorporation into the remainder of the manuscript.¹⁶

It should be noted that in this manuscript, unlike Trinity, the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo are all in English and are copied as an integral part of the sequence.¹⁷ The same is true of

¹⁴ On H.Spencer's assertion that "by the end of the fifteenth century, even the ability to repeat the Lord's Prayer, Ave, and Creed in English could be seen, especially in conjunction with other charges, as a manifest token of heresy" (English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford, 1994), p.181), see the forthcoming doctoral thesis of C.Fraser of Balliol College, Oxford.

¹⁵ Since I have only been able to consult this manuscript in Plimpton's facsimile, I am unable to provide a more detailed discussion of the physical condition of these leaves.

¹⁶ The classification of Trinity among manuscripts containing "Manual and liturgical and homiletic texts", and thus in a different group from Plimpton, adopted by C.A.Martin ("Middle English manuals", pp.288-290) fails to take this into account.

¹⁷ An example of a cross-row followed, as in Trinity, by the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo in Latin is provided by Ipswich, Town Library, MS 7, fols.27r-31r, where these items are followed by a series of prayers in Latin, including a brief form of confession and prayers to be said at various points during the

the St. Albans Cathedral Library manuscript,¹⁸ where a Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo in English (not, in this instance, preceded by a cross-row) are followed by the Seven Deadly Sins, Seven Bodily Works of Mercy, Seven Ghostly Works of Mercy, Five Bodily Senses, Five Spiritual Senses, Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God. However, in this instance only the Seven Deadly Sins, The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God are the same texts as those found in Trinity.¹⁹ These items are followed by a long treatise on the Ten Commandments, including the plagues suffered by Egypt for breaking the commandments, fols.5v-44v. Immediately after this text there occurs a list of contents with the following heading, reflecting the intended function of this sequence of items:²⁰

Thes beutis of this book, the whiche Maister Wiliam Trebilvile, doctoure of decrees, official of Seynt Albons, hath decreed necessarili & bi hovely cristis peple to kunne in her modir tunge.

Mass, the latter having English rubrics. For a discussion of this manuscript see above, Part 1, pp.80-81.

¹⁸ For a discussion of this manuscript and its contents, see G.R.Owst, "A 15th Century Manuscript in St. Albans Abbey", St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Transactions, 1924, pp.43-59; for further discussion of the treatise on the Ten Commandments in this manuscript, see G.R.Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Oxford, 1961), passim.

¹⁹ The treatments of the other topics are sufficiently distinct as to be regarded, pending a full critical study, as separate texts dealing with the same material.

²⁰ As transcribed by G.R.Owst, "A 15th Century Manuscript", pp.43-59; this passage is illegible in the photocopy of this manuscript which I have been able to consult.

The sequence thus seems directly intended for the devotional instruction of the laity, although within what context is less clear. The list of contents is followed by a brief tale from the Gesta Romanorum.

London, British Library, MS Harley 2343 has the Pater Noster and Ave Maria in English (without a cross-row), the Creed and a treatise upon it,²¹ a treatise on the Ten Commandments,²² a text on the plagues suffered by Egypt for breaking the Ten Commandments, The Seven Deadly Sins (textually close²³ to that in Trinity), The Seven Principal Virtues which are Remedies against the Deadly Sins, The Five Bodily Wits (textually close to that in Trinity), The Five Ghostly Wits, The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy (textually close to that in Trinity), The Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy, The Seven Principal Virtues, The Eight Blessings of God, The Sixteen Conditions of Charity, The Four Tokens of Salvation (textually close to Trinity, item 21), Saint Augustine Wonders upon Five Things that are among the People (textually close to that in Trinity), a short treatise on the Commandments and their

²¹ This text is the same as that found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54.

²² This text is again the same as that found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, but with a different prologue from that found there.

²³ The expression "textually close" is used here to denote that both would seem to be copies of the same text, rather than independent texts with the same title. However, in the absence of a full textual study involving the preparation of a critical edition, it is not possible to make any more definite assertion about the relationship of the texts.

corresponding virtues, a Meditation upon Christ's Teachings, The Four Needful Things (textually close to that in Trinity), and the Magnificat in English.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.6.43, contains a long series of prayers and meditations on the crucifixion in English and Latin, followed by prayers and orations to saints and to the Virgin. These are preceded by a series of short devotional items, comprising: a treatise on the Ten Commandments; The Seven Deadly Sins; The Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy; The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost; The Seven Blessed Virtues; The Five Bodily Senses; The Five Spiritual Senses; The Sixteen Conditions of Charity; The Eight Blessings of God; and Saint Edmund Teaches a Short Exposition of the Pater Noster. However, of these, apart from The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God, only The Five Spiritual Senses is textually close to the version found in Trinity.

The structure of the sequence in Trinity.

Although the rather different contents even of those sequences which at first appear to be most similar to Trinity suggest that the items in this sequence may be of disparate origin, brought together from a variety of sources, many of these items may yet be shown to proceed according to common patterns.

The Ten Commandments gives a brief exposition of each of the

Commandments, followed by two paraphrased verses on keeping the Commandments from Deuteronomy 28. The Seven Deadly Sins is in three parts: a division of the cardinal sins into sins of the fiend and sins of the world; an account of how one sins in each of them; and a list of the seven devils which prompt men to each of the sins, with the appropriate Biblical authorities. The Seven Principal Virtues gives a list of the virtues, a statement that meekness is the root of all virtues, and a further list of which virtue corresponds as remedy to each of the cardinal sins. The Seven Bodily Works of Mercy gives the Biblical text from Matthew 25,²⁴ with the seventh work of mercy taken from Tobias, followed by a statement that men do the works of mercy for Christ when they do them to his creatures. The Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy gives a list, followed by an account of how each is to be implemented. The Five Bodily Senses again gives a list, followed by an account of how one sins in each.²⁵ The Five Spiritual Senses gives a list and

²⁴ The Biblical passage shows similarities with that from the later version of the Wycliffite Bible (The Holy Bible...made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers, edd. J.Forshall and F.Madden, (Oxford, 1850)). However, there are also a number of significant differences from the text in the Wycliffite Bible, and it is uncertain, pending a thorough textual examination of other witnesses of this text, whether the similarities may not be the result of memorial recollection, or even simply be coincidental in the translation of a passage which does not provide great scope for alternative translation. (It should also be noted that the fifth and sixth works of mercy are here given in reverse order).

²⁵ This text shows verbal parallels with the treatment of the bodily senses in the form of confession preserved in London, British Library, MS Additional 37787, fols.3r-11v and in a number of other manuscripts (see above, Part 1, pp.127-128). These parallels are most likely the result of memorial recollection on the part of the author of either text, rather than showing direct

an account of how each sense is to be employed. The Four Cardinal Virtues gives a list and an account of what each of the virtues consists in. The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost gives a list followed by what each of the gifts moves a man to do. The Seven Things which are Against the Holy Ghost is simply a list. The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God both give the Biblical text from the later version of the Wycliffite Bible, in both cases essentially a list, followed by a short moral summary. Saint Augustine Wonders upon Five Things that are among the People and its pendant piece each give a brief exposition of each item by number, as does The Seven Lettings. The Four Needful Things again deals with each by number, followed by a prayer for grace to do each of them. The final text in the sequence is a series of moral precepts of Biblical origin, arranged without any clear organisational method.²⁶ This last item ends with a colophon, given in full in the description of the manuscript above, p.11, which may possibly refer not only to this text but to all the

borrowing in either direction.

²⁶ In addition to the identical series of Biblical maxims found in Lansdowne, a similar series containing some of the same Biblical verses is found in London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, (the "Winchester Anthology"), fols.111v-113v. However, in several of the verses common to all three manuscripts, the wording is in the case of the latter manuscript very different from that in Trinity and Lansdowne.

As with The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy (see above, n.22), several of these Biblical extracts are very similar to the relevant verses in the later version of the Wycliffite Bible, while others show very divergent wording and phrasing. Again, it is difficult to determine whether these similarities are the result of a long textual tradition, of memorial recollection, or of simple coincidence in the translation of the same material.

preceding texts in the sequence, since it is separated from the last of the Biblical maxims by a gap of two lines, which has been filled with the same decoration as surrounds the illustration which takes up the lower part of the leaf.

With the exception of the series of Biblical maxims, each text in the sequence thus has as its basis a list, frequently arranged numerically, to which additional material may be appended (for example, the maxim with which The Ten Commandments ends). The function of such lists is essentially mnemonic, providing a ready framework for the organisation of devotional knowledge.

Furthermore, each of these texts may be seen to deal with one of two areas: penitential self-examination, and guidance in living virtuously. The penitential implications are implicit in the material of The Ten Commandments, The Seven Deadly Sins, The Seven Things which are Against the Holy Ghost, Saint Augustine Wonders upon Five Things that are among the People and The Seven Lettings, while in The Seven Principal Virtues and The Five Bodily Senses, the implications for search of conscience are drawn by the manner of presentation of the material. The remaining texts all offer guidance as to how one's life should be amended after search of conscience and the penitential process have been completed.

The sequence is thus ideally suited to the demands of Lenten instruction; the audience is given a framework for self-examination very similar to that provided by a model confession, together with practical guidance in how the will to amend which is a prerequisite of contrition is to be implemented. The Biblical maxims with which

the sequence ends serve a similar function, mixing admonition of sinful behaviour with exhortation to righteousness.

Summary.

The sequence as it stands in Trinity may thus be regarded as a compendium of knowledge of use in the Lenten instruction of the laity. As noted above, the numerical citation of Scripture implies a user who is sufficiently literate to be able to refer to the relevant Biblical passage for further knowledge if required. Such a user might well be a parish priest, using this sequence as a manual from which to instruct the laity in catechesis. The cross-row on the additional leaf prefixed to this sequence may suggest a subsidiary function for this single leaf as an aid to teaching the rudiments of reading and possibly also writing along with the essential texts of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Creed.

The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

The aims of the present study.

The Sixteen Conditions of Charity and The Eight Blessings of God are both short devotional texts originating in extracted passages from the later version of the Wycliffite Bible. They are presented here as a supplement to the discussion above of fols.29r-41r of Trinity.¹

Since the main interest in these texts for this study is the information they provide concerning Trinity, this manuscript is selected as the base text for The Eight Blessings of God and likewise for the first-version text of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

The principles determining the division of the edition of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity are described in detail below. For the purposes of the present study, the main interest is in the first-version text, the form in which the text is found in Trinity.

¹ It would have been desirable to present alongside these editions a similar edition of The Seven Bodily Works of Mercy, which likewise shows similarities with the later version of the Wycliffite Bible in the Biblical text from Matthew 25. However, in this instance the similarities are not so close as in the case of the other two texts (see above, p.140, n.24); furthermore, where the same text is found in more extended versions in other manuscripts, the Biblical passage is frequently not near the beginning of the text, making identification much more difficult than in the case of the longer versions of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity. For these reasons, I have decided not to offer a similar edition of this text here.

Edited texts of subsequent versions of the text are presented here in order to demonstrate the relationships of these versions to the first-version text. As discussed below, extensive problems exist in establishing the textual relationships of the longer versions of the text. Furthermore, it has proved impossible within the constraints of the current study to carry out double-checking of manuscripts of the longer versions of the text, particularly those held in remote locations. The discussion of the textual relationships of these manuscripts offered here should therefore be considered very tentative.

The manuscripts.

The following sigla are used to represent the various manuscripts consulted in this study:

- A: Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86, fols.35r-36r.
- B: St.Albans, Cathedral Library, fol.4r-v.
- C: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.6.43. fols.14r-15r.
- D: New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 258, fols.5r-6r.
- E: London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 388, fol.368r-v.
- F: London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols.87v-89v.
- G: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, fols.56r-59v.
- H: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 209, fols.15v-19v.
- I: Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 246, fols.66r-67r.
- J: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.54, pp.186-197.

- K: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellany 210, fols.134v-136r.
- L: Oxford, New College, MS 67, fol.1r-v.
- M: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.29, fols.75r-76v.
- N: London, British Library, MS Additional 28026, fol.188r.
- O: London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D.xix, fols.163v-165r.
- P: London, British Library, MS Royal 8.c.i, fols.159r-161v.
- Q: London, British Library, MS Additional 27592, fols.52v-54r.
- R: Edinburgh, University Library, MS 93, pp.72-75.
- S: Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 472, fols.85v-87r.
- T: London, British Library, MS Royal 17.A.xxvi, fols.27v-28v.
- U: York, Minster Library, MS xvi.L.12, fols.30v-32r.
- V: Paris, Bibliotheque Sainte Genevieve, MS 3390, fols.35r-37r.
- X: Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 512, fols. 22v-25r.
- Y: Glasgow, University Library, MS General 223, fols. 221v-222v.
- Z: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 245, fols.29v-30v.
- Aa: London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, fols.137r-138r.
- Bb: Ushaw, St.Cuthbert's College, MS 28, fols.29v-34v.
- Cc: Longleat, Marquess of Bath, MS 32, fol.81r-v.
- Dd: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 70, fols.187r-188v.
- Ee: Dublin, Trinity College, MS 155, pp.127-135.
- Ff: Oxford, New College, MS 95, fol.127r-v.
- Gg: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional C.87, fols.13v-16r.
- Hh: Cambridge, St.John's College, MS C. S.35, fols.19r-20v.

The siglum W is used to denote the Wycliffite Bible, later

version². The text of the Wycliffite Bible given by Forshall and Madden has been used at all times in this discussion, and although full reference has been made to the textual variants given there, no attempt has been made to collate manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible not consulted by Forshall and Madden. (It should be noted that at all points in this study the possibility of further conflation with either version of the Wycliffite Bible has been kept in mind. Where such conflation is possible, this is noted in the discussion below. In such instances reference has again been made to the printed texts provided by Forshall and Madden rather than to manuscript sources).

The very different and textually unrelated Wycliffite reworking of the same scriptural material found in Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 237, fols.217-220 is not included in this study.

In addition to the witness of the fifth- and seventh-version texts on pp.127-135, MS Ee also contains in a later hand on p.90 a fragment from a treatment of the twelfth condition (Jolliffe G.4(c); MWME C) similar to that from the fifth-version text in this manuscript:

Charite suffers alle thyng mekely for Gods sake boþe wronges
reproues diseeses sekenes & al þat God wil þat ho suffir.

² The Holy Bible...made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers, ed.J.Forshall and F.Madden, (Oxford, 1850), IV, pp.362-63.

The following are the correspondences of sigla used here to the classifications of this text in Jolliffe and MWME:

A,B,C,F,G,H,K,L,M: Jolliffe G.4(e);

MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version E.³

D: MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version B.

E: MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version G.

I,J,Q,R,S: Jolliffe G.4(f); MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version F.

N,Cc: Jolliffe G.4(a); MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version A.

O,Dd: Jolliffe G.4(b); MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version B.

P,Bb,Ee: Jolliffe G.4(d); MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version D.

T,U,V,X,Y: Jolliffe G.11; MWME VII p.2518 [53].

Z,Ff: MWME VII p.2518 [53].

Aa: MWME VII pp.2518-9 [58] version B.

Hh: Jolliffe E.12,N.7; MWME VII p.2524 [88].

Gg: MWME VII p.2555 [194].

³ In MWME MS H fols.16v-20r is classified as version E, and fols.16r-19v as version F.

The textual relationships of the manuscripts.

The versions of the text.

In the present study, edited texts, with variants from other manuscripts where appropriate, are presented for seven different "versions" of the text, as follows (in each instance the first manuscript listed provides the base text):

First-version: ABCDE

Second-version: F

Third-version: XYTAaCcDd

Fourth-version: GHIJQRUZSVFf

Fifth-version: BbPEeGg

Sixth-version: Hh

Seventh-version, first half⁴: KMLNO

Seventh-version, second half: KGMPEeGg⁵

⁴ On the two parts of the seventh-version text, see below, pp.162-165.

⁵ In G what is here regarded as a single text is presented as two separate texts. The text used in this study as the basis of the fourth-version text ends on fol.58r with the single word explicit in red. This is followed by 7 49-111, with the rubricated heading bou most loue god ouer alle pingis and pi nei3bore as biself. No such separation of the two parts of the text is made in PEeGg, where the closely related fifth-version text is again followed by the latter part of the seventh-version text.

Line numbers refer to the printed texts given below, with a number in bold type denoting the version in question. Thus 2 5-6 refers to the fifth and sixth lines of the second-version text.

These "versions" reflect an ongoing process of rewriting, and frequently of expansion, in the development of the text. Their order corresponds roughly with the process of this development. (Key stages in this development are shown by F, H and G). It is important to note, however, that these "versions" have been arrived at here as a means of recording economically the variants of the text. It should not be imagined that each corresponds to a successive, discrete stage in the development of the text. Rather, almost every manuscript shows evidence of rewriting, whether through expansion or omission of material, or more often a combination of the two.

For example, an examination of the "third-version" text presented here will reveal three different groups of manuscripts (Cc, AaDd and XYT), each of which show distinct reworkings of the text.⁶ Within the third of these groups, the systematic omission of the numbering of the conditions (introduced in F) in T is clearly the result of a further deliberate reworking rather than scribal error, while the omission of *pat...louen* 3 37-38 in Y could be

⁶ In the latter two cases (AaDd and XYT) these reworkings include the incorporation of the text into two (different) treatises on the theological virtues (likewise, among the fourth-version manuscripts UZFf again show the text incorporated into another long text on the theological virtues, as does the single manuscript of the sixth-version text). In Cc and AaDd the scriptural opening is omitted (likewise, among the fourth-version manuscripts, in IJQRUZSVFf).

either deliberate or the result of error. (Similarly, the omission of this passage in AaDd as well as in Y may be coincidental, or may show conflation of exemplars).

Difficulties in assessing the textual relationships of the manuscripts.

Before a description of the textual relationships of the manuscripts is attempted, it is important to note the many difficulties surrounding such an enterprise.

Firstly, there is the problem of the incorporation of the text into other longer texts (see above, note 3), where one is in effect examining what has become only a part of a longer text.⁷

Secondly, particularly in the early stages of its development, the text is very short, and therefore the amount of evidence available for textual analysis is very limited.

Thirdly, there is a possibility of memorial conflation in a text which, especially in its shorter versions, is closely associated with elementary devotional instruction. (See further above, pp.130-143).

⁷ This is perhaps the least serious of the difficulties considered here, and were it possible to include these longer texts as a whole in the scope of the study, it might even prove a positive virtue by providing more evidence on which to base conclusions.

Fourthly, there is an even greater possibility of memorial conflation of varying translations in the case of the scriptural opening passage.

