

AN EDITION OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *PAINS OF SIN*
FROM CAMBRIDGE, MAGDELENE COLLEGE LIBRARY,
MS PEPYS 2498

by
TIMOTHY JOHN O'MARA

A thesis submitted to
the University of Birmingham
for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

English Drama and American and Canadian Studies
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
October 2010

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THESIS ABSTRACT

The thesis presents a diplomatic edition of a Middle English prose text called the *Pains of Sin*, found in two important fourteenth century manuscripts, but hitherto unedited. The edition is annotated with explanations of meaning, descriptions of manuscript idiosyncrasies, and other points of interest. The text is a meditation on death and the afterlife, including the seven pains of purgatory, a catalogue of venial sins, the last judgement, the sufferings of hell and the joys of heaven, and special joys reserved for those who pursue a life of religious poverty.

The introduction to the edition outlines the relationships between the different manuscript versions, including a hitherto unsuspected Anglo-Norman original for the text, which places the work in the Middle English tradition of translation from Latin and Anglo-Norman, and the huge growth in borrowing from French vocabulary that occurred in the late fourteenth century. Possible relationships with other Middle English works are discussed, including the *Pricke of Conscience*, the *Ancrene Riwe*, and Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I must acknowledge the high expectations and unflagging support of my supervisor Wendy Scase, Geoffrey Shepherd Professor of Medieval Literature at the University of Birmingham.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Robert Swanson, Professor of Medieval History at the University of Birmingham who introduced me to the pleasures of purgatory, and to the study of its extraordinary importance in the minds of medieval Christians.

Thanks are also due to the examiners, Dr Nicolette Zeeman of Trinity College Cambridge, and to Dr David Griffith of the University of Birmingham.

I am grateful to the administrative, library, and IT Staff of the University, who were always prompt, helpful, and courteous.

Permission has been granted by Robert J. Relihan Jr., to quote extensively from his edition of the *Peines de Purgatorie*, his PhD. thesis completed in 1974 at the University of Iowa, which includes both Anglo-Norman and Latin versions, and a long introduction. This has been a very helpful resource for my work, in particular for material on the manuscript history, and also on the original sources.

Finally I am grateful to Liz for her support and patience in the darker hours; and to family and friends for their interest, real or feigned.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND FORMS OF REFERENCE

AND	<i>Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i>
Bodley 938	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938
LALME	<i>The Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English</i>
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>Pains</i>	<i>Pains of Sin</i>
<i>Peines</i>	<i>Peines de Purgatorie</i>
<i>Pricke</i>	<i>Pricke of Conscience</i>
Pepys 2498	Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, MS Pepys 2498
Relihan	Critical Edition of the <i>Peines de Purgatorie</i>
<i>Tretyse</i>	<i>A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle</i>
Trinity R. 14. 7	Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R. 14. 7
Vernon	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.a.1 (ed. Scase)

Pepys references are either to line numbers in this edition as (Pepys 2498: 999); or to the Pepys manuscript pages as (MS Pepys 2498: p. 999).

References to the Anglo-Norman text are to page/line numbers in the Relihan edition; pages 170-233 are lines of text, and pages 235 -275 are variant readings.

Vernon references are to the manuscript folios in the Scase facsimile edition.

Bodley 938 references are to Appendix One in this edition.

Trinity R. 14. 7 references are either to the transcription in Appendix Two as (Trinity R. 14. 7: 999), or to the manuscript as (MS Trinity R. 14. 7: f. 999).

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents an edition of a fourteenth century prose text from Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, MS Pepys 2498, generally referred to as the *Pains of Sin*, the name used by an early commentator (see 3.3). It is also found complete in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.a.1 (the ‘Vernon Manuscript’), and it was felt that a text present in both these prestigious fourteenth-century anthologies would be of interest to scholars. A fragment of the text is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938, which is included as Appendix One, and some striking similarities to sections of the *Tretyse of Gostly Batayle* have been identified, and are recorded in Appendix Three.

The text is a meditation on the transitoriness of life, and on the greater realities that should always be in one’s thoughts: death, judgement and the afterlife. Of particular interest are passages describing the seven pains of purgatory, which present a less horrific and more thoughtful picture of the sufferings there, rather different from the usual run of purgatorial visions and tracts (see 3.5).

There is also a section on sin, which, again untypically, concentrates on venial rather than deadly sins (see 3.6). There are more conventional passages on the last judgement and the horrors of hell, followed by descriptions of the joys of heaven, taken from Saint Anselm. The final section includes three extra joys of heaven, available only to those who have dedicated their lives to religion, and it ends with a defence of voluntary poverty against accusations of uselessness (see 3.4). Altogether it may be considered a text suitable for more genteel religious readers, whether clerical or lay.