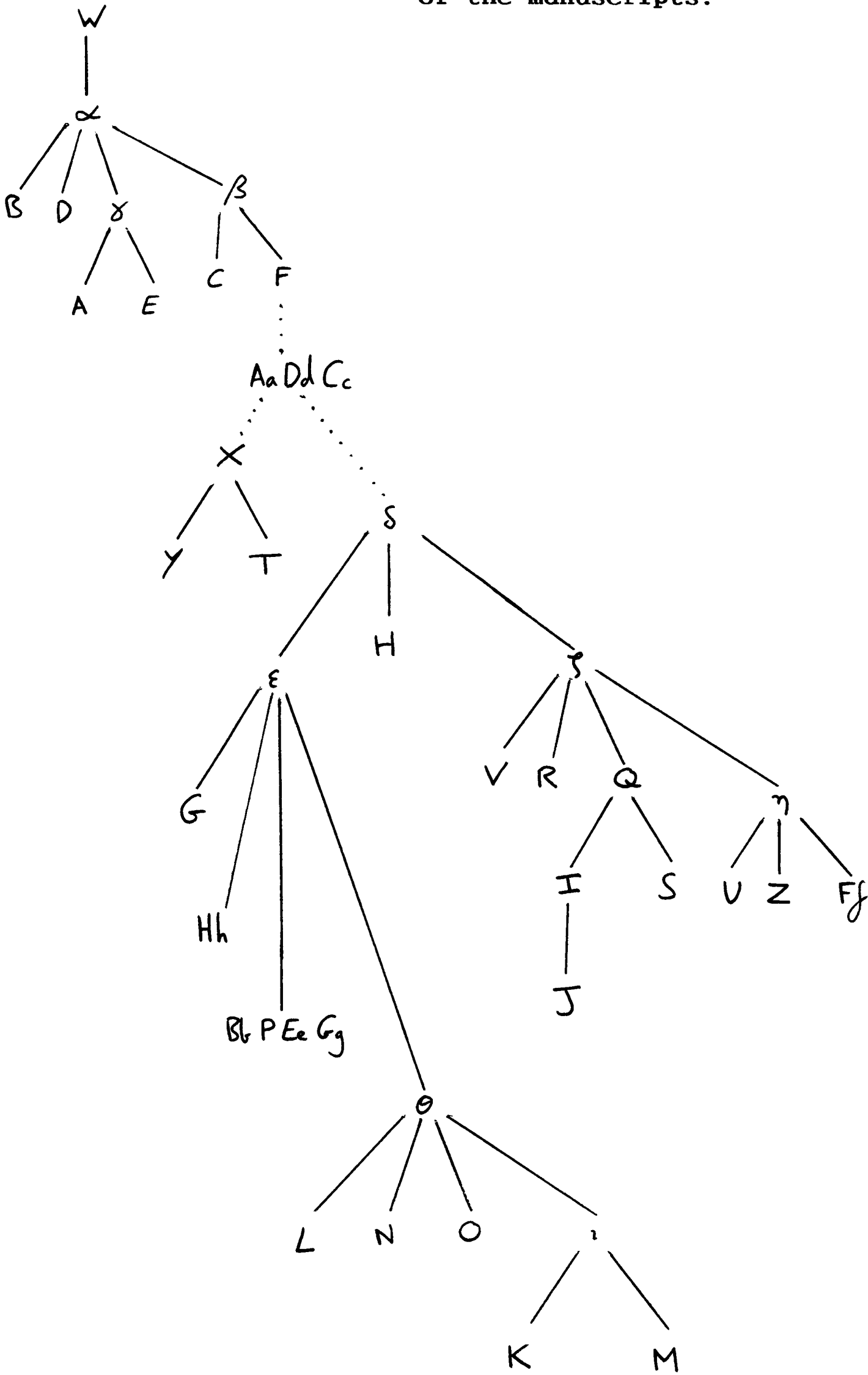
Fifthly, and most importantly, there are the numerous difficulties caused by the evidence of extensive deliberate reworking of the text at every stage in its development.

Stemma.

In order to make the following discussion of the relationships of the manuscripts easier to follow, the stemma given overleaf is offered. However, it should be noted that there are substantial problems in determining the textual relationships of the manuscripts at various points in the stemma, as discussed in detail below. In particular, there are substantial problems in determining the relationships between F, AaDdCc, XYT and subsequent versions of the text. The relationships between these groups of manuscripts are therefore represented by dotted lines, denoting an unclear manuscript descent.

This stemma does not indicate in any way the relationships between the manuscripts of the second half of the seventh-version text, for a discussion of which see pp.158-161 below.

Tentative stemmatic representation of the relationships
of the manuscripts.



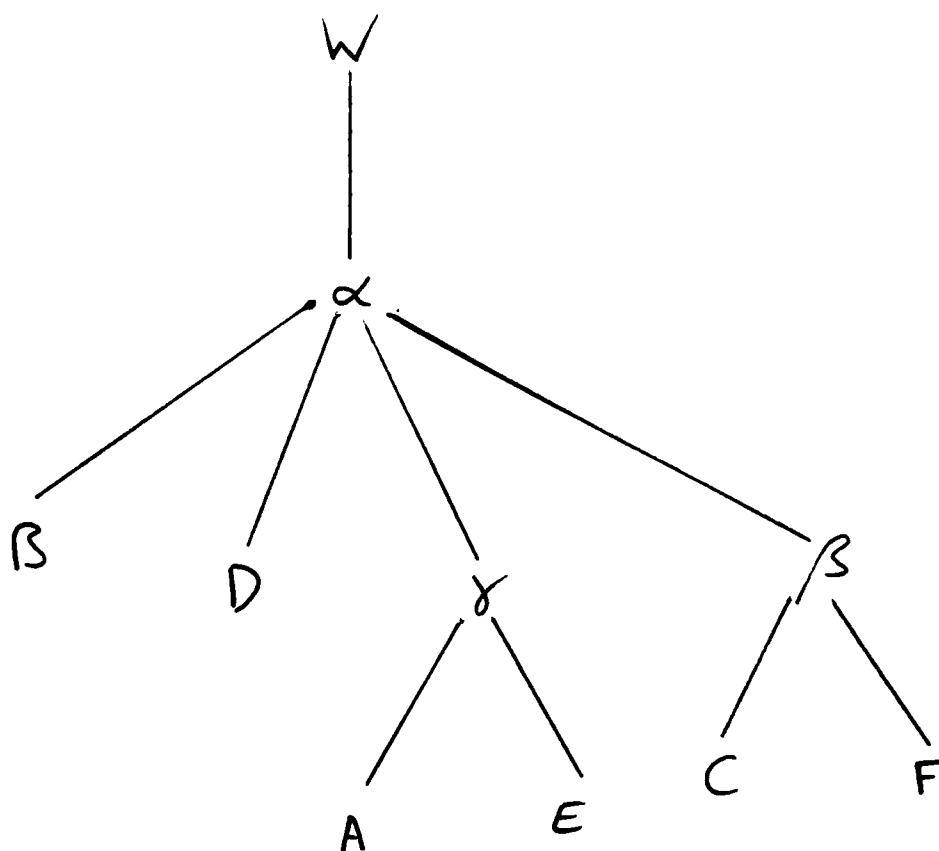
Manuscripts ABCDEF (the first- and second-version texts).

The phrase **wyþ pride** 1 12, common to ABCDE but not found in the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible, suggests either derivation from a manuscript or manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible with a variant reading not collated by Forshall and Madden, or from a common exemplar α as assumed here. That B cannot have been this exemplar is shown by the isolative variant **hondis** 1 8. Likewise, the omission of **& yf I haue all feyþ** 1 6, and the lengthy additions in lines 1 8 and 1 13, show that D cannot have been this exemplar.

A common descent for A and E is shown by the common ending passage (1 19-21), while omission of it **þenkyþ not evele** 1 14, in E, and of **gidere** 1 15, in A, shows that this descent must be from a common exemplar γ , since in neither case is the omission of a sort which a scribe might be expected to be able to remedy by intuition.

A common descent for C and for F, the only witness of the first major expansion of the text, is shown by the shared closing passage, 2 32-34. That C cannot be the exemplar for F is suggested by the isolative error **begynyng**e, later corrected to **be`n`gynyng**e, 1 11, and therefore a common exemplar β without the expansions of F is postulated.

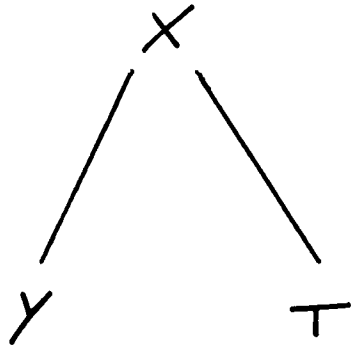
Stemma for manuscripts ABCDEF.



The manuscripts of the third-version text.

Among third-version manuscripts, in XYT the scriptural opening passage and the enumeration of the conditions are incorporated into a longer text on the theological virtues. AaDd may immediately be identified as standing apart in having quite different, and shorter, introductory sections on faith and hope, and in lacking the scriptural opening passage (3 29-35), ruling out these manuscripts from consideration as exemplars for XYT. That AaDd cannot themselves be revisions of XYT with a shortened opening is shown by the retention in AaDd of the closing passage found in F (2 32-34), demonstrating a common descent for XYT distinct from that of AaDd. That T cannot be this common exemplar is shown by the omission of the numbering of the conditions. That Y also cannot be this exemplar is shown by the omission of *pat...louen* 3 37-38, the presence of which in the exemplar for this group of manuscripts is demanded by the presence of this passage in subsequent versions of the text discussed below. (The omission of this passage in AaDd also is here taken to be coincidental; however, one should note the comments on this situation already made above). There are no isolative variants which prevent X from being regarded as the exemplar for both Y and T, and the shared omission of *pe sixtenpe* 3 42 in Y and T may perhaps be regarded as being coincidental, rather than demanding a further shared exemplar for these manuscripts subsequent to X.

The stemma for manuscripts XYT might thus be represented:



There are rather more problems concerning the relationship between Aa and Dd, and also between both of these manuscripts and Cc, the remaining third-version manuscript. Cc omits the scriptural opening passage and the enumeration of the conditions, and has a unique opening not found elsewhere. At 3 35 *charite* Aa shares a reading with F that is not in XYT, Dd or Cc. At 3 17 *benynge* the reading of Dd is verbally closest to F, while Aa shows only minor variation, in a passage absent from XYT and from Cc. At *hirsilf* 3 26 Aa and Dd both have readings close to F in a passage absent from XYT and Cc. Like F, Dd lacks *þing* 3 33, while Aa shows a variant reading *some*. Thus, one might conclude that Dd and Aa are closer to F than XYT and Cc. However, at 3 27 *she suffre* Aa and Dd both show a reading *he haue* in place of the common reading *he/she suffre* of F, XYT and Cc. At 3 37 *hopip* an isolative variant in Aa rules this manuscript out from consideration as exemplar for any other. At 3 40 *comen* Aa and Cc both show a reading not shown by F, XYT or Dd.

This situation is not easily explained except by conflation of exemplars. The relationship among XYT has been tentatively established above. However, the relationship between XYT, AaDdCc

and F cannot easily be established, nor can the relationship among Aa, Dd and Cc.

The manuscripts of the fourth-version text.

That the next group of manuscripts, GHIJQRUZSVFf, represented here by the fourth-version text from G, are descended from an exemplar close to F or AaDd is shown by the presence of passages common to F and AaDd which are omitted by XYT and Cc (2 32-34, pat...suffrid 2 14). That F cannot itself be this exemplar is shown by the presence in the manuscripts of this group of various reworkings of the material found in 3 26-28 and 3 36-37. That AaDd cannot be this exemplar is shown by their omission of the scriptural opening passage.

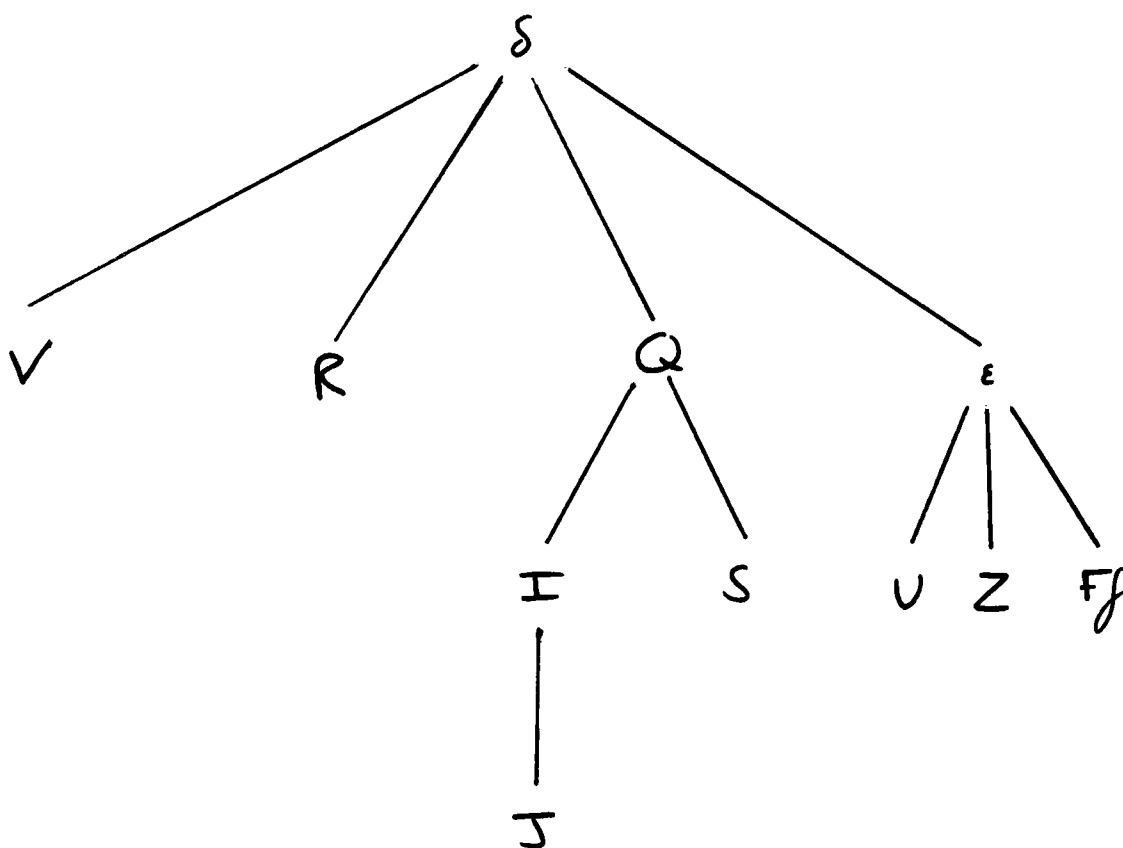
In the group GHIJQRUZSVFf, the added word *nedis* 4 15 in a passage inherited from the previous version of the text demonstrates that G cannot be the exemplar for any other manuscript. The omission in H of *suffrid* 4 23 in a similarly inherited passage demonstrates that this manuscript also cannot have been an exemplar for any other. The omission of the scriptural opening passage (4 3-11) from IJQRUZSVFf rules out any of these manuscripts from consideration as exemplars for H, G or either of the subsequent versions of the text. A common exemplar for these manuscripts with the omission of this material is therefore suggested here.

A common descent for UZFf is shown by the fact that these three manuscripts all incorporate the text into a longer text on the theological virtues. That Z cannot be the exemplar for U or Ff is shown by the isolative variant *good god* 4 27. (The common reading *fendis payne* of H and Z at 4 57 may perhaps be taken to be coincidental; however, conflation cannot be ruled out). That U cannot be the exemplar for Z or Ff is shown by *& per* 4 27. (The common reading *pingis euere* of G and U at 4 62 may again perhaps be regarded as coincidental). That Ff cannot be the exemplar for U or Z is shown by the reading also at 4 38 *sipen...dede, oonly for hool* 4 42 and by a number of more minor variants. (The reading of *for on* 4 56 in both J and Ff is taken to be coincidental, as is the occurrence of *oonly* in H also at 4 42). That V cannot be the exemplar for any manuscript is shown by its incorporating the text into another longer text, and by the isolative variants *misseyyde* 4 17, *don pes* 4 23, *manere lawes* 4 26, *not wipouten ende* 4 78, *wel* 4 81 and *so god graunte amen* 4 81. Likewise, the isolative variant *fully* 4 42 shows that R cannot be the exemplar for any manuscript.

The common reading *good* 4 33 in IJQS suggests a common descent for these four manuscripts. That S cannot be this exemplar is shown by the omission of *as...wickidnesse* 4 56-57. Further common descent for IJ from Q, which itself shows no isolative variants, is perhaps suggested by the common reading *pis is pe* 4 30 in IJ, although this may perhaps be regarded as coincidental linguistic variation. If it is accepted as evidence for common descent, then the isolative variants *thridde lawe* 4 29 and *do euere* 4 29 in J show that this

descent must be from I.

The derivation of the group IJQRUZSVFf from a common exemplar δ lacking the isolative variants of G and H noted above (and presumably also lacking the scriptural opening passage, although independent omission of this material cannot be ruled out) might thus be represented as follows, with ϵ being the common exemplar for UZFf:



The manuscripts of the fifth-version text.

That BbPEeGg, the manuscripts of the fifth-version text, are descended from an exemplar close to G is shown by the shared readings *priuetees 4 6, dele...and 4 9, and noþing...me 4 11* in the scriptural opening passage (material which is lacking in all manuscripts of the fourth-version except G and H). However, that G cannot itself be the exemplar for these manuscripts is shown by the reworking in BbPEeGg at 5 5-7 of material from HIJQRUZSV not found in G.

The relationships among these four manuscripts are very complicated. There are isolative variants in each manuscript, and examples of each pair of manuscripts showing shared variants against the common readings of the other two (of EeGg against PBb at 5 9 *opir*, 5 47 *pat*, 5 54 *to*; of PGg against BbEe at 5 18 *mennes*, 5 20 *noþing*, 5 53 *god*, 5 60 *euencristyn*; of PEe against BbGg at 5 29 *lorde god*)⁸ making it impossible to discern with any certainty the relationships among the manuscripts.

The sixth-version text.

The sixth-version text, preserved in the single manuscript Hh

⁸ These variants are all selected from passages where the readings of the fourth-version manuscripts are all substantially different, making conflation with a manuscript of the earlier reworking of the text impossible as an explanation here.

(where it is incorporated into a longer text on the theological virtues which is itself part of an extensive confessor's manual), is derived, independently of the fifth-version manuscripts, from a manuscript of the fourth-version text. Since the scriptural opening is present (albeit in a strangely abbreviated form) and the passage common to HIJQRUZSVFf at 4 12-13 is absent, this derivation is possibly from G (with the omission of the material from the seventh-version text) or a manuscript close to it. However, the extent of the revision in Hh is such that it is impossible to determine its relationship with the fourth-version manuscripts any more clearly.

The manuscripts of the fifth- and seventh-version texts.

As noted above (note 3), the situation with the final expansion of the text, the seventh-version text from K presented here, is complicated by the occurrence in GPEeGg of the second half of the text found in K and M. This situation can be explained either by conflation, or by the presence of this material in a common exemplar for G, BbPEeGg and this group of manuscripts.

The latter explanation is supported by a consideration of the relationships of LNO, the witnesses of the seventh-version text which, like Bb, lack the concluding discussion of love for God and one's neighbour. LNO show several common readings, kynnes 7 16, ne wip LO wip N 7 29, and soþnesse & treuþe 7 40, and also show a

close similarity in their readings at 7 49-50 and in their conclusions after 7 53 (where they preserve largely the reading of the fourth and earlier versions of the text). These clearly show a common descent for these manuscripts (the verbal similarities found between M and N at various points, particularly in the formulation *pat is to say*, are here taken to be coincidental). The omission of the concluding part of the text may thus be considered to have occurred at a minimum of two points: in Bb, and in the common exemplar of LNO (and possibly also in Hh, if the sixth-version text is derived from a manuscript containing this material).

This consideration lends weight to the argument for shared omission, and is further supported by an examination of 5 113-119, 7 54-60. This material is common not only to KGMPEeGg, but also to Bb.⁹ Thus, it might be hypothesised that this material is present in a common exemplar for G, KMLNO and BbPEeGg, but has been omitted in the shared exemplar for LNO, and that all subsequent material (7 61-113) has likewise been omitted in these three manuscripts and, independently, in Bb.

This explanation would also explain the similarity of 5 110-112 and 7 51-53, where the scriptural passage *& he pat duelles in charite duelles in God, and Gode in hym*, (1 John 4:16), which is

⁹ In the edited texts offered below, this passage is given in both the fifth- and seventh-version texts. These lines in PGg are collated against Bb, the fifth-version text, because they show closer readings to this manuscript, while Ee, which shows readings closer to K, is accordingly collated against this manuscript from 7 54 onwards.

not found in the fourth-version text or any other manuscript of an earlier version of the text, is common to both groups of manuscripts. (The Biblical origin of this passage, and of the preceding words in the seventh-version text, is noted in G at 7 52).

However, this assumption is made much more difficult by the presence in Ee at 5 106 of material found also in LNO (and likewise in Hh, G and other fourth-version manuscripts). Therefore, if the assumption of independent omission of the latter part of the seventh-version text in LNO and Bb is retained, one must further assume common omission of 4 79-82 in BbPGg and in KM.

This confusing situation may thus be summarised as follows:

- (i) BbGgPEe show the fifth-version text.
- (ii) KM show the whole of the seventh-version text.
- (iii) KMLNO show the first half of the seventh-version text.
- (iv) G, KM, and PEeGg show the second half of the seventh-version text.
- (v) Bb and KGMPEeGg share material not found in LNO at 5 113-119, 7 54-60.
- (vi) BbPEeGg and KLG MNO cite at the same point in the argument of

the text (5 110-112, 7 51-53) a scriptural passage which is not found in the fourth or earlier versions of the text.

(vii) Ee shows at 5 106 material found also in LNO (and also in Hh, G and other fourth-version manuscripts), but not found in BbPGg or in KM.

These considerations, together with the presence of substantial variation in each of the manuscripts which show the second part of the seventh-version text (7 55-113), make it impossible to determine the relationships among KGMPEeGg for this part of the text.

The manuscripts of the first half of the seventh-version text (7 1-54).

The readings bere ouer 7 7 G, bere ouere K, ouerbere L, as opposed to move in H, make necessary a common exemplar for G and the common ancestor of KMLNO¹⁰. This argument rests upon the

¹⁰ The similarity of 4 7-8 so þat I bere ouer hilles and do hem remoue þoru3 my feiþ fro o place to anoþer and 7 4-6, so þat I bere ouere hillis & make hem remoue þoru3 my feiþ from on place to anoþere, with the same scriptural text in the Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible as given by Forshall and Madden, so that I bere ouere hillis fro o place to another, may give one cause to reconsider the case in favour of comparison with a manuscript of the Early Version of the Bible here. However, neither G nor the seventh-version text of the treatise show any other influence of the Early Version of the Bible translation, and this similarity may represent a verbal recollection of a variant translation of the

assumption that remeue BbPEeGg is more likely to have been derived from move of H and other manuscripts than from bere ouer. (If the argument that 7 61-113 has been independently omitted in LNO and Bb is maintained, then it is possible that G may itself be the exemplar for the common ancestor of KMLNO).

Tynking 7 4, in LNO, as in the fourth-version manuscripts, as opposed to chymbande¹¹ in K and M, shows that neither K nor M can be the exemplar for LNO. Since N lacks 7 1-12, it cannot be the exemplar for LO. That neither L nor O can be this exemplar is shown by the isolative variants tungis of men & of aungelis 7 2, wip wille alle harmes þat comen 7 47, and the omission of &(2)...feip 7 5 in O, and by the isolative variants & if Y haue 7 5, bodily boþe 7 23, feriys 7 29, and the omission of &...ben 7 44-45 in L.

M, with its numerous expansions and divergent linguistic forms throughout, cannot be the exemplar for K, while the isolative variant nemmyþ, 7 13, in K shows that it cannot be the exemplar for M. K and M may thus be derived from a common exemplar itself derived from the common exemplar for LNO, or, since tynkyng in LNO

scriptural text on the part of the scribe of G.

¹¹ The large number of citations of the use of chymbe found in MED, as opposed to the single example for tynke of this very passage from the Wycliffite Bible in OED with an attempted emendation under the headword tinkle, along with the citation of only this single example in Stratmann under tinken, suggest that tynking and not chymbande should be regarded here as difficilior lectio. There are therefore no grounds for assuming contamination from the otherwise very different rendering of this passage in the text from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS Parker 32, which also reads chymbande (ed. M.J.Powell, The Pauline Epistles, EETS, E.S., 116 (1916)).

is difficilior lectio, they may both be derived independently from the exemplar for LNO. (The latter explanation is made less likely if 7 61-113 is not taken to have been present in the exemplar for LNO and these manuscripts).

Note 1: Variation between bolnep/bolned and blowep/blowen.

In this consideration of the textual relationships of the manuscripts, two instances of widespread variation over many manuscripts have been left for explanation at this stage.

The first of these is variation between bolned and blowen (first-version text 12). The evidence may be summarised as follows:

BCEW ¹²	blowen
AD	bolned
F	bolnep
X	bolliþ
YAaCcDd	bolnep
T	blowiþ
GHIJQRUZSVFf	bolnep
BbEe	blowne
Gg	bolnep ne blowen
P	blowyng

¹² Forshall and Madden record no variant readings for this word in the later version; for the earlier version, inblowyn is given as the reading for all manuscripts but one, which has blowen.

In BCEW, AD, BbEe, Gg (presumably),¹³ P, and KLMNO the form is found in a participial construction, and in F, X, YAaCcDd, T and GHIJQRUZSVff as an active verb. The preferred explanation adopted here is that free variation is found in the selection of **blowen/blowip** or **bolned/bolnep**, with such variation being regarded as a matter of linguistic variation only. However, an alternative argument would be that **blowen/blowip** should be regarded as difficilior lectio, since the evidence of MED shows a slightly greater frequency for **bolned/bolnep** in this sense in the late Middle English period, although **blowen/blowip** is also well attested in this sense. If this argument were to be adopted, it would be necessary to assume that not X but a manuscript (possibly similar in all other respects) with the form **blowip** was the exemplar for Y and T (which shows this form), and for X also. Similarly, whatever the relationships between F and the third-version manuscripts might be, F, having the form **bolnep** could not be the direct exemplar for the group of manuscripts containing T.

Note 2: Variation between li3t and litel.

The latter explanation has been adopted in the case of variation between li3t and litel in the fourth-, fifth- and sixth-

¹³ **bolnep** in this manuscript is possibly an error for **bolned**, since the form is found in a participial construction.

version texts (G 20, Bb 34, Hh 53; GHIQRUZSPFfGg li3t, JVBbEeHh litel). It is here assumed that the somewhat figurative use of li3t as a modifier of word is difficilior lectio, and that J, V, Bb, Ee, and Hh all show independent substitution of litel.

{Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86, fols.35r-36r}
{First-Version text}

Here sueþ þe xvi condiciouns of charite þat Poul writiþ
to þe Cor'. , xiii c. :

- And yf I speke wyþ tungys of men & of angels & I haue
not charite, I am made of bras sownynge or as a cymball
5 f.35v tynkinge. And yf I haue profesye & knowe al misteryes |&
al kunnyng, & yf I haue all feyþ so þat I move hyllys fro
here placys & haue not charite, I am novghte; & yf I
departe all my goodys into me`e`tyes of pore men, and yf
I bytake my body so þat I brenne, & haue not charite, yt
10 profytyþ to me no thynnge.

Charyte ys pacyente; yt ys benynge. Charite envyeþ
not. It doyþ not wyckydly. It ys not bolned wyþ pride.
It ys not covetous. It sekyþ not tho þingys þat be hys
owne. It ys not styrred to wrappe. It þenkyþ not evele.
15 It ioyeþ not on wyckydnes, but yt ioyeþ to treupe. It
suffryþ all thynngys. It byleueþ all þingys. It hopyþ all
þyngys. It susteyneþ all þyngys. Charyte fallyt neuer
downe.

And so charite byleueþ all þingys þat God & hys lawe
20 f.36r comavndyþ to by|leue, & avoydeth al oper þingys of
vnbeleue þat ys vnacordinge to god & to hys lawes.

Textual notes:

MSS: A; BCDEW.

1 here...xiii c.(2)] om. W. here sueþ] om. BD. sueþ] begynneþ
C. xvi] fyftene C. condiciouns] condicouns canc. condiciouns
E. þat...xiii c.] om. BC. 2 to þe] ad D. xiii] þe xiii
E. 3 And] om. BCDW. 4 of] as BCDEW. as] om. BW.
6 &...feyþ] om. D. 7 placys] place BCW. &(1)] & y BDEW.
8 meetys] the metis W, þe hondis B, metis of pore men & I haue not
charite it profiteth to me no thing D. 9 &] & y BDE, yf y C,
and yf y W. 10 to me] om. B. 11 benynge] be`n`gynynge C.
envyeþ] comeþ not canc. enuyeþ C. 12 doyb] not canc. doithe
E. wyckydly] wyky canc. wyckydly A. bolned] blowen BCEW.
wyp pride] om. W. 13 owne] owne but that that is profitable
to many men D. 14 it(1)] ht is owen canc. it C.
it(2)...evele] om. E. not(2)] non C. 15 to] to gidere to
BDW, to gedir wip C, to gader E. 16 it(1)] it canc. it A.
it(1)...þingys] om. BD. byleueþ] bysem canc. byleueþ A. 17
þyngys(2)] thingis it beleuith all thingis D. 19
and...lawes(21)] but lasteþ for euer in þys world & in þat oþer as
loue of god faileþ neuer & yf aman knew no more of þe lawe of god
but þese xvi condicions & besied him to kepe hem he my3t ly3tly
come to heuen & wete who wente amys C, om. BDW.

{London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols.87v-89v}
 {Second-Version Text}

MS: F.

These ben þe xvi condiciouns of charite þat seint
 Poul techiþ.

- If Y speke wiþ tungis of men & of aungels & Y haue
 not charite, Y am maad as bras sownyng or a symbal
 5 tynkinge. And if Y hau profecie & knowe alle misteries
 f.88r & al kunnynge, & if Y haue al feiþ so þat Y moue hil|lis
 fro her place, & Y haue not charite, Y am nou3t; & if Y
departe alle my goodis into þe metis of pore men, & if
 Y bitake my bodi so þat Y brenne, & Y haue not charite,
 10 it profitiþ to me no þing.

And xvi condiciouns suen him þat is in charite. þe
 firste is þat he is pacient in suffringe wrongis. þe iie.
 is, he is benigne, þat is to do good in soule a3ens yuel
 f.88v þat he hap suffrid. þe iiie., he hap not enue to no |
 15 þing. þe iiiie. is þat he worchiþ not yuel. þe ve. is,
 he bolneþ not wiþ pride. þe vie. is, he coueitþ not
 worldli worschipe. þe viie. is, he sekiþ not propre
 goodis to himsilf, but profite to Cristis chirche. þe
 viiie. is, he is not wroop þou3 he suffre wronge. þe
 20 ix., he þinkiþ not yuel. þe xe., he ioieþ not on
 wickidnes. þe xie., he ioieþ wiþ God of truþe þat he
 loueþ. þe xiie. is, he takiþ it mekely what euer comeþ

f.89r to him. | þe xiiie. stondiþ in þis, þat he þat is in
charite bileueþ it is souereynli trewe al þat God seiþ.
25 þe xiiiie. condicioun stondiþ in þis point, þat he hopiþ
alle þingis turneþ to good to Goddis children. þe xve.
is þat he susteyneþ wiþ wille alle harmes þat
comen. And þe laste condicioun þat sueþ þis blessid vertu
is þat he þat is in charite falliþ neuer doun, but lastiþ
30 for euere in þis world & in þat opir, as þe loue of God
failiþ neuere.

f.89v And if a man | covde no more of þe lawe of God but
þese xvi condiciouns & bisiede him to kepe hem, he my3te
li3tli come to heuene & knowe who wente amys.

23 þis] is þis F.

{Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 512, fols.22v-25r}
 {Third-version text}

þe þridde vertu is charite.

Seynt Poul, þat was rauyschid into þe þridde heuene
 & herde derne wordis of God, spekiþ of charite & seiþ on
 þis wyse:

5 - If I speke wiþ tungis of men & of aungelis, & haue
 not charite, I am maad as a belle sownynge þat distroyeþ
 hirsilf. & if I haue profecie, & knowe alle mysteries &
 al kunynge & al feiþ, so þat I turne hillis, & haue not
 f.24r charite, noþing I am. & if | I departe to pore men alle
 10 my goodis, & 3yue my body to brenne, and haue not
 charite, it profitiþ not to me.

& forþi shulde we wite what is charite, Poul telliþ
 sixtene propretees þat suweþ þis charite:

þe firste proprete is þat charite is pacient in
 15 suffrynge of wrongis, for al oure charite moot be
 ensaumplid of Crist.

þe secunde is þat charite is benynge.

þe þridde, charite haþ not enuye to ony kyns þing.

þe fourþe, charite wiþouteforþ worchiþ not
 20 schrewidly.

þe fyfþe, charite stondiþ in þis, þat it bolliþ not
 wiþ pride.

þe sixte, charite coueytiþ not worldly worschip,
 f.24v for al worschip of | charite sche puttiþ hool to God.

Textual notes:

MSS: X; YTAaCcDd, AaCcDd inc. 14 þe firste.

1 is] is clepid Y. 2 þat] om. T. 3 derne] pryuy Y.
spekip] he spekip T. 7 haue] om. T. &...kunynge(32)] om.
Y. 8 not] no T. 9 to] my good to T. alle...goodis(34)]
om. T. 10 & 3yue] and if T, 3if Y. not] no T. 12 &
forþi] þerfor T. tellip] techip Y. 13 propretees]
condicions T. 14 þe] `primum' þe Y, charytee withe here
condycions charite ys the thryde vertue whiche ys loue that wee
shulde haue to god and to man and sixtene condycions suethe hym
that ys in charyte the Aa, þes be þe xvi condicions of charite þat
alle cristen men schulden be cloped with goostly þe Cc, charite wip
hir sixtene condicions sueþ þus charite is þe þridde vertu which
loue þat we schulde haue to god & to man and sixtene condicions
suen him þat is in charite Dd. proprete] om. AaCcDd. is(1)]
is þis T. charite] he AaDd. is] be Aa. in...of(15)] wip
Cc. 15 for...crist(16)] om. AaCcDd. 17 þe secunde is þat]
`ii' Y, om. TCc. is(1)...is(2)] he is Dd. charite is] he be
Aa. benynge] benynge for to doo good in soule ayenste yvelle
suffryde Aa, benigne þat is do good in soule a3enys yuel suffrid
Dd. 18 þe þridde] `iii' Y, om. TCc. charite] ys that hee
Aa, he Dd. kyns] kyn Dd, manyere of Aa, om. Cc. 19 þe
fourþe] `iiii' Y, om. TCc. charite] he Dd, ys that he Aa.
wipouteforþ] om. YAaDd. not] not wipouteforþ Y. schrewidly]
yvell AaDd, wickedly Cc. 21 þe fyfþe] `v' Y, om. TCc.
charite...þis] om. AaDd. stondip...it] om. Cc. þat] om. Dd.
it] he AaDd. bollip] bolnep YAaCcDd, blowip T. 23 þe sixte]
`vi' Y, om. TCc. charite] he Dd, that he Aa. not] no T.
24 for...god] om. AaCcDd. of] om. T. sche] om. T. hool]
hooly Y.

25 þe seueneþe is þat charite sekiþ not propre goodis
to hirsilf.

 þe ei3teþe, charite wrappiþ hir not, al3if she
suffre wrong.

 þe nynþe, charite þenkiþ not yuel.

30 þe tenþe, charite ioyeþ not on wickidnesse.

 þe enleuenþe, charite ioyeþ wiþ God of treuþe þat
she loueþ.

 þe twelfþe, charite takiþ mekely what þing euere hir
comeþ to.

35 þe þrittenþe, charite trowiþ al þat God seiþ.

 þe fourtenþe, charite stondiþ in þis poynt, þat she
hopiþ al þing turneþ to good of Godis children þat dreden
him & louen.

f.25r þe fyftenþe, charite sustey|neþ wiþ wille alle
40 harmes þat comen. 3he, sche is not discoumfortid if Godis
help bidip longe.

 þe sixtenþe, charite falliþ neuere doun, but lastiþ

25 þe...þat] om. Cc. þe seueneþe] `vii´ the seueneþe Y, charite
 T. is] condicion of charite is Y, om. AaDd. þat] om. Dd.
 charite] sche YT, he AaDd. 26 hirsilf] hymselfe but to the
 profyte of crystes chirche AaDd. 27 þe ei3teþe] `viii´ Y, om.
 TCc. charite] he Dd, that he Aa. wrappiþ] be nott wrothe Aa,
 is nou3t wroþe CcDd. hir not] not here T, om. AaCcDd. al3if]
 al if T, thoughe AaDd, alpou3h Cc. she suffre] he haue AaDd.
 28 wrong] wrongis Cc. 29 þe nynþe] `ix´ Y, om. TCc.
 charite] he Dd, that he Aa. not] noon TAa. 30 þe tenþe] `x´
 Y, om. TCc. charite] he Dd, condycion ys that he Aa. on] of
 Cc. 31 þe...loueþ(32)] om. T. þe enleuenþe] `xi´ Y, om. Cc.
 charite] he Dd, ys that he Aa. of] & with Cc. 32 she] he
 YAaCcDd. 33 þe twelfþe] `xii´ Y, om. TCc. charite] is þat
 he Dd, condycion ys that he Aa. takip] take Aa, suffriþ Cc.
 what...to(34)] all þynges þat come to hire Cc. þing] some Aa,
om. Dd. euere] om. T. hir...to(34)] come to hym AaDd.
 35 þe þrittenþe] `xiii´ Y, om. TCc. charite] he Dd, stondythe
 in thys he that ys in charyte Aa. trowiþ] beleuyþ Cc. al] or
 beleuythe all Aa. þat] that euyr Aa. 36 þe fourtenþe]
 `xiiii´ Y, om. TCc. charite...þat] om. Dd. charite] condycion
 Aa. stondiþ...louen(38)] hopiþ alle good þyng Cc. she] he
canc. sche Y, he AaDd. 37 hopiþ] hopethe or beleuythe that Aa.
 of] to AaDd. þat...louen(38)] om. YAaDd. 38 & louen] in
 loue T. 39 þe fyftenþe] `xv´ Y, om. TCc. charite] he Dd,
 ys that Aa. wille] om. T. alle] alle the Aa. 40 comen]
 comethe to hym Aa, comen to hire Cc. 3he...longe] om. AaCcDd.
 if] if al T. 41 bidip] biddip it T. 42 þe sixtenþe] om.
 YTCc, and the laste condycion that folowethe thys blessyde vertue
 of Aa, þe laste condicioun þat sueþ þis blessid vertu is þat it Dd.
 charite] om. Dd. falliþ] ys that sche fallethe Aa.
 lastip...not(44)] dureþ with god withowte ende and þou3h a man
 coude no more of þe lawe of god but þese xvi condicions of charite
 & besied hym to kepe hem he myght lightly come to heuene & se ho
 went amys Cc.

3

foreuere, bope in þis world & in þe toþir, as Godis loue
failiþ not.

43 boþe] om. AaDd. þe toþir] þat opere TAaDd. godis loue] the
loue of god Aa, loue of god Dd. 44 not] nott and thoughe a man
cowde noo more of the lawe of god but theese sixtene condycions and
besyede hym forto kepe them he myght lyghtlye come to hevene and
see or wytt whoo wente amys Aa, not and þou3 a man koude no more
of goddis lawe þan þese sixtene condiciouns & bisiede him to kepe
hem he mi3te li3tli come to heuene & wite who wente amys Dd.

{OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 938, fols.56r-58r}
 {Fourth-Version Text}

Here bigynnen þe xvi condicions of charite, Cor'. 13'.

POule spekiþ of charite & seiþ on þis wise:

- 3if I speke wiþ mannes tunge & wiþ angels tunge &
 f.56v haue not charite, I am maad but as bras sonnyng | or as
 5 a symbal tynking. And 3if I haue prophecie and haue
 knowen alle priuetees, & 3if I haue al kunnyng & al feiþ,
 so þat I bere ouer hilles and do hem remoue þoru3 my feiþ
 fro o place to anoþer, and haue not charite, I am nou3t.
 And 3if I dele to pore mennes mete alle my goodis, and
 10 3if I bitake my body to þe fir so þat I brenne, and I
 haue no charite, noþing it profitiþ to me.

And for he wolde þat men knewen what were charite,
 he rekenep hymself xvi propritees þat sueþ þis charite.

þe firste is þat charite is pacient `in suffryng of`
 15 wrongis, for al oure charite mot nedis be ensaumplid of
 Crist. But Crist was so pacient, as seynt Petir seiþ,
 `prima Petri 2'`, þat when he was mysseid he cursid not
 a3en, ne when he suffrid wrongis he manasid not a3en. O
 what charite hap he to suffr' wronge for Cristis loue,
 20 þat wol not suffre a li3t word but 3elde a worse a3en?

þe secounde proprite is þis, þat charite is benigne;
 ffor it is not ynow to suffre, `prima Petri 4'`, for so
 don þeefes, but to do good in soule a3ens euyl suffrid,
 f.57v for þat is good loue of þe fir of charite, & þis | is

Textual notes:

MSS: G; HIJQRUZSVFf; QUZSVFf inc. 12 and for.

1 Here...wise(2)] thes beth the xvi condicions of charite clereli
 declared H, here bigynneth þe xvi condicions of charite declarid
 R, om. J. condicions] propretees I. cor'...wise(2)] om. I.
 3 3if...me(11)] om. IJR. mannes...haue(4)] tunges of men & of
 angelis & I haue H. but] om. H. as a] om. H. 5 haue
 knowen] om. H. 6 priuetees] mysteriis H. 3if I haue] om.
 H. &...feip] and if I haue al faith H. 7 bere ouer] move
 H. and...anoper(8)] from ther place H. 8 and] and I H.
 not] no H. 9 dele...3if(10)] departe al my goodis into metis
 of pore men and H. 10 to þe fir] om. H. 11 noþing...me]
 it profitith me no thinge H. 12-13, see note below¹. 14
 firste] first profite H. in...of] addition in later hand over
deletion G, of QRUZSVFf. in...wrongis(15)] of wrongis done for
 H, of wrongis for IJ. 15 nedis] om. HIJQRUZSVFf. ensaumplid]
 exsaumplid UV. 16 but] but crist canc. but I, for H. petir]
 paule H. 17 prima...2'] om. HIJQRUZSVFf. cursid] misseyde
 V. 18 ne] nethir H. o] a IJQS. 19 to] `to' J. to
 suffr'] that suffrith H. 20 suffre] `suffre' J. li3t] litel
 JV. 3elde] yeve H. 21 proprite] profite H. is þis] is
 IJ, om. S. benigne] benyg U, benygne`te' S. 22 to(2)] forto
 H, om. I. `prima petri 4''] om. HIJQRUZSVFf. 23 don] don
 þes V. to] om. RUSZFf. do] om. V. in soule] om. H.
 suffrid] om. V. suffrid...good(24)] that is a gode H. 24
 fir] feip I. þis] that H, om. Ff. is(2)] om. V.

25 clepid benigne bi proprite of word. And þerfore clerkis
 seien þat þer ben þre lawes: þe firste is lawe of oure
 God, to do good for yuel; þe toþer is lawe of þe worlde,
 to do good for good & yuel for yuel, as mannes maner is;
 þe þridde is lawe of þe fend, to do yuel for good, and
 30 þis maner is of men when þei ben turned to fendis.

þe þridde proprite is þis, þat sueþ of þis secound,
 þat charite haþ not envie to no kyns þing, ffor it loueþ
 wel God & alle Goddis creaturis.

þe fourþe proprite þat sueþ of þis riche vertu is þat
 35 charite wiþouteforþ worchip not schrewidly; ffor as þis
 firste 3ok begynneþ wiþ pacience, and siþ goiþ into
 worching of mannes soule, so mot þis oþer 3ok forsake
 yuel wiþine and siþen yuel dede wiþouten by ordre of God.

þe fiueþ maner of charite stondiþ in þis, þat it
 40 bolneþ not wiþ pride, siþ it is þus pacient.

þe sixte folwiþ herof, þat it couetiþ not wordly
 worschip, for al worschip of charite sche puttþ hool in
 God.

f.57v þe seueneþ condicion þat sueþ þis charite | is þat
 45 it sekiþ not propre goodis to hirself, but sche sekiþ
 worschip to God & profit to his chirche.

þe ei3tiþ proprite of charite stondiþ in þis, þat
 charite wrappþ hir not, al3if sche suffre wrong, &
 þerfore it is li3t to siche menen to stonde wiþ pees &
 50 charite.

þe nyneþ proprite of charite is depper' þen pees

25 clepid] callid H. proprite] profite H. of] of þe V.
 þerfore] for U, herof R. 26 lawes] manere lawes V. is] is
 þe J, om. H. lawe] lawe is H. oure] om. HJ. 27 god] good
 god Z, god that is H. þe toþer] that oþir J, the secounde H,
 & þer U. lawe] þe lawe J, a lawe U, om. H. worlde] word I.
 28 mannes maner] condicion of man H. is] is forto do H. 29
 þridde] thridde lawe J. lawe of þe fend] the devillis law
 HIJQRUZSVFf. do] do euere J. 30 þis] þis is þe IJ, þis `is`
 þe V. maner...men] is manere of men QRUZSFf, condicion hath many
 a man H. is] om. IJ. is of] om. V. þei ben] he is H.
 to] vnto J, into R. fendis] deuelis IJQRUZSFf, the condicion of
 deuelis H. 31 is þis] om. U, is JQRZSVFf. þis...þis] that
 folowith the H. of] om. Ff. þis(2)] þe JR. secound]
 condicioun secounde V, secounde and saith H. 32 þat] is þat
 UFf. not] no H, noon JV, `noon` Ff. kyns] maner H. 33
 alle goddis] good IJQ. goddis] good S. 34 proprite] profite
 H. of] om. V. 35 wipouteforb...not] wipouten `forþe wirchþ
 not` Ff. not shrewidly] none evil H. as þis] as þe RV, the
 H. 36 begynnep] yuel wtinne canc. bigynnep U. and] om. U.
 sip] aftir that it H. to] om. H. 37 of] of a IJQRUZSFf,
 into H. 38 sipen...dede] also Ff. sipen] om. H. dede]
om. J. by] by the J. ordre] the commaundemente H. 40
 not] not not Z. wip] in J. sip] syn Ff, for H. þus] so HV.
 41 þe] and þe IJRUSVFf. sixte] `sixte` J. folwip] sueþ
 IJQRUZSFf. folwip...it] it H. not] no HJ. 42 al] al the
 H. of] om. U. sche] om. U. sche...hool] is put oonly H.
 hool] holy QUZSV, fully R, oonly Ff. 44 þat(1)...þis] of H.
 þis] in Ff. þat(2)] om. H. 45 it] she IJQSV. hirself]
 itsilf R. but...and(81)] om. R. sche] om. HIJQUZSVFf.
 48 hir] om. Ff. hir not] not pacience H. al3if] al if Z,
 allthough JQSV, thow H. sche] it UZFf. 49 siche] om.
 HIJQUZSVFf. &] in IJQS. 51 þees opere] the toþir H.

opere, þat it þenkip not yuel, ffor sicke þou3t turneþ
to yuel, as Iob made couenant to þenke not on a uirgyn,
'Iob 31'.

55 þe tenþe proprite þat sueþ þis vertu of charite: sche
ioieþ not on wickidnesse, as angels in heuen ioien of
peyne of fendis but not of her wickidnesse.

þe perfore þe elleueneþ condicion þat sueþ after of
charite, is þat it ioieþ wiþ God of treuþe, for þat he
60 loueþ.

þe twelfþe condicion þat sueþ þis charite is þat sche
takiþ mekely what þingis euere hir comeþ to.

þe þretenep condicion stondiþ in þis: þat charite
trowiþ al þat euere God seiþ, and, siþ noþing is good but
65 þat þat God seiþ, charite trowiþ al good þing; - 3he,
profit of synne, ffor men þat dreden God, 3if þei fallen
in synne, þei beþ mor' war þat þei synne not eftesone,
f.58r and | þanken God þe more of his gracious help, and alle
medeful dedis þei haue part of.

70 þe fourtenep condicion þat sueþ þis charite stondiþ
in þis poynt, þat sche hopiþ al þing turneþ to goode of
Goddis children, þat dreden hym in loue.

þe fifteneþ condicion þat sueþ þis charite is þat
sche susteneþ wiþ good wille alle harmes þat comen. 3he,
75 sche is not discomfortid 3if Goddis help abidiþ longe.

And so þe last condicion þat sueþ þis blessid vertu
is þat sche falliþ neuer don', but lastiþ euere in þis
world and in þe toþer, as loue of God failiþ not.

52 þat] for H. not] none HV. to] into IJQS, to none H.
 53 `iob 31''] om. HIJQRUZSVFf. 55 tenþe] om. V. of charite]
om. V. sche] `is' she J, is she U, is that she HZVFf. 56
 on] of JFf. on wickidnesse] wickidnesse on Z.
 as...wickidnesse(57)] om. S. in] of Z. 57 peyne...fendis]
 fendis payne HZ. of(2)] `of' Z. 58 þerfore] and therefore
 HIJUZSVFf. þe] þis IQZSFf, thes H. elleueneþ] om. HZFf.
 condicion] condiciones H. þat] om. HIJQUZSVFf. sueþ] folowith
 H. after of] om. H. of] om. IJQUZSVFf. 59 is þat] þat
 IJQUZSVFf, for H. it] she IS, he JQ. of] with JS, & wiþ I,
 for the H, om. Q. for] and H, om. IJQUZSVFf. he loueþ] lovith
 he H. 61 þis] om. H. 62 þingis] þing V, om. U. þingis
 euere] euere þing IQZSFf, þinge so euere J, so evir H. hir...to]
 come to hir HIJ, þat comeþ to hir QS, þat comeþ hir to Ff. 63
 condicion] condicioun of charite V. 64 al] all þinge J.
 þat...of(69)] thinge that is saide that god lovith which may
 sonnest profite mannes sowle H. euer] om. V. 65 þat(2)] om.
 IJQSff, þer Z. þing] om. Ff. 66 synne] synnes QZSFf.
 67 eftesone] eft IJQUZSV, ofte Ff. 68 god...more] more god
 IJQUZSFf, þe more god V. 69 þei haue] han þei IJQZSFf.
 70 sueþ þis] folowip aftir H. þis] aftir UZFf. 71 þat sche]
 for charite H. hopiþ] hopith that HJ. þing] þing þat I.
 of] to H. 72 in] with H. 73 þat(1)] which H. þis] om.
 H. is] om. QS. 74 susteneþ...longe(75)] helpith al men in
 trowble for the love of god and who that folowith the condiciones
 of charite is belovyd with god H. good] om. IJQUZSFf. 3he]
 3hit Ff. 75 3if] though JQUSV. abidiþ] bidiþ IQUFF.
 76 and...last] the xvi H. þe] þis J. þis] the H. uertu]
 uertu of charite H. 77 is] `is' I, om. QS. euere] for euere
 IJQUZSV, forþe for euere Ff. 78 and] ne QS. þe toþer] þat
 oþir J. as] for the H. loue...god] goddis loue IJQSV. not]
 neuir HIJQS, not wiþouten ende V.

80 And 3if a man koude no more of þe lawe of God but
 þees sixtene propritees and besie him to kepe hem, he
 my3t li3tly come to heuen and wite who went amys.
Explicit.

Note on transcribed text.

17 prima Petri 2', 22 prima Petri 4', and 53-54 Iob 31'
 are all written in the outer margins of the manuscript.
 (Likewise, the scriptural references from this manuscript in
 the apparatus of the seventh-version text at 7 52 and 60 are
 also written in the outer margins). In addition, the
 conditions are enumerated in the outer margins, and the
 running heading **xvi condicions of charite** occurs at the top
 of each page (neither of which features is represented in this
 transcription).

79 3if] though JQUV, þou3t S. a] om. U. koude] knew HFf.
of] `of' J, of alle V. þe...god] goddis lawe Ff. 80
sixtene] om. V. propritees] condicions HIJQUZSff. besie]
bisiede IJQUZSVff. him] `him' U. 81 li3tly] wel V.
and...explicit] so god graunte amen þus endeþ ffeip hope & charite
V. wite] wite canc. wite Ff, know H. who] `w'ho S. 82
explicit] here endip þe xvi propretees of charite IQ, expliciunt
ffeip hope and charite Z, om. HJRSff.

1. 12 and...charite(13)] bvt sithen clothyng of this love is so
mych loved of god and more worth to man than al this worldis riches
man sholde ful bisily laboure to know the profites of this love
but paule that was ravished into the iii hevyne and herde derne
wordis of god that is not leueful for vs to speke as it is shewid
by xvi profites of charite that folowith H, IJQRUZSVff as H except
as follows: clothyng] doyng I. this(1)] thy JQS. so] om. Ff.
worth] worthy JRUV. al this] alle þese IZ. this(2)] þe V.
worldis] wordly Q. ful] om. R. laboure...profites(1)] knowe
þe propretees IJ, knowe propirtees QRUZSVff. of(3)] þis
charitees canc. of Ff. into] vnto IJQRUZSVff. is(2)] beþ
IQSV, bene RUZff. leueful] here leful IJQRUZff. for] om. R.
for us to] vs forto IJQZSVff. as...by] tellip IJQ.
as...folowith] tellith xvi propirtees þt suen þis charite RUZSff,
here telleþ sixtene propurtes þat suen þis charite V.
profites(2)...folowith] condicions þat suen þis charyte I,
propirtees þat suen cristys charite J, propirtees þat suen þis
charite Q.

{Ushaw, St.Cuthbert's College, MS 28, fols.29v-34v}
 {Fifth-Version Text}

Off al uertues þat ben, charite is the best, for in
 hym be contenyd al othir vertues, and withoute þis vertu
 of charite mey no man be sauýd. And þefore euery man
 shulde lerne besily to knowe þe propurtes & condicions
 5 of þis vertu. Ffor Saynt Paule, - þat was raueshide vnto
 þe thrid heuen, þat herde & see þe priuites of God þat
 be not leueful man forto knoo, - herde & see þat no man
 f.30r my3t | haue ioýe but if he had charite here in þis liffe
 & ended þerin, althofe he hadde oþir grete vertues. &
 10 þefore he rekenep in hymself many grete vertues, & seith
 on þis maner:

- If I speke with mannes tong & angels tong, & haue
 no charite, I am made but as sownyng brasse, or as a
 chyme chymeyng. And if I haue prophecye & knowyng of al
 15 priuetes, & if I haue al knowyng & alle feith so þat
 thorowe my grete feiþe I myght remeue hilles fro one
 place to anoþir, & haue no charite, I am nou3te. And if
 I dele to pore mennes fode al my goodes, & loue God
 f.30v | so myche þat I take my body to þe fyr so þat hit
 20 brenne, & haue no charite, noþing profiteþe to me.

And for þe grete loue & charite þat he had to al
 men, he wolde þat þei knewe what charite were. And

Textual notes:

MSS: Bb; PEEGg.

1 off] þe sixtene condicions of charite of Ee, here is now to telle
 of the xvi pointys and condicions of þer vertue callid charite to
 speke of Gg. þat] þat þer P. is] is callid aftir scripture
 Gg. in] om. Gg. 2 hym] hit P, himsilf Gg. be] is Gg.
 3 sauýd] sauýd as scripture wittenessith Gg. euery...shulde(4)]
 schuld euery man Ee, shuld euerie man and woman Gg. 4
 lerne...knowe] lere and know welle Gg. &] & þe Gg. &
 condicions] om. PEE. 5 vertu] vertue charite Gg. vnto] into
 P. 6 þat(1)] om. Ee, þat there Gg. þe(2)] om. PEEGg.
 7 be] were Ee. man...knoo] for men to spek hem P, to men forto
 speke þeme Gg. knoo] speke Ee. herde] he herd PGg, & he Ee.
 &] om. Ee. 8 haue ioýe] be saued Ee. ioýe] ioie and blisse
 Gg. þis] his P. 9 ended] endith P, to end Gg. opir] many
 oper EeGg. grete] om. PGg. vertues] vertues old P. &(2)]
om. P. 10 rekenep] rehersep Ee. seith] said Gg. 11 on]
 in PGg. 12 mannes] anglis PGg. angels] mannes P, with
 mannys Gg. &(2)] & I Ee. 13 no] not PEEGg. made] om. P.
 as(1)] as a Ee. sownyng...chyme(14)] symballe Gg. sownyng
 brasse] metayll sownyng P. or] oper P. a] om. P. 14
 chyme] symboll PEE. if] þe3 P. al] all þe P. 15 if] þe3
 P. knowyng] connyng PEEGg. alle] om. Gg. 16
 myght...hilles] make `a` hylle to remewe Ee. 17 to] vnto Gg.
 &] & I Ee. no] no3t PEE. if] þe3 P. 18 dele] parte and
 dele Gg. to] vnto Gg. mennes] men PGg. fode] om. Gg.
 &] & haue no3t charyte it helpeþ me nou3t and 3if I Ee. 19
 þat(1)] so þat P. I] I for hys loue Ee. to] vnto Gg. þe]
om. P. so(2)...brenne(20)] to be brent for loue Gg. 20
 brenne] brenne for hym Ee. &] for his loue and P, and I Gg.
 no] no3t Ee. noþing] nothing of all þis PGg. profiteþe] it
 prophetes Ee. to] om. Gg. 21 for] ther for Gg, om. P.
 to] vnto Gg. al men] mankynde Ee. 22 þei] alle men Ee.
 were] were with his condicions and propirtees Gg. and] om. P.

25 perfore he rekenepe him sextene condicions or propurtes
 þat charite haþe, & by hem a man mey wat wheþir he be in
 charite or noon.

Ffirst, he seiþe, charite is pacient, þat is to sey,
 sufferyng in al maner persecucion or wronges þat mey
 falle or come to man. & of þies mey we take ensampul of
 oure lorde God & sauyour Iesu Crist, for he was so
 30 f.31r pacient, as Seint | Petir seiþe, þat when he was myssaide
 he cursid not ageyn, ne when he suffird wronges he
 manasseid not ageyn. Lorde, what charite haþe þat man or
 þat woman to suffir wrong for Crist loue, þat mey not
 suffir a lityl worde but if he 3elde a worse a3en?

35 þe seconde propurte is þis: charite, he seiþe, is
 benigne, þat is to sey, myld withoute ymagynacion of
 wikidnes or of malice; for it is not inowe3e to suffir,
 but a man behoues to do goode ayenes yuel þat he
 suffirde, for so dyde Crist, Seynt Steuyn, & many opir
 40 f.31v seyntes. And perfore clerkes seyen þer ben | thre lawes:
 the first is þe lawe of God, þat is to [do] goode for
 yuel; the seconde is þe lawe of þe worlde, þat is to do
 a goode `dede` for anopir goode dede; þe þride is þe lawe
 of þe deuel, þat is to do euyl for goode, & when men vsyn
 45 þis lawe þei ben turned into deuels, as Iudas was, whome
Crist himself callyd a deuel.

23 him] himsilfe PEE, himsilf for mannys saluacioun Gg. or
propurtes] and profitees Gg, om. PEE. 24 wat] know PGg.
25 noon] no3t EeGg, be nott P. 26 ffirst] and Gg. seiþe]
saith and tellith that Gg. is pacient] and pacience Gg. 27
sufferyng] pacience canc. sufferance Gg. persecucion or]
persecusyones & Ee. persecucion...wringes] diseas and wrong P,
desese & wrongis and tribulaciouns Gg. mey falle] fallen Ee.
28 falle...come] come othir fall P. or come] om. Ee. to] vnto
Gg. man] man or woman Gg. in þis lyfe Ee. þies] þis PGg.
mey we] now Gg. 29 lorde god] gode lorde PEE. 30 seiþe]
tellith Gg. 32 manasseid] threttyth ne manyshed Gg. lorde]
a P, o EeGg. þat...woman(33)] om. Ee. or...woman(33)] om. P.
33 þat(1)] om. Gg. wrong] desese and wrongis Gg. crist]
cristes EeGg. mey] wolde P, wol EeGg. 34 lityl] ly3t PGg.
but...3elde] said to hym but þat he wille saie Gg. if] om. PEE.
he] om. Ee. 35 propurte] condicion PEE, condicioun of charite
Gg. þis] þis þat PGg. he seiþe] om. PGg. 36 to sey] om.
P. myld] softe and myld Gg. ymagynacion] thinking or
imaginacion Gg. of] or Gg. 37 or] or evil or Gg. suffir]
suffre for so don þefes PEEGg. 38 to] forto Gg. goode] gode
in hys soule Ee. yuel] þe yll P. 39 suffirde] hath suffred
PEEGg. for...seyntes(40)] for þat is gode luf & þis is cleput
benygne by propurte of þe worde Ee. crist] criste and Gg.
seynt steuyn] om. P. 40 clerkes] grette clerkis Gg. þer]
þat þere PEEGg. 41 þe] om. PEE. of] of oure Ee. þat is]
and Gg. to] forto Gg. do] om. Bb. 42 yuel...anopir(43)]
om. P. is] law is Gg. þe(1)] om. Ee. to] forto Gg. 43
a] om. EeGg. dede(1)] om. EeGg. anopir] om. EeGg. dede(2)]
& yll for yll P, and iwill for iwill Gg, & yuel for yuel as mannes
maner is Ee. is] is saide Gg. is...lawe] law ys P. þe(2)]
om. Ee. 44 deuel] fende Ee. to] forto Gg. euyl] yll P.
&...deuel(46)] & þat is þe fendys condicion & þefore crist
cleput judas a fende for `he` dude yuel for gode Ee. men] men
or women Gg. 45 þis lawe] þe same manere Gg. lawe] om. P.
into] to þe Gg. whome] when PGg. 46 himself] om. Gg.
callyd] clepid P, callid him Gg.

The [bride] propurte þat charite haþe is þis: charite is not enuyus, for he þat is in charite is not glade for þe iuelfare of his euyncristyn, ne sory for þe welfare of hem, wheþir þei ben frendes or foos, for he loueþe wel Gode & al Goddes creatures.

f.32r The fourþe propurte of | charite [is þis: charite] wurkiþe not þat þing þat is aþene þe wille of God, neþir harmyng to his breþren in body nor in sowle.

55 þe fifte propurte is þis: charite is not blowne with pride, for he hateþe & fleiþe al pride, boþe bodily & gostly.

60 The sixte propurte of charite is þis: charite is not couetise, for hit couetis noþing with wronge, ne with striffe, ne with harmyng of his euencristyn, but frely departiþe of his goodes to hem þat haue nede, & more loueþe his broþir þan any wordely catel; nor he couetiþe no wordely worshiþe, but al worschip of charite yeldiþe to God. |

f.32v

47 bride] om. Bb. propurte] condicion P^{Ee}, propirte and condicioun Gg. þat] of EeGg. habe] om. EeGg. þis] said þat Gg. 48 enuyus...not] om. Gg. for] þat is P^{Ee}. 49 glade...hem(50)] yuel apeyed of þe welfare of hys ney3bore ne glad of hys yuelfare & dysese Ee. iuelfare] iwillefare and desese Gg. ne...hem(50)] om. Gg. þe(2)] herr P. 50 of hem] om. P. þei ben] he be Ee, ben Gg. ben] om. P. frendes...foos] enemye or frynde Ee. foos] enmys PGg. 51 he] charite Gg, whoso is in charyte Ee. goddes] good Gg, om. Ee. creatures] hyse Ee, creaturis for god P. 52 propurte] condicion P^{Ee}, condicioun and propirte. of] is þis P, is þis þat Gg. is þis charite] om. Bb, charite PGg, is þis charyte worcheþ no3t wickedly þat is he þat is in charyte Ee. 53 wurkiþe] wircheþ no3t wikedly þat is to sey he wircheþ P, wirchip not euyll ne wikkidly that is to saie he wirkith Gg. not] nothing Gg. þat þing] om. PGg. god] his god PGg. neþir] ne P, or Ee, ne skath ne Gg. 54 to] of EeGg. breþren] ne3boris neþer P, euyncristen nethir Gg. in(1)] nouþer in Ee. nor] ne P^{Ee}Gg. in(2)] om. Ee. sowle] soule of hym Gg. 55 propurte] condicion P^{Ee}, propirte and condicioun Gg. þis] þis þat Gg. blowne] blowyng P, bolneþ ne blowen Gg. 56 for he] þat is he þat P, þat is he þat is in charyte Ee, þat is to saie he Gg. & fleiþe] om. P. al] alle manere Gg. boþe] and fleth both P. 57 gostly] gostelie in thought in worde & werke & also in voice chere & porte and contenance Gg. 58 propurte of charite] condicion P, om. Ee, propirte and condicioun Gg. þis] this that Gg. 59 couetise] auerous Gg. for hit] þat is he þat P, þat is he Ee, þat is to saye he desirith ne Gg. ne...striffe] om. PGg. 60 striffe] stryfte Ee. with] om. P, in Gg. euencristyn] ne3boris PGg. frely] frelie and willinglie yeuyth and Gg. 61 of] of of Gg, om. P^{Ee}. his goodes] om. Ee. to] and alle Gg. haue nede] nede haþ Ee. more loueþe] loues more Ee. 62 broþir] breþer Ee, brothir in criste Gg. wordely] erly P. catel] goodis Gg. nor] ne P^{Ee}, and also Gg. 63 no] nou3t no manere of Gg. al...yeldiþe] alle manere worshippis charite puttith þem Gg, putteþ alle worshyp Ee. of] þat P. yeldiþe] pottip P.

65 The seuent propurte is þis: charite sekis not his
one thinges whit veniaunce, ne with malice, ne harmyng
his broþir.

70 þe eiþe propurte is þis: charite is not wrapide, for
he þat is in charite wrapes hym not for no cause for his
one persone, ne for no opir þing, but onely for syn &
Goddess cause; & wil not breke pesse for wrong done to
himselfe, but norisheþe pesse euermore.

75 f.33r þe niþe is depper þan þies opir, for charite
þenkkeþe no euyll, but aþenstondes & puttis oute of his
sowle al wickyde willes & vnleueful þowtes | þat touchyn
to syn aþenes God & his euencristen.

80 þe tent propurte of charite is þis: charite ioyeth
not at wickednes, but as angeles in heuyn ioy at the peyn
of feendes but noon of here wickidnes; ne he þat is in
charite makeþe no lauthter ne mirþe at synne, ne

65 seuent] sixth P. propurte] condicion PEE, propirte &
 condicioun Gg. sekis] becechith P. 66 thinges] þing P,
 þingis or goodis Gg. whit] þat is he þat is in charyte sechip
 no3t hys propur godys wiþ stryuyng Ee. veniaunce] vengeance PGg.
 ne(1)...broþir(67)] & duresse ne with stryff ne with harmyng no
 greuaunce of his euyncristen Gg. malice ne] stryfe in P.
 67 his broþir] of his neighboris P, of hys euencristen but he sechip
 þe worship of hys god & helpe & saluacion of hys breþeren soules
 Ee. 68 propurte] condicion PEE, condicioun & propirte of
 charite Gg. þis] þis þat PGg. wrapide] wrechid P. for] þat
 is P, ne irous that is vnto sey Gg. for...charite(69)] þat is
 he Ee. 69 charite] care canc. 'charite' P. wrapes...not]
 ys not wroth P. for(2)] of PEE. for(2)...persone(70)] þat is
 done vnto himsilfe Gg. not] om. Ee. 70 no...þing] noþer
 caus P. þing] cause Gg. &] & in PEE, & for Gg. 71 &] and
 also Gg. wil] wolde P. for] for no PEE, & reste for no maner
 Gg. done] or offencis þat is done Gg. done to himselfe] þat
 man doþ to hym Ee. 72 norisheþe] euere norisshith quoyeth &
 kepith reste and Gg. norisheþe...euermore] euer standeþ wiþ
 pees Ee. 73 is] condicion is PEE, propirte and condicioun of
 charite is more Gg. depper...for] þis Ee. depper] þis canc.
 depir P. for] þat ys P, is þat is to sey þat Gg. 74 no]
 no3t Ee. euyl] yll P. but...&] þat is he Ee. a3enstondes]
 wythstondeþ P, euere withstondith Gg. puttis] putt P, puttith
 & oppressith Gg. 75 sowle] hert PGg, om. Ee. wickyde] wikid
 and euyll Gg. wickyde...þowtes] vnleful þou3tes & wicked wylles
 Ee. willes] wyll P. 76 to] vnto anny Gg. god] þe wylle
 of god Ee. his] her Ee, om. Gg. euencristen] euencristen but
 doþ as job dude þat made couenounte not to þenke on þe uirgyne Ee.
 77 propurte] condicion PEE, condicioun and propirte Gg. of
 charite] om. Ee. þis] þis þat Gg. 78 at(1)] of P, at euylle
 and Gg. in] withinne Gg. ioy] þat ioyen Ee. at the] of the
 Gg, of PEE. 79 noon] no3t PEE, nou3 Gg. of] at Ee. ne]
 so Gg. 80 makeþe] shuld make Gg. no] no scorne ne Gg.
 lauthter] la3yng P. mirþe] any myrth ne solos Gg. synne] eny
 synne ne vices Gg.

procureþe ne assentiþe þerto, in wille, in worde, ne in deede, but is euer sory when he herys of synne þat is a3ens þe wille of his lorde Gode.

85 And þefore þe elleuent propurte seiþe he ioyeth in
 treuþe, þe whiche is the loue of our lorde Gode; for
 f.33v whoso is in charite is euer gladde | to helpe & mayntene
 trouthe & Goddes lawe.

þe tuelfte propurte is þis: charite suffirþe al, for
 he þat is in charite is euer redy to suffir mekely
 90 wronges, myssawes, repreues, sekeneþ, & al oþir diseses
 þat Gode wolde he suffirde.

þe xiii propurte is þis: charite trouþe al þinges
 þat Goddes lawe techis hym.

þe xiiii is þis: charite hopes al þinges, for [he]
 95 þat is in charite haþe fully set his feiþe & trist in
 God, þat he is ful of mercy and goodnes to for3eue hym

81 procureþe] to procure Gg. assentipe] assent P, to assente Gg,
 conseyles Ee. in(1)...deede(82)] in worde ne wille ne in noþing
 elles Ee. in(2)] ne in Gg, ne P. 82 but] but he Gg. is
 euer] euer is Ee. sory] sory & heuy Ee, sory and displesed Gg.
 of] of any Gg, any Ee. synne] synne or vices Gg. þat] don
 PGg, doon þe whoche Ee. is] om. PGg. 83 his] om. PGg.
 lorde] om. PEEGg. 84 and þerfore] om. Gg. propurte]
 condicion P, condycion þat sewep Ee, condicioun and propirte of
 charite Gg. he] in this wise þat charite Gg. in] euere in Gg,
 to Ee. 85 þe...gode] his lorde god loueth P, and so dop he
 that louyth his god verelie Gg. is...gode] his god louep Ee.
 for whoso] þerfore he þat Ee. 86 euer] om. P. gladde]
 gladde & bysye Ee, glad and willie Gg. &] and to Gg, & procur
 to Ee. 87 trouthe &] om. P, þe trouth of þe right of Gg.
 goddes lawe] soþefastnes Ee, gooddis law and his ordynance Gg.
 88 propurte] condicion PEE, condicioun & propirte Gg. þis] þis
 þat Gg. al] and sufficith alle Gg. for] thingis þat is PEE,
 þingis þat is to seie þat Gg. 89 euer] euermore P, euere
 preste and Gg. mekely] meke and pacientlie Gg. 90 wronges]
 wrongis and PGg. myssawes] myssayingis Gg, & Ee. repreues]
 scornys Gg. sekenes] for goddys loue & alle oþer harmes &
 sekenes. &...diseses] trybullaciouns and alle othir noyes &
 dessesis & meklie and pacientlie to take it a worth and to þanke
 god þerof hertelie and eke for alle manere oþer desesis Gg, om. Ee.
 91 wolde] woll PEE, will Gg. he] þat he PEEGg. suffirde]
 suffre PEE, shall suffir vnto helpe of his saluacioun Gg. 92
 propurte] condicion PEE, condicioun and propirte of charite Gg.
 þis] þis þat Gg. trouþe] beleuyth Gg, louith P. þinges] þing
 Gg. 93 þat] þat is alle þing þat Ee. goddes] godd Gg.
 hym] hym to trowe Ee, him to done for þe helth of body and soule
 Gg. 94 xiiii] xiiii condicion PEE, xiiiite condicioun and
 propirte Gg. þis] þis þat Gg. þinges] þing Gg. for] þat
 is he PEE, þat is to sey þat he Gg. he] om. Bb. 95 þat] om.
 Gg. feipe &] hoppe and his PEE, hoppe and his full Gg. 96
 is] om. Gg. and] and full of P, & of Ee, of grace and Gg.

his synnes if he forsake hem and be sory for hem & in
 f.34r wille no more to turne a3ene to hem, | & he wil saue him
 & bring him to his ioie withoute ende.

100 þe xv propurte or condicion is þis: charite
 susteneþe al þinges, for he þat is in charite susteneþe
 willefully & strongly what harme or disese þat mey come;
 for he is not discomforþe of Goddes helpe, alþoughe hit
 abide long.

105 þe sixtene condicion is this: charite falles or
 slides neuer downe, for he þat is in charite falles neuer
 from loue, but lastes & dures euer þerin in þis worde and
 in þat opir worde, in ioie withouten ende. For Gode
 fayles neuer to rewarde his louears with ioie, for he is
 110 f.34v | al ioie, & he þat duelles in charite duelles in God, and
 Gode in hym, with his helpe & his grace, in þis word &
 in heuen, with ioie & blisse whitoute ende.

And for þat God couetes þat al men shulde duelle in
him and he in hem, he haþe writyn to alle men what

97 his] of his Gg. synnes] synnys and offencis Gg. he] þat
 he wille be sorie & compunct in herte & forto Gg. and...hem] om.
 Gg. be sory] doo penaunce Ee. in...wil(98)] & Ee. in] in
 full P. 98 no...turne] to turne no more P. &] þat P. &
 he] that þanne god Gg. wil] wolde P. 99 to] vnto Gg.
 his...ende] euerlastyng ioy Ee. ioye] blis and ioy P, blisse
 & ioye þat lastith Gg. 100 propurte...condicion] condicioun
 and propirte of charite Gg. propurte or] om. P Ee. þis] þis
 þat Gg. 101 susteneþe(1)] sustenyth & suffrith Gg. for] þat
 is Ee. for...susteneþe] om. P Gg. 102 willefully] all
 thinges wilfully P. willefully & strongly] wiþ wille & wiþ
 conforde Ee. what] and þat whate Gg. or...for(103)] þat euer
 comeþ 3ee Ee. or] oþer P. þat...come] comith P, þat fallith
 or comyth Gg. 103 for] om. P Gg. he] it Gg. discomforþe]
 discomforted ne rebukid Gg. of] 3if Ee. goddes] god Gg.
 helpe] helpe and releuyng ayeine Gg. alþoughe] þoughe þat Gg,
 þe3 P, om. Ee. hit] om. Ee. abide] abide & dure Gg. 105
 condicion] propirte or condicioun Gg. is] & þe laste is Ee.
 this] þis þat Gg. 106 downe] adoun P. for] þat is P Ee, þat
 is to saie þat Gg. falles...prophetes(119)] feyleþ neuer of gode
 wille lastyng in þe luf of god for he þat dwelleþ in charyte
 dwelleþ in god & god in hym in þis world wiþ hys grace & hys helpe
 & in þe toþer wiþ ioy & conford world wiþouten ende and 3if a man
 knewe no more of þe law3e of god but þes syxtene condycyones &
 bysyed hym wiþ hys my3t to kepe hem ly3tlych he schuld come to
 heuen & know who went amysse þur3 þe grace of god þat he schuld
 haue for kepyng of þis uertu charyte Ee. 107 loue] þe loue of
 god Gg. but] but euere Gg. dures euer] endurith Gg. in]
 withinne Gg. worde] world Gg. 108 worde] om. P.
 þat...ioye] heuyn ioye to haue & charite Gg. for] and P Gg.
 109 fayles] faillith ne fallith Gg. to] forto Gg. louears]
 trew loueres P, trew lou`e`rs and his trewe seruantis Gg. ioy]
 ioie and conforde and heuynlie gladnesse Gg. 110 ioy] loue &
 ioie Gg. in(1)] with Gg. 111 in(2)...ende(112)] om. Gg.
 113 men] men and women P Gg. 114 he(2)] for he Bb. what]
 whate þat Gg.

.15 charite is, comawndide to al men pat wil be saued pat bei
holde hit in hert & mynde and sowle with al here power
& strenhe to loue God ouer þing, and þere neyghbore as
hemselfe. And in þies too biddynges hanghe alle lawe and
prophetes.

115 comawndide] and commaundith PGg. to] vnto Gg, om. P. men]
 men and women Gg. wil] wolden P, is willyn to Gg. 116
 holde] holden P, kepe it and hold Gg. in] in canc. withinne
 thaire Gg. &] and in Gg, in P. and] and in P. 117
 strenhe] all her streinthes P. to] forto Gg. ouer] aboue all
 othir PGg. neyghbore] neyghbours Gg. 118 and] þan Gg.
 þies] þis PGg. hanghe] hangeþ Gg. lawe] þe lawes P. and]
 and þe Gg.

{Cambridge, St.John's College, MS C. S.35, fols.19r-20v.}
 {Sixth-version text}

MS: Hh.

Charite.

Charite, - þat is `to' loue God aboue alle þingys,
 and þour neighborews as þoursilfe. And it is þe beste
 vertue of þes 3, for it schalle dure euermore, boþe in
 5 f.19r þis | worlde and in þat opere, but feith and hope endureþ
 noo lenger but in þis worlde.

But feiþ and hope ben diuerse:

For beleue is of þingis þat haue ben & be nowe, and
 of þingis þat schulle be herd after; as we beleue þat God
 10 made þe worlde of nou3t, and þat Goddis sone was borne
 of a maide & died, and roos fro deth to lyf, & suche
 opere þingis þat ben passid. Alsoo we beleue þat God is
 nowe in heuen and schall be euermore hereafter, and þat
 þe daie of doom schal bee.

15 But hope is al onlie of goode þingis to haue hem in
 blis. And þus we beleuen þat some ben dampned in helle
 and schull be dampned hereafter, but we hope not þat enie
 man schall be dampned, for we hope noþinge but þat
 touchip oure blis, for to come to blis bi oure goode
 20 werkis and oure good bileue.

Soo hope is of þinge þat maie be soþ eiper false,
 for we be not sekir þat we schull be saued, but bileue
 is of suche þinge þat bi noo weie maie be false.

25 And þus maye 3e knowe þe diuersite bitwix bileue and hope.

Charite.

Charite is þe 3 vertue of Goddis worde, & it stondip in to braunchis: þat is to loue God aboue all þinge, & your nei3bore as youresilfe.

30 And þese 2 loues ben writen in þe firste tables of þe x c[ommaundementys], þat God 3af to Moises. For 3 þe first c[ommaundementys] þat were writen in þe first table teche vs to loue God, and þe opere 7 writen in þe 2 teche vs to loue oure nei3bore as ouresilf. And þerfore hoo þat
35 kepþ Goddis c[ommaundementys] is in fulle charite, & wþoute charite maie no man be saued nor come to heuene.

Wherefore seint Poule seþ, i'. ad cor. 13':

- Thou3e I speke wþ þe tongis of menþ and of angelis, & were so wise þat I knewe alle profecies and
40 misteries, and had all maner of kunninge, & þou3e I hadde so moche feþ or bileue þat I mi3t turne hillis fro o place to anoþer, & þou3 I spende all mye goodis on pore menþ, and þou3e I tok my bodie to brente, if I hadde noo charite, alle were nou3t worþe to me, nor schulde auaile
45 me nor profite me in noo þinge.

31 commaundementys] c Hh.
35 commaundementys] c Hh.

32 commaundementys] c Hh.

There beth 16 condiciones & propurtees þat comen of þe vertue of charite:

Charite [is] pacient. þat is forto seie, he þat is
 f.19v fullie | in charite he wole suffre manie wrongis or he
 50 debate a3en. Ffor Criste þat is charite was pacient, þat
 when he was misseide, he misanswerid not a3en, and when
 he suffrid wrongis, he þretened not a3en. Nowe is noo man
 þat vnneþis wil suffre a litel worde þat reueþ him, but
 þat he wole 3elde a worse a3en. Paciens is so grete a
 55 vertu in himsilfe, þat lete an angre man or an inpacient
 man see anoþer man suffre pacientlie & mekelye wrongys,
 he wole preise þat man for his moche paciens. Also
 pacience ouercomeþ manie wrongefull men & makip hem
 aschamed of here owne wickidnes & of here owne folie.

60 2.

Paciens is benigne or boner, ffor it wole do good
 in soule a3ens wronge don to him. Clerkis seyen þat þer
 ben 3 lawis. The first is Goddis lawe, to do good for
 euel. The 2 is þe worldis lawe, to do good for good, and
 65 yuell for yuell, as manie men vsen. The 3 is þe deuelis
 lawe, to do yuel for good. þerfore, he þat failip þe
 first lawe, he hap not benignite.

48 is] in Hh.

64 for good] for good for good Hh.

3m.

70 C[harite] hap non enuie to no maner þinge. Euerie
 man schuld loue oper, boþe in bodie and in soule. "But,"
 paraenture 3e seie, "schal I loue þefis & opere wickid
 men?" 3ee, forsoþe, - but 3e schall hate synne & wickid
 lyuinge in euerie man, & amende it to 3our power. And so
 75 bi charite we schal loue alle men & hate here synne and
 here wickidnes.

4m.

80 C[harite] doþ non yuel schrewdlie, ffor ri3t as
 charite bi pacience & benignite suffrip wrongis and doþ
 good, ri3t soo it desireþ not for to doo yuel, for it is
 full of all goodnes.

5m.

85 C[harite] swellip not nor blouep not wip pride. 3e
 see well þat pride is a synne þat makip a man to desire
 hi3nes to be holde grete, and charite is full of mekenes
 þat is contrarie to pride.

69 charite] c Hh.
 Hh.

77 charite] c Hh.

as] as as

82 charite] c Hh.

6m.

90

C[harite] is not couetous, for hoo þat is not proude & hie in himsilfe, he desireþ full fewe worchippis of þe worlde. Seint Petre forbediþ clerkis to be lordis, i' Petri. ii'.

7m.

95

C[harite] sekiþ not his owne goodys, but principallie he sekiþ þe comoun profit to Goddis worchip. But nowe euerie man sekiþ so strei3tly his owne profit, þat no man vnneþis loues oþer. God amende it when is wille is.

8m.

100 f.20r

C[harite] is not sterid to wrath, for he wole not wrath himsilfe soo moche þat synne mi3t arise of þat wrath. But nowe if a man | speke an ouerwart worde to anoþer he schal be as wrothe as þou3e he had do him a grete harme. & 3it bi goodnes of charite, he schulde suffer harme mekelie rapen þen to be wroþ.

87 charite] c Hh.
c Hh.

92 charite] c Hh.

98 charite]

9m.

105 C[harite] þenkiþ non euel. And þerfore it semep well
 þat sithen þou3t is so fre, þat eche man þinkiþ what him
 list, & he þat is in full charite þenkiþ noon yuell, eche
 man þat wold kepe charite mi3t kepe him from alle yuel
 dedis. Therefore þe holie man Iob seyinge þat oute of
 110 yuel þou3t comeþ euell dede, he made couenaunt wiþ his
 y3en þat he schuld not þinke on a virgyn. Pepigi fedus
 cum oculis meis ut ut non cogitarem quidem de virgine,
 Iob 31'.

10m.

115 C[harite] is not glad nor ioieþ not on wikkidnes.
 11m. And þerof folewiþ þe 11 propurte, þat charite haþ
 ioie of treupe and of goodnes. And þese 2 propurtees of
 charite ben expresly a3ens enuie, ffor ri3t as a man þat
 is in C[harite] is not glad of wickidnes but is glad of
 120 treupe and goodnes, soo the enuious man eiþer woman is
 glad of anoþer mannes [euil] and sorie of his welfare.
 God wot þer beþ al to many giltie in þis synne of enuie,
 & so lesen charite.

105 charite] c Hh.
 in outer margin Hh.
 euil] om. Hh.

115 charite] c Hh.
 119 charite] c Hh.

116 11m]
 121

12m.

125 C[harite] suffrip or takip mekelie alle þingis þat
fallen, boþe in aduersite & prosperite, & þankip God of
all wip a good herte.

13m.

130 C[harite] beleueþ all þat God seith & is full trewe
& good, and þefore C[harite] beleuip alle gode thingis.

[14m.]

C[harite] hopip þat alle þinge turneþ to goode men
for þe best þat seruen God and kepen his hestys.

[15m.]

135 C[harite] sustey`nip` wip good wille alle harmes
and aduersitees þat comen, and is not discourfortid þouþe
Goddis helpe abide longe. And þat is a noble condicion
þat longip to C[harite], ffor þer ben manie men þat ben
in aduersite and angre, and beþ so inpacient þat þei
140 gruche aþens God, and make hemself vnable forto haue
Goddis helpe to be brou3t oute of here disese. Wherefore
abide Goddis grace, & he wole sende sone helpe þat schall

125 charite] c Hh.	129 charite] c Hh.	130
charite] c Hh.	131 14m] om. Hh.	132 charite]
c Hh.	134 15m] 14m Hh.	135 charite] c Hh.
138 charite] c Hh.		

be beste for 3ou.

[16m.]

145 C[harite] falliþ neuer doun, for it lastiþ euer boþe
 in þis world and in þat oþer; but bileue & hope endure
 no lengre þen we lyue heere. Ffor whenne we comen to
 blisse we schull knowe and fele opunlie þat we haue
 beleued and hopid heere in þis worlde. And if we di3en
 150 in charite, þen schal c[harite] be wiþ vs in blis
 wiþouten ende.

But principallie amonge þese propurtees kepe
 f.20v paciens, | for of mekenes of herte comeþ pacience. And
 ri3t as pride, þat is chief synne of alle þe 7 dedlie
 155 synnes and bringiþ forþe inpacience & strif and debate,
 ri3t so mekenes, þat is chief vertue and is most
 contrarie to pride, bringiþ forþe pacience and suffrauns
 of wrongis, boþe in worde & dede, and mayntenip and kepiþ
 pees þere þe debatis schuld be.

160 And I am certeine þat if 3e kepe wel pacience, 3e
 sculd kepe well alle þe propurtees þat longe to
 c[harite], and þen schull 3e kepe alle Goddis
commaundementys.

And alsoo if 3e beleue sadlie in þe pointis and in

144 16m] om. Hh.
 knoue canc. knowe Hh.
 charite] c Hh.

145 charite] c Hh.
 150 charite] c Hh.

148 knowe]
 162

165 þe articles þat beþ comprehendid in þe crede, þen schull
3e come to þe blis þat Criste bou3t 3ou to bi his grete
charite, & þere to lyue and kepe c[harite] wipouten ende.

And if a man knewe no more of þe lawe of God but
þese xvi condiciones and bisied him to kepe hem, he mi3t
170 li3tliie come to heuen and wite hoo wente amisse.

167 charite] c Hh.

Seynt Poul spekiþ of charite & seiþ on þis wyse:

5 - 3if I speke wiþ mannes tunge & wiþ aungels tunge &
haue not charite, I am maad but as sownande bras or a
cymbal chymbande; and 3if I haue prophecye & haue knowe
I alle priuetes, & 3if I haue al kunnnynge & al feiþ, so þat
I bere ouere hillis & make hem remoue þoru3 my feiþ from
on place to anoþere, & haue not charite, I am nou3t. And
3if I dele to pore mennes mete al my good, & 3if I take
my body to fyre so þat I brenne, & haue not charite,
10 noþing it profitiþ me.

And for he wolde þat men knewe what w`e`ere charite,
he nemmyþ hymself heraftir sextene condicions þat charite
hap, and be hem may men wytte wheþer þei ben in charite
or noght.

15 For charite he seiþ is paciente, þat is to seye,
suffryng in al kynnes persecucion. Charite he seiþ is
benygne, þat is, mylde wiþouten ymaginacion of
wickednesse or of malyce. Charite is not enuyous, þat

Textual notes:

MSS: K; LGMPNOEeGg; L ends 53 in hym, G inc. 49 for when, Ee inc. 54 and for, N inc. 13 and be ends 53 in hym, O ends 53 in hym, PGg inc. 61 but when.

1 seynt...wyse] charite is þe brid vertu whiche is loue þat we shulde haue to god & to man and sixtene condiciouns folowen hym þe whiche ben conteyned in a pistil of seynt poule þat begynneb þus O. seynt poul] hic incipit epistola sancti pauli de caritate saynte paule þe holy apostole of criste iesu in his epistele M. of charite] `of charite` L. on...wyse] þus M. 2 3if] if þat M. mannes...tunge(2)] tungis of men & of aungelis O. &...tunge] om. L. 3 haue not] haue with me no M. but] om. LMO. as] as a M. sownande bras] bras sownyng L0. or] or elles as M. 4 chymbande] tynkyng L0. haue(2)] om. LMO. knowe] kennyng also of M. 5 priuetes] priuete³ of god M. 3if I] if þat I M, om. L0. al(1)...&] om. M. &(2)] & if Y haue L. &(2)...feip] om. O. al(2)] all þe M. 6 bere] may ber' M. bere ouere] ouerbere O. hillis] hilles in to dales M. hem] þeme so gate³ to M. þoru³...anopere(7)] from oo place to anoper þorou my feip LMO. 7 haue not] haue with me no M. I] 3it I M. 8 to] vnto M. good] goodis O. 3if] if þat M. take] putte M. 9 to] to þe O, vnto þe M. not] no M. 10 me] to me MO. 11 and] om. M. for] fore þat M. w`e`ere charite] charite were L0. 12 he] om. M. nemmyþ] rekenyþ L0, rekennes her M. hymself heraftir] om. L0. heraftir] after M. 13 and] and so gate³ M, þese ben þe sixtene condiciouns of charite and N. may men] men may M. wytte] wyte and kenne M. þei] if þat þei M. 14 noght] nou³t in charite M. 15 for] om. LNO, at þe firste condicione of all he says þus M. he seip] om. MN. 16 suffryng] it is suffryng N. kynnes] maner of M, om. LNO. persecucion] persecusiouns NO, persecucione þat may befall in bodily degree M. he seip] om. MN. 17 is] es to say M. mylde] my`l`de O. of] of any M. 18 wickednesse] wykkydnes or of hate M.

is, it is euere glad of þe welfare of his euenecristen,
 20 & sory for þer yuelfare, wheþer þei ben frend or foo.
 Charite doþ not wickidly, þat is, he is euere besy to
 fle synne. Charite is not blowen wip pride, þat is, he
 þat is in charite, he hatip & leuip al pride, boþe bodily
 & gostly. Charite is not coueytous, þat is, it coueytip
 25 noþing wip wrong, but frely departip to alle þat nede
 han, & louep more his euenecristen þan any worldly
 hauyng. Charite sekip not þe þinges þat ben hise, þat is,
 he sekip not his owne þing wip motyng, wip veniaunce, wip
 malice, wip stryf, ne wip harmyng, ne hyndrynge of his
 30 euenecristen. Charite is not w`r`apþid, þat is, it wrappip
 f.135r nou3t for ony þing doon' | to his owne persone, ne for
 noon oþer þing, but only for synne & in Goddis cause.
 Charite þenkip not wickidnesse, þat is, it wipstondip &
 puttip out alle wyckidde willes, þoghtis & synne a3en
 35 God, `a3en` þi soule, [&] þin euenecristen. He makip no
 ioye of ony wickidnesse, þat is, he makip no laughter ne
 myrþe at synne, ne procurip, ne cunseylip þerto in word
 & in wille, in catel ne oþer þing. Charite makip ioye to
 soþefastnesse, þat is, it is euere glad & abowte to
 40 helpe, & procure, & mayntene treuþe & soþfastnesse.

19 is(1)] es to say MN. it] þat is canc. he O. glad] more
 weel payed and glade & ioyefull M. 20 for þer] of þe LN, of
 þeir' MO. wheþer] where L, 3a and þat whethir þat M. ben] om.
 L. 21 not wickidly] nothyng wickedly ne maliciously M.
 is(1)] es to saye M. he] it LN. besy to] more besy daye and
 nyght forto M. 22 synne] synne and catysedome of þis warlde
 M. pride] stynkkande pride M. is(2)] is to seye N.
 is(2)...is(23)] es to saye þus mekile to verry opoun vndirstandyng
 þat he is euer more M. 23 he] þat M, om. LNO. al] om. M.
 boþe bodily] bodily boþe L. 24 is(2)] es to saye þus mekile
 M. it] he MO. 25 frely] frely and gladely M. to] of gode
 vnto M. nede han] han neede N. 26 han] has þerofe M.
 more] mekile more M. any] any manere of M. 27 sekiþ] also
 seke³ M. þe] þo LMNO. þat(1)] þe wilke M. hise] his awne
 M. is] es to saye þus gate³ M. 28 þing] þynges N.
 wiþ(2)] and wiþ M. wiþ(3)] and with M. 29 wiþ(1)] or wiþ
 LNO. stryf] feriys L. ne wiþ] nowt M. ne(2)] ne wiþ LO,
 wiþ N. ne hyndryng] om. M. of] to M. 30 euencristen]
 euen'cristenne no hynderyng M. w`r`apþid] wraþefule M.
 is(2)] es to saye MN. it] he MO. 31 nou³t] hym nou³t M.
 ony] no M. to] vnto M. persone] propur persone M. 32
 only] all onely M. in] in canc. in K, also in M. goddis
 cause] gode cause³ and trewe withouten' makkyng of any falsenes
 M. 33 not] no M. is] es to saye M. wiþstondiþ]
 understondiþ LN, withstande³ myghtely M. 34 out alle] oute of
 mannes mynde or womans all manere doynge and stirryng of M. &]
 & also M. synne] synnes N. 35 `a³en` þi] þi LN, his O, and
 his awne M. &] in K. þin] his MO. he] it L, charite MNO.
 no] not O. 36 of ony] of N, at M. is] es to saye M. he]
 it LN. ne] ne no M. 37 at] at foull and oribull M. 38
 &] ne M, om. LNO. in catel ne] ne in noon M. ne] or in eny
 LNO. þing] þinge þat þerto falle³ M. to] at M. 39
 soþefastnesse] soþnesse MNO. is(1)] es to saye M. it] he O.
 glad] more ioyefule and glade M. 40 &(1)] & to LMNO. &(2)]
 & to LMN. treuþe & soþfastnesse] soþnesse & treuþe LNO.

Charite suffriþ al þinges, þat is, he is euere redy to
 suffre wrongis, myssawe, reprof & harm, & al opere
 syknesse & noy3es þat God wylle þat he suffre. Alle
 þinges he trowiþ þat longeiþ to þe feiþ, & þat Goddis
 45 lawe telliþ & þat goode ben. Alle þinges he tristiþ or
 hopiþ, þat is, his hope is set fully in God, in alle
 þinges þat neden vnto hym. Alle þinges he susteniþ.
 Charite slydeþ neuere more aweye, þat is, charite lastiþ
 euere more, for when alle þing shal passe, feiþ, hope &
 50 charite shullen laste.

And of alle þese, moost of hem is charite; for God
 hymself is charite, & he þat dwelliþ in charite dwelliþ
 in God & God in hym.

And for þat God coueytiþ þat alle men shulden dwelle

41 is(1)] es to saye MN. he] it LN. redy] more redy and glade
 M. 42 reprof] reprouip K. harm] grete harme M. al]
 mekile M. 43 noy3es] noye and anguysche M. alle] and all
 M, cherite trowep alle NO. 44 he(2)] it L. he trowip] om.
 NO. to] vnto M. &...telliþ(45)] om. N. &...ben(45)] of
 holy kirke þat gode es M, om. L. 45 alle...hopiþ(46)] charite
 hopiþ alle þynges NO. alle] charite all' M. he] om. M.
 he...or] it L. or] or elle3 M. 46 þat is] & þat es to saye
 M. hope] herte M. is(2)] om. L. in(2)] & in LMNO. 47
 þinges] þyng N. vnto] to LNO. alle...sustenip] charite
 susteynep alle þynges N, charite susteynep wiþ wille alle harmes
 þat comen O. he] it L. sustenip] sustens and vp bere3 with
 werke and with his gode exsauple M. 48 slydeþ] glydes M.
 neueremore] neuere LNO. þat is] þat is to seie N, and þat es to
 saye M. charite] he M. 49 for] withouten ende for whi M,
 þou most loue god ouer alle þingis and þi nei3bore as þi self
 charite schal euermore laste for G. when] when þat M.
 when...laste(50)] heuen and erþe schullen passe but charite schal
 laste euermore N, heuene & erþe sculen passe as þe gospel seiþ but
 charite schal laste euermore LO. þing] opere þinges G. feiþ]
 forth M. feiþ...charite(51)] om. N. feiþ...&] om. G. hope]
 hope canc. M. 50 shullen] sall M. laste] laste and
 endelesly endure M. 51 and...charite] om. LGO, and of all
 þinge þat es charite is þe moste M. for] for whi M. 52
 charite(1)] charite `i' iohn 4'` G. dwellip(2)] he duelliþ GMO.
 53 & god] om. M. hym...explicit(112)] him & if a man kunne no
 more of þe lawe of god but þese sixtene condiciouns of charite &
 bisiede him to kepe hem he my3t li3tli come to heuene & wite who
 wente amys L, hym and if a man cunne no more of þe lawe of God but
 þese sixtene condiciouns of charite and bysiede to kepe ham he
 my3te ly3tly come to heuene and white who wente amys N, and if a
 man `kouþe` no more of þe lawe of god but þe sixtene condiciouns
 of charite & bisied him to kepe hem he my3t li3tly come to heuen
 & wite who wente amys where the word had has been deleted after man
 O. 54 for...coueytiþ] þerfore seyn þat it es þe will of god
 M.

55 in hym, & he in hem, he haþ wryten to alle men what is
charite, & comaundid to alle men þat wolen be saued þat
þey holden þat, in herte, in sowle, in mynde, wiþ al þer
powere & þer strengþis, to loue God ouer al þing, & þer
neiþebore as hemself. And in þes two biddyngis hangiþ al
60 þe lawe & prophetis.

 But when louyst þou God wiþ al þin herte? Certes,
when þin herte is euere soreful & dredand to displese
f.135v hym, for drede of lesynge | of loue, of his grace, & of
his helpe, & for noon opere drede; and euere bisy, ful
65 of ioyful desyre to serue hym, þat noþing in þis world
be so mykel in þi þoght as he; sorowande for no losse,
for no sykenesse, for no frend, for no myschef, ne
vnkyndenesse þat may falle þe in þis world, so mykyl as
for synne þat þou dost a3ens his wille, in þoght, in word
70 or dede; and when þin herte is most bisied aboute to

55 haþ] has þerfore M. to] vnto M. alle men] hem Ee. men] men' openly M. is charite] þat charite es M. 56 &] & also M. to] vnto M. men] maner of pepull M, om. GEe. 57 þat] it GEe, it faste M. in(2)] & Ee. in(3)] & Ee, and in M. 58 &(1)] wip al G. strengþis] strengþe Ee, strength and conynge M. al] alle oþer M. 59 hemself] þemeseluen both in bodye and in saule M. and] for Ee. biddyngis] comaundementis GEe, bidde³ of god M. 60 þe...prophetis] goddys law^{3e} Ee. &] & þe G. prophetis] prophetis `mt' 22' G, alle þe prophecie M. 61 when] when man' M. certes] certayn euere Gg, sothely þan M. 62 is] `is' P. euere] euer more M, om. Gg. 63 hym] god M. of(1)] of þe M. of(2)] of his GMPEeGg. of(3)] & of GMPEeGg. &] or M. 64 helpe] helpe and dreding euere to disple`se' hym Gg. euere bisy] aye be þou besy M. bisy...ioyful] besily and ioyfully G. ful of] of Gg, with PEE. 65 to] forto Ee. hym] god PGg. þat] so þat M. in] withinne Gg. þis] þis wykked M. 66 mykel] myche GPGg. þoght] herte G, mynde ne in þin hert P, herte ne in þi mynde EeGg. he] onely þi god G. sorowande] and sorwyng G, sorowand ne murnande M. losse] losse of wordly þingis G, losse of warldely gode³ ne M, losse of catel Ee, lost of frendschipe ne of worldly goodis Gg. 67 for(1)...for(3)] ne Gg. for(1)] ne Ee. no(1)] om. MEe. for(2)...frend] ne for frendis G, ne frenschip P, ne for frendeschyp Ee, ne fore noon drede ne for noon frende ne for noon foo ne M. for(3)...myschef] ne myschef P, om. Ee. ne vnkyndenesse] ne fore vnkyndnes of any man' M, ne for vnkyndenesse ne non noye ne desese Gg, om. G. 68 þat] ne for non othir þat P, ne for noo noye þat Ee. falle] befall M. þe] om. MPEeGg. mykyl] myche GPGg. 69 for] om. P. þat] all onely þat M. dost] hast done & dost Ee, hast don & yyt dost P, hast done and 3ette þu dost Gg, doose ilke a day and also of sithes has doone M. his] goddis GPGg. his wille] þe wylle of god Ee. in(2)] or in G, and in Gg, & Ee. 70 or] or in G, oþer in P, and MEe, and in Gg. bisied] bysye EeGg. to] forto M.

plese hym & fle synne more þan to wyne ony worldly good,
or ony fleschely lykyng to haue.

75 And þis is a tokene þat þu louest God wiþ al þin
herte, when alle þe styryngis of þin herte aren sette to
plese hym.

In alle þi soule þou louyst hym, when þou puttist
out of þi soule, for þe loue of hym, al synne wiþ wepyng
& sorowe of herte, in ful wil neueremore to synne.

80 þou louest hym wiþ al þi mynde, when þou contynuest
in clene lyf & dost þi businessse, in þat þou may, to fle
þe synnes þat þou fille in bifore, holdande þi mynde on
his goodnesse þat so frely for3af þe.

85 But when louyst þu hym wiþ al þi powere & þi myght?
Whenne for loue of hym þou art redy to suffre reprof,
myssawe, pouert, nede; & myghty & glad to do penaunce

71 &] to Gg. fle] to fle P, to fle all M. more] 3a mekile
more M. þan] þanne more canc. þan Gg. to] forto M. ony]
any maner of M. good] godes PGg, þing GM. 72 or] or elles
M, or forto haue G. fleschely] flesch P. to haue] om. G.
73 and] þen GPEeGg. þis] hit PEEgG. and...a] þan sothely to
saye it es uerrey M. 74 when...aren] be fully Gg. when]
and þat es þan when M. styryngis] strengþis GPEe. aren] ben
fully P, but fully Ee. to] forto GEe, all onely hym to M.
75 plese] preys P. hym] vsyng gode uertues & fleyng synne Ee,
om. M. 76 in...hym] and Gg. in] also þou louest god in G.
þou louyst hym] om. G. hym] god P. when] when þat M. 77
of] om. Ee. for...hym] om. M. synne] synnis PGg. synne
wiþ] manere of synne and catysedome fore þis looue of hym with
sadde M. wiþ] with sore Gg. 78 &] and with MP. in]
beande in M, & in PGg. neueremore] no more PGg. synne] do syn
P, synne agayne M, syn and þan louest þu god with alle þin soule
Gg. 79 þou] also þou G. þou...hym] when loue3 þou god M.
hym] god PGg. when] sothely alle þe tyme þat M. contynuest]
contenyst and leuyst Gg, lastes Ee. 80 lyf] life vnto þi saule
behoue M. in(2)] in all MPGg. þat] þat þat G. may] mi3t
P, ar canc. may K, may or kanne M. 81 þe] alle maner of M, om.
PEeGg. synnes] synne Gg. fille in] erased P, falle no3t in
Gg. bifore] beforehand thykke and threfolde M. holdande]
holde P. þi] in thy Gg. 82 his] his grette Gg. on]
saddely in M. for3af] haþ for3eue to G. þe] þe þi trespas
PGg, þe alle þi eueyle dedes M, þe þi synnes & bou3t þe so frely
wiþ hys hert blode Ee. 83 but...myght] also þou louest god wiþ
al þi power and alle þi my3tis G. hym] god MGg. myght]
mightes PGg, strengþes certes Ee. 84 whenne] certis when PGg,
sothely þan when M. for] fore þe M. for...hym] om. GPEeGg.
hym] god M. redy] redy and glade M, redy for þe loue of god G,
redy for þe luf of hym Ee. suffre] suffir for goddis loue P,
suffir for his loue Gg. reprof] repreues MPGg. 85 myssawe]
& myssaw3e & Ee, myssaingis Gg. pouert] pourete sclaunder
derision ghapyngge mawmakyngge `&` M, om. Gg. nede] and nede P,
nede and pouerte Gg, om. Ee. &] and also M, om. G.

for þi synnes, for brennand loue þat þu felist in þi
 sowle; to putte þi body to suffere deþ, to stonde for
 God & for his lawe; dredand no man to answeere for þi
 Lord, when þou herist hym disp`i`sid or his wille vndoon.

90 And þus may þou knowe when þou louest God, as I seyð
 bifore.

But 3it to al þis, þe bihoueþ to loue þi nei3eboure
 þin euenecristen beside þe, for ellis þu plesest not God.

But when louyst þu þi neyghbour as þiself, as God
 95 f.136r bid|diþ do? Certes, when þou wilnest noon oper wyse, ne
 coueytist noon opere wyse, be doon to hym, þan þu
 schuldest wille by Goddis lawe & resoun were doon to þe;
 and when þou coueytist þe same in good, & dost hym þe
 same in good, þat þu shuldist wille he dide to þe 3if þu

86 þi(1)] þi foule M. for(2)] & for þe GPEe, and als fore þe M,
 and for the grette Gg. in] withinne Gg. 87 to(1)] and to
 Gg. body] hand Gg. to(2)] forto M. deþ] ge canc. deth Gg.
 to(3)...god] for godis sake Gg. to(3)] to answeere for þi god &
 Ee. for] for þi P. 88 god & for] om. Ee. for his lawe]
 and all his M. dredand...answeere] & knowlache hym Ee. no man]
 in this no maner as Gg. 89 lord] worthi lorde M, lord god GGg.
 when] 3a and þat when M. disp`i`sid] displesede M, dispice it
 or blasphemed Gg. or] o`r` in Gg, & Ee. wille vndoon] law
 broken PEE, law meskept and broken Gg. 90 and...knowe] as þus
 þu mi3t beknow P. þus] þus gate3 man' M. may þou] thoue
 maiste Gg. knowe] kenne M. when] when þat M, wher þat Gg, if
 P, wheþer Ee. I...bifore(91)] þou art holden to doo Ee, þou ert
 holden to don or þu dost no3t P, þou arte bondin' and holdyn to do
 or ellist þou dost nou3t Gg. seyð] haue seid G, haue vrite þe
 afore þis tyme M. bifore] om. M. 92 but...for(93)] þe
 secound comaundement is þis þu schalt loue þi nei3bore as þi self
 and G. but...þis] and also Ee. to...þis] ouere þis Gg, om.
 P. 93 þin...for] as þi selfe or PEEGg. þin] þat es þin M.
 for] as þi selfe and M. þu...not] might þu no3t ples P, may þou
 no3t plese EeGg. þu] Y say þe forsothe þou M. 94 when] when
 man' M. god biddiþ] god biddiþ þee G, gode god bedis þe to M.
 95 do] þe don PEEGg. certes] om. Gg. when] whanne that Gg.
 wilnest] couetyst not ne suffrest ne consaylist P, nouþer coueytes
 ne suffurs ne conseyles Ee, ne couettes ne suffirs ne councelles
 Gg. ne...wyse(96)] om. PEEGg. 96 coueytist] couetis ne M.
 be] were PEEGg, ne suffrist noon oper wise be GM. to] vnto M.
 97 schuldest...resoun] wild MP, woldest coueitte Gg.
 wille...resoun] coueyte Ee. to þe] vnto the Gg, vnto þe be
 goddes laughe & resoune M. þe] þe 3if þu were in hys state Ee.
 98 when] when þat M, if Gg, om. P. coueytist] coueytest to hym
 Ee. þe] him the Gg, to hym þe M. good] godnes PGg.
 &...good(99)] om. Ee. &] and also M. 99 in good] om. PGg.
 shuldist wille] woldest will P, wild M, woldest Gg. wille]
 coueyte Ee. to þe] om. P. 3if...plyte(100)] om. Ee. 3if]
 if þat M.

100 were in his plyte, wheper he be þi frend or þi foo; to
 counseile hym to goode, to helpe hym in myscheef, to
 frely for3eue hym his trespas, to helpe his soule fro
 synne, to take no veniaunce on hym ne assente þerto, but
 fully forto letten; & to do to hym þe seuene dedis of
 105 mersy, when þat he haþ nede, and forto wete & spire
wheper he haþ `nede` or noon; not to bygylen hym, not
 forto hyndre hym. And þus oweþ þe to do to alle cristen
 men, as þi power askip, & ich oon vnto opere.

And þus schalt þou kepe þes two comaundementes, þat

100 he] if þat he M. þi(1)] om. P Ee Gg. frend...foo] enemye
or frende Ee. þi foo] enemy P, ennemy þu louest him þan as
thysilfe euere more Gg. to] om. G, þan þou schewes weel þer þat
þou loue3 þi neghtboure to M. 101 hym(1)] om. M. to(1)] to
þe P Ee. to(2)] and to P, and Gg. in] in his M P Ee Gg. to(3)]
& GP, and eke Gg, om. Ee. 102 frely] frely to M Ee Gg.
hym] hym all M. to...synne] & nou3t Gg. 103 to] ne G, and
M. take] take of hym M. no] þan Gg. veniaunce] vengeance
P Gg. on hym ne] in any tyme ne to M. 104 forto] for P.
letten] lettyn hit P, lette it Ee, lette alle such þingis vnto thy
power Gg. & to] it and forto M, & Ee. to(2)] vnto G M Ee, om.
P Gg. dedis] werkis G M Ee Gg, werke P. 105 þat] om. Gg. he]
if þat he M. forto] to P, eke forto Gg. & spire] besily G,
& setth P, and seke Gg. 106 wheþer] if P Gg, whethir if þat M.
not(1)] & not G Ee Gg. to...forto(107)] forto deceyue hym & Ee.
to] forto P Gg. hym not] hym ne M, or G. not forto] ne to Gg,
ne to dysseue him ne P. 107 forto] to M. hym] hym nowþer
in hys body ne in hys godys Ee, hym be he frend or foo Gg.
and...explicit(112)] and oweþ ich cristen man to doo to oþer after
her power is and doo to alle men þe same in alle þinges þat þei
wolde were done to hem as þe gospel techþ & so to plese god uch
man after hys conyng & hys power is & 3if he be vnkunnyng hym oweþ
forto lerne to kepe hys soule fro synne vnder peyne of dampnacion
world wiþouten ende charyte be wiþ us amen Ee. and...þou(109)]
be he frend or enemy and þus schall euery cristynman do to oþer
after his powere and do to all men þe same in all þinges þat he
wolde were don to him and P. and þus] in wurde ne in dede soo
man' vndirstand now weel þis ilke lessoun for þus gate3 M.
oweþ...þou(109)] shall vche crestyn man to do to oþer aftir his
power is and to do to alle men þe same in alle thingis þat he wold
were done and to Gg. oweþ] schuldest G. to(1)] om. G.
to(2)] vnto M. cristen men] þi euene cristen' M. 108 askiþ
&] may and askes & do M. & ich] & so ilke M. unto] to M.
109 þus] in þis manere G. þou] þou fulfille & M. þes] þe M.
þat] of god in þe wilke tuo M.

110 al þe law ligiþ inne & plesiþ God moost, & ich man after
 his kunnyng & his myght - and 3if he be vnkunnyng hym
 oweip forto lere etcetera. Explicit.

Note on transcribed text.

The following rubricated heading occurs on fol.134r:
 Here endep a tretys of xxiii ri3twisnes þat seynt Austyn maade
 þe whyche longen to þe lyf of a kyng, & here begynnyn þe xvi
condicions of charite.

Similarly, the following rubricated heading occurs at the
 end of the text on fol.136r:
 Here eendiþ þe condicions of char`i`te, & begynniþ þe abbeye
 of <...> Holy Goos<t>.

110 þe] goddis P, good Gg. ligiþ] hangeþ GMPGg. plesiþ] to
 plese Gg. &(2)] om. GPGg. &(2)...man] þus es ilke man'
 holden' & bounden' to plese god M. 111 kunnyng] witte and
 connyng Gg. &...myght] om. PGg. and] bot M. he] all þat
 he M. hym] 3it hym M. 112 oweiþ] behoueth PGg, aught M.
 forto] to MPGg. lere] lerne to kepe his sowle in goddes law vp
 þe peyn of dampnacion into hell withouten ende charite be wt vs all
 amen P. etcetera explicit] goddis lawe explicit G, at þeme þat
 ar' conynger' þan he is or elle3 many þer ar' þat before god may
 not be excusede bot of his endelis mersy & þerfore it es gode þat
 wee haue it in oure mynde explicit epistola pauli de caritate M,
 to kepe his soule & his body in goddys law and come vndir the pyn
 of dampnacioun into helle to be dampned world withouten ende
 charite þerfor be euyr and aye among vs alle more and more and
 bettir and bettir Gg, om. P.

The Eight Blessings of God.

For the procedure adopted in this edition, see the introduction to the edition of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity above, p.144.

The manuscripts.

The following sigla are used to represent the various manuscripts consulted here:

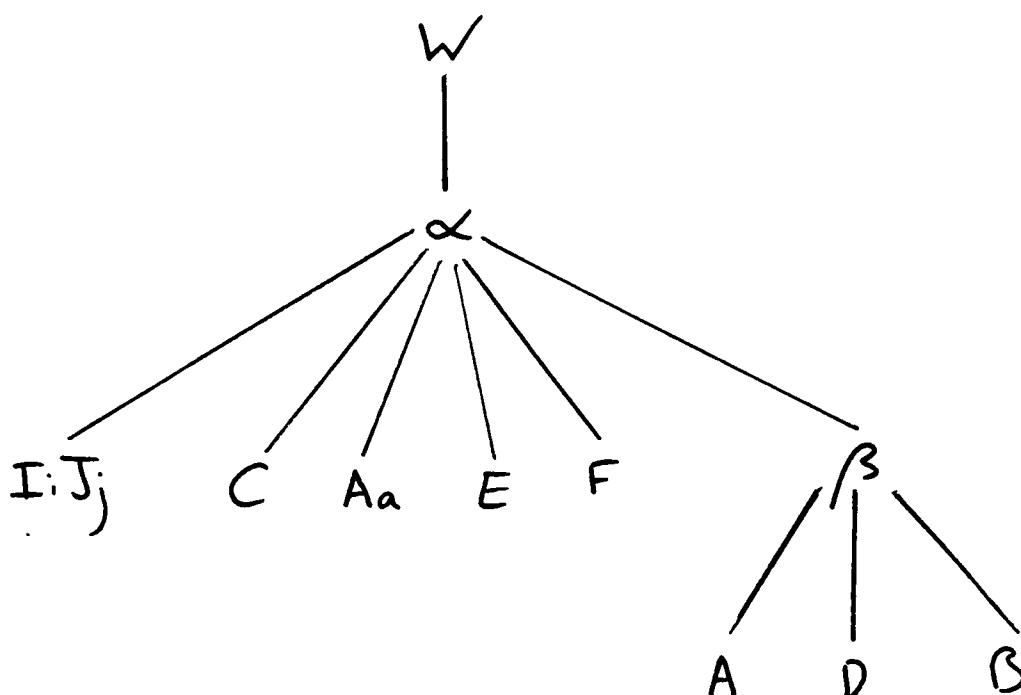
- A: Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86, fol.38r-v. 36
B: St.Albans, Cathedral Library, fols.4v-5v.
C: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.6.43, fols.15r-16r.
D: New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 258, fol.6r-v.
E: London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 388, fols.368v-369r.
F: London, British Library, MS Harley 2343, fols.86v-87v.
Aa: London, British Library, MS Additional 60577, fols.156r-157r.
Ii: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 882, fol.74r.
Jj: London, British Library, MS Additional 30897, fols.65v-66r.

MSS Ii and Jj, in both of which the text occurs at the end of the Pore Caitif, are listed at Jolliffe section B. All of the manuscripts except MS B are listed at MWME VII p.2531, text [128].¹

¹ Raymo also lists a witness of this text as occurring in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 788, fol.246r, where in fact there occur two short devotional items unrelated to the present text (the first of them being item 20 in the description of Trinity above).

The siglum W is used to denote the Wycliffite Bible, later version². As with the edition of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity, the text of the Wycliffite Bible given by Forshall and Madden has been used at all times in this discussion, and although full reference has been made to the textual variants given there, no attempt has been made to collate manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible not consulted by Forshall and Madden.

The relationships of the manuscripts.



² The Holy Bible...made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers, ed.J.Forshall and F.Madden, (Oxford, 1850), IV, p.10.

A common exemplar, other than W itself, for all MSS of the text is shown by the omission in all surviving manuscripts of W and l, and substitution of ry3twisnes 13, (ri3te IiJj), for ri3tfulnesse in W. α is thus posited here as this common exemplar. (In consideration of the large number of other shared variant readings in Ii and Jj it is here assumed that ry3twisnes is the reading of α , and that ri3te in Ii and Jj shows further substitution, rather than assuming a further intervening exemplar for all other manuscripts with the reading ry3twisnes where it is not demanded by any other shared readings).

Common descent for Ii and Jj is shown by: the large number of shared, often extensive, emendations of the text of W, as hure is β e 6. β e β ei β at ben mylde and han β e londe of lyf 7, weylen 8, fulfilled in β e blisse of heuene and sewen 10, be men of 11, sones 12, pursewyng, ri3te and hure is β e 13, blessid shullen 3e be, β at men and whanne men shullen 15, alle manere of 16, hyre and mouchel 17; the omissions of ys β eyres 6, ys therys 14, schulen 16, and of all material subsequent to heuennes 17; and possibly also the absence of a heading for the text in both manuscripts. However, evidence is lacking to determine either the direction of borrowing between the two manuscripts, or whether they share a common exemplar.³

The omissions of β at ben 11, schulen(1) 15, and of everything subsequent to 3u 16 eliminate C from consideration as an exemplar

³ On the shared readings between these manuscripts and a sermon from the Wycliffite sermon cycle, see the note below.

for any other manuscript. Likewise Aa is disqualified from consideration as an exemplar by the isolative readings **them seinge thees wordes 5, ordeynede for them and welde or possesse 7, lyinge falselye apone yowe for m`y` sake 16, in suche wyse they haue 17, and hooly apostols martyris confessours and virgynes patryarkes and prophetis 18,** and also by the omission of **&...glad 17.** The isolative readings **comforte 8, and prophe 18,** disqualify E from consideration as an exemplar.

A, D and B all share a concluding passage, 19-22, not found in W or in any other witness to the text. It has been decided here to account for this shared conclusion by a further exemplar, β , from which these three manuscripts are separately derived. That A cannot be this exemplar is shown by the omission of **vp 3.** D is likewise disqualified from consideration by the isolative readings **for rithwisnes 9 and repreue 9,** and by the omission of **schulen 16.** (The omission of **schulen 16** also in Ii and Jj is here assumed to be coincidental, rather than suggesting conflation between otherwise very different witnesses of the text). There are no readings in the main body of the text which disqualify B from itself being β . However, the large number of unique readings in the concluding passage in B make it unlikely that this manuscript could have been the exemplar, demanding as they would a further exemplar intermediary between B and the other two manuscripts to account for the shared readings in A and D, including the omission of twelve words only introduced in B. It is therefore assumed here that all these manuscripts are derived

separately from β .

This argument might be revised if this concluding passage were regarded as ending a sequence of texts rather than simply the Beatitudes, and thus could have been present in α but disregarded in other manuscripts as not being an integral part of the text. Indeed, in A, B and D this text is in each case preceded by The Sixteen Conditions of Charity. However, this argument for a concept of a composite text is seriously qualified by the occurrence in this preceding text in A and E of a similar concluding passage which is not found in B and D, making it far more likely that these texts are perceived as separate entities which may or may not show a non-Biblical concluding passage.

F thus remains the only manuscript to be accounted for. There are no isolative readings or omissions which disqualify F from being α . However, this hypothesis is made unlikely by comparison of the headings found in the witnesses to the text, and in particular the exact correspondence of the headings in A and E, and the plausibility of regarding the shorter but verbally very similar headings in all other manuscripts except F as shortened forms of the heading found in A and E. It would thus seem reasonable to assume that α must have had a heading very similar to that found in A and E, and that F with its rather different heading is derived from α rather than itself being the common exemplar.

As in the discussion of the textual relationships of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity, it should be noted that the text is

very short, and that the amount of evidence available is therefore very limited, and furthermore that in the case of very well known scriptural material there is always a substantial danger of memorial conflation of varying translations. Some of the conclusions reached here must thus again be considered somewhat tentative.

Note: IiJj and the Wycliffite sermon In Die Omnium Sanctorum.

It should be noted that the readings of Ii and Jj show at many points parallels with the sermon In Die Omnium Sanctorum, (English Wycliffite Sermons, vol.ii, ed.P.Gradon (Oxford, 1988), sermon 122, pp.320-327). This sermon is preserved in full in fourteen manuscripts, incomplete in one manuscript, and in a shorter form in another single manuscript (Edinburgh, University Library, MS 93; MS U in Gradon's edition, and thus below also).⁴

These parallels may be summarised as follows:

- (i) All manuscripts of the sermon agree with IiJj against W at:
- 6 hure is, ys þeyres;
 - 10 fulfylllyd;
 - 11 be...of, þat ben;
 - 13 persecucioun, ry3twisnes, þe;

⁴ This manuscript is MS R in the above study of The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

14 ys þerys;
15 3e...blessyd, men, schulen(2);
16 all;
17 mede, plenteuous.

(ii) All manuscripts of the sermon except U agree with IiJj against W at:

3 wente;
8 moornen;
10 gete.

(iii) U agrees with W against IiJj in material absent from other manuscripts of the sermon at:

7 ben...men, welde...erbe.

(iv) All manuscripts agree with W against IiJj at:

12 chyldren,
16 schulen.

There is thus sufficient evidence to reveal conflation between IiJj and the manuscripts of the sermon. It is impossible to determine the direction of this conflation, whether IiJj have adopted readings from the sermon manuscripts or vice versa.

If the sermon has taken the Biblical passage from IiJj, then those points where the sermon manuscripts agree with W against IiJj (iv) may show correction against a Wycliffite Bible (or perhaps

against the remembered reading of the Wycliffite Bible). Those passages where U agrees with W against IiJj and other sermon manuscripts (ii) perhaps show correction against a Wycliffite Bible (or again against remembered readings) by the compiler of the text in U.

If, as is perhaps rather more likely, IiJj have taken the readings in which they agree with the sermon manuscripts from a manuscript of the sermon, then this must be a manuscript other than U (ii). The reason for what may at first appear the somewhat odd procedure of correcting an exemplar of The Eight Blessings of God against a manuscript of the sermon may perhaps be explained by the greater authority accorded to a manuscript of the sermon cycle than to an exemplar of the short Biblical extract, even though consultation of a copy of the complete Wycliffite Bible in the later version, had one been available, would have revealed that in fact the readings of the exemplar of The Eight Blessings of God were closer to those of the complete Bible translation than were those of the text as cited in the sermon.

The Eight Blessings of God.

Oxford, Trinity College, MS 86, fol.36r-v.

Here sueþ þe viii blessyngys of God þat ben red in þe gospel
of alhalowen day:

Iesu, seyng þe pepull, wente in to an hylle; & whanne he was
sette, hys dyscyplys camen to hym, & he openyd hys movþe & tau3te
5 hem, & seyde:

- Blessyd be pore men in spyryt, ffor þe kyngdom of heuene ys
þeyres. Blessyd ben mylde men, ffor þey schulen welde þe erþe.
Blessyd be þey þat moornen, ffor þey schulen be confortyd. Blessyd
be þey þat hungren & þrusten ryghtwysnes, ffor þey schulen be
10 fulfyllyd. Blessyd be mercyful men, ffor þey schulen gete mercy.
36v | Blessyd be þey þat ben of clene herte, ffor þey schulen se God.
Blessyd be pesyble men, ffor þey schulen be clepyd Goddys chyldren.
Blessyd be þey þat suffren persecucioun for ry3twisnes, ffor þe
kyngdome of heuene ys therys.

15 3e schal be blessyd whanne men schulen curse 3u, & schulen
pursue 3ou, & schulen seye all euylle a3ens 3u lyyng, for me. Ioye
3e, & be 3e glad, for 3oure mede is plenteuous in heuennes; for so
þey han pursued also profetys þat weren tofore 3ou.

And þerfore, for goddys loue þat bou3te 3u so dere wyþ hys
20 byttyr passyon, - eyþer for drede of byttyr paynes in hell, eyþer
for loue of heuene blys, - forsake & dyspyce þy synne, & kepe
treuly Goddys x comaundementys.

Textual notes:

MSS: A; DB; W 3-18 3ou, EFAa 1-18 3ou, C 1-16 3u, IiJj 3-17
heuennes.

1 here...day(2)] theese bethe the viithe blessynges of cryste in
the gospelle Aa, thys is þe gspell of allhalowen day C, here
bigynneb þe viii blessingis of oure lord iesu crist þe which is
oure god F, the blessinges of god D, þe viii blessingis of crist
B, om. WIiJj. 3 iesu] and jhesus W. wente] wente vp
WDBEFCAa, styep Ii, stey3 Jj. in] i canc. in A. 4 openyd]
h canc. openyd A. 5 hem & seyde] them seinge thees wordes Aa.
6 þe] hure is þe IiJj. ys þeyres] om. IiJj. 7 þeyres]
ordeynede for them Aa. ben...men] be þei þat ben mylde IiJj.
welde] welde or possesse Aa. welde...erþe] han þe londe of lyf
IiJj. 8 moornen] weylen IiJj. confortyd] comforte E.
9 ryghtwysnes] for rithwisnes D. 10 fulfyllyd] fulfilled in þe
blisse of heuene IiJj. þey] þey for Ii. gete] sewen IiJj.
11 be...of] be men of IiJj. þat ben] om. C. 12 chyldren]
sones IiJj. 13 persecucioun] pursewyng IiJj. ry3twisnes]
ryght`wysnes` Aa, ri3te IiJj, ri3tfulnesse W. þe] hure is þe
IiJj. 14 ys therys] om. IiJj. 15 3e...blessyd] blessid
shullen 3e be IiJj. men] þat men IiJj. schulen(1)] om. C.
schulen(2)] whanne men shullen IiJj. 16 pursue] repreue D.
schulen] om. DIiJj. all] alle manere of IiJJ.
lyyng...comandementys(22)] om. C. lyyng...me] lyyng falselye
apone yowe for m`y` sake Aa. 17 &...glad] om. Aa. mede]
hyre IiJj. plenteuous] mouchel IiJj.
for(2)...comaundementys(22)] om. IiJj. so...han(18)] in suche
wyse they haue Aa. 18 also profetys] hooly apostols martyris
confessours and virgynes patryarkes and prophetis Aa. profetys]
prophe E. tofore] bifer WDBEFAa. 19
and...comandementys(22)] om. WEFAa. and] om. B. 3u] the DB.
so] om. B. 20 byttyr] hert blood & his B. 21 dyspyce]
dispite D. 22 x] om. B. comaundementys] commaundementis in
good vertues & clesnesse of lyuyng amen B.

Summary of the nature and function of the collection.

As has been argued in greater detail above, the contents of Trinity may be seen to have served rather different purposes at different points in the growth of the collection.

The core of the collection consists of the work of Hand A (possibly two separate scribes, see above pp.25-26) and Hand B. The work of Hand A (and particularly fols.1r-28r) is that of a scribe with experience as a professional, and most probably commercial, scribe; it is less certain whether the material copied in this hand is itself the result of commercial activity. The additions in Hand B on these leaves (on fols.vv, 27v and 28v) make it clear that Hand B is the user of this material (whether he was the first user is less certain). To this he has added thirteen leaves in his own hand.¹

The collection thus formed constitutes a manual of texts providing practical guidance to a priest, most likely a simple parish priest, albeit one who is accomplished in reading Latin (as witnessed by the inclusion of the Visio Pauli).² The material contained on the leaves added by Hand B constitutes a manual of basic devotional instruction, most probably intended for use in

¹ On the question of the degree of soiling evident on these leaves, see above p.33.

² On the particular instance of the first long form of confession and the accompanying Latin material, see above pp.37-45.

Lenten instruction of the laity.³

The minor additions to this collection in Hands C and D suggest that subsequent users have also made use of the manuscript in similar contexts.

The material added by Hand E suggest a change in the focus of the collection and in the use made of it. This material would be of most use to a private confessor accustomed to hearing the confessions of penitents from a particular social and devotional milieu. It is furthermore possible that the interest in the pre-existing collection for this user resides in the particular characteristics of the long form of confession in Hand A and the subsequent Latin forms of absolution and guide to visiting the sick. (See above, pp.85-86).

The text added in Hands F and G suggest that the penitential texts remain the chief interest in the collection for the user of this text, the last medieval user of the collection of whom we have any evidence.

³ For a more detailed discussion of the function of this series of texts, see above, pp.130-143.

Bibliography.

It is the intention of this bibliography to list all manuscripts which are discussed in the thesis, and likewise, to give full bibliographical references for all printed material cited, both primary and secondary. I include also a selection of other material which I have found of particular use. On manuscript catalogues and similar works, see below, section iv.

i. Manuscripts.

a) United Kingdom.

Bristol.

Central Reference Library:

MS 6

MS 14

Cambridge.

University Library:

MS Additional 2829

MS Additional 2830

MS Additional 3042

MS Ee.1.18

MS Hh.1.12

MS Ii.6.2

MS Ii.6.43

Corpus Christi College, MS 142

Emmanuel College:

MS 229

MS 246

Gonville and Caius College, MS 803/807

Magdalene College:

MS 13

MS Pepys 2125

St. John's College:

MS D.27

MS C.S.35 (MS 257)

Trinity College:

MS B.14.54

MS O.1.29

MS O.1.74

Durham.

University Library, MS Cosin V.iv.2

Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 15

Edinburgh.

University Library, MS 93

Glasgow.

University Library:

MS Hunter 472
MS Hunter 512
MS General 223

Hopton Hall.

Hopton Hall MS

Ipswich.

Ipswich School (formerly Ipswich Town Library), MS 7

Leeds.

Brotherton Collection, MS 501

Lincoln.

Cathedral Library, MS 210

London.

British Library:

MS Cotton Caligula A.ii
MS Cotton Nero A.iii
MS Cotton Titus D.xix
MS Cotton Vespasian A.xxv
MS Harley 172
MS Harley 211
MS Harley 494
MS Harley 1288

MS Harley 1671
MS Harley 1706
MS Harley 2343
MS Harley 2383
MS Harley 2391
MS Harley 4172
MS Harley 6041
MS Harley 7578
MS Lansdowne 388
MS Royal 8.c.i
MS Royal 17.A.xxvi
MS Royal 18.A.x
MS Sloane 774
MS Sloane 1584
MS Additional 22283
MS Additional 27592
MS Additional 28026
MS Additional 30897
MS Additional 37075
MS Additional 37787
MS Additional 60577

Lambeth Palace Library:

MS 499
MS 541
MS 559

Public Record Office, MS E.101/185/1

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Marquess of Bath:

MS 29

MS 32

Oxford.

Bodleian Library:

MS Ashmole 59

MS Ashmole 1286

MS Ashmole 1288

MS Bodley 131

MS Bodley 596

MS Bodley 789

MS Bodley 938

MS Douce 60

MS Douce 246

MSS Douce 273, 274

MS Douce 322

MS eng. poet. a. 1

MS eng. theol. e. 181

MS Laud Miscellany 210

MS Rawlinson C 209

MS Rawlinson C 285

MS Rawlinson C 699

MS Rawlinson C 882

MS Tanner 201

MS Additional C.87

New College:

MS 67

MS 95

Queen's College, MS 210

St. John's College, MS 94

Trinity College, MS 86

St. Albans.

Cathedral Library MS.

Ushaw.

St. Cuthbert's College, MS 28

York.

Minster Library:

MS xvi.L.12

MS Additional 2

b) Eire.

Dublin.

Trinity College:

MS 70

MS 155

MS 245

c) France.

Paris.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Anglais 41

Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 3390

d) United States.

New Haven.

Yale, University Library:

MS Beinecke 163

MS Beinecke 317

New York.

Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 258

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