This text has proved of considerable further interest, primarily because I have discovered that it is translated from two Anglo-Norman texts, approximately four-fifths coming from the *Peines de Purgatorie*, a relatively well-known piece extant in seven manuscripts, and the remainder describing the three extra joys mentioned above from the *Dis Comandemens*, a text associated with the *Peines de Purgatorie* in three of the manuscripts. There is also a Latin version, *De Penis Purgatorii*, found in eight manuscripts, and all attributed to Robert Grosseteste, but in reality unlikely to be his work (see 3.3). I demonstrate the fact of the *Pains*

of Sin being a translation from these sources, and include two Anglo-Norman extracts in Appendix Two, to illustrate this as forcefully as possible: the purgatory chapter from the Relihan edition of the *Peines de Purgatorie*, and my own transcription of the relevant section of the *Dis Comandemens*, from Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R. 14. 7. This edition of the *Pains of Sin* will enable scholars to compare all these texts for themselves.

The relationships between the two main manuscript versions, the Bodley 938 fragment, and the Anglo-Norman sources, are all examined in detail. The possibility that the *Pains* could have been translated from the Latin *De Penis Purgatorii* is discounted. It is also shown that the Pepys 2498 and Vernon manuscript texts could not have been independently translated, and that neither one could have been the original translation, with the other descended from it. The likelihood is that the Middle English texts all descend from a common original, and from vocabulary evidence, it is probable that this original first appeared late in the fourteenth century.

There are strong resemblances between the *Pains of Sin* and two other Middle English works, the *Tretyse of Gostly Batayle* as mentioned above, and also the *Pricke of Conscience*, particularly in the passages describing the seven pains of purgatory, the venial sins, and the joys of heaven. The *Peines de Purgatorie* is an acknowledged source for the *Pricke* (Lewis and McIntosh, 1982, 3 n. 6), and it was believed that the *Tretyse* was also derived from this same source (Relihan 1978, 61-71). However I am able to demonstrate that the *Tretyse* must have used a Middle English source closely related to the *Pains of Sin*, as well as the Anglo-Norman original. Indeed the resemblances between the *Tretyse* and the *Pains* are so close and so many, more even than those between the *Pains* and the Bodley fragment, that it should probably have been considered an alternative version, and included in the discussion of manuscript relationships. This material only came to my attention relatively recently, and it has not been possible to undertake the detailed work required within the time and word limits of this thesis.

The existence of the *Peines de Purgatorie* and *Dis Comandemens* together is also of interest. The *Pains of Sin* is followed by the *Ten Hestes* in MS Pepys 2498,

and the latter work translates the remainder of the Anglo-Norman *Dis Comandemens*, but also includes other material so far unidentified. The two Anglo-Norman texts are part of a compilation found in two early fourteenth-century manuscripts, which also includes an Anglo-Norman translation of the *Ancrene Riwe* and which is recognised as containing passages on the deadly sins that are analogues of material found in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* (see 3.6). It is probable that Chapter Three of the *Peines de Purgatorie*, on venial sins, and its translation as the third section of the *Pains of Sin*, are similarly analogues of the venial sins passage in the *Parson's Tale*. The relevant sections from the various texts are presented in Appendix Four.

2. MANUSCRIPT HISTORY

2.1 The Manuscripts

The *Pains of Sin* is found complete in two manuscripts, Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2498, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng.poet.a.1. There is also a passage of forty manuscript lines in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 938.

Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, MS Pepys 2498

This manuscript, hereafter Pepys 2498, is well known and fully described elsewhere (Pahlsson 1911, i-xiv; Zettersten 1976, ix-xxiii; McKitterick 1992, 86-88). It is an anthology of religious writings, measuring 34 cm by 24 cm, written on iv + 464 + iv parchment pages, and is the work of one scribe throughout (McKitterick 1992, 88). The date is uncertain, von Nolcken noting that palaeographic datings range between 1340 and 1370, and adding that ‘some of the texts push towards the end of the period’, as she considers possible Lollard influence in the version of the *Ancrene Wisse* that is also found in the manuscript

(von Nolcken 2003, 176). Hanna says that ‘the Pepys MS ... probably dates to c. 1365-75’ (Hanna 2005, 20). I will provide evidence of Anglo-Norman borrowings that appear to have only come into use in Middle English late in the fourteenth century, and argue that the later date is likely (see 3.3).

Hanna shows that Pepys 2498 is made up from three separate booklets, the *Pains of Sin* being found in ‘Booklet II’ which forms the bulk of the manuscript. The pages of this booklet are numbered from 45-370, consisting originally of 164 folios. The *Mirror* is the first and most considerable item in this booklet, and it is followed by the *Pains* on pp. 212-217, which Hanna describes as a ‘typical booklet-ending piece’ (2005, 155). It is followed immediately by a text on the ten commandments, both texts being introduced together with this rubric on p. 212: ‘Here bigynnen good techynges of wise men wiþ þe ten hestes afterward . distinctelich expounded’. Hanna points out that while in process the booklet was broken into two pieces between quires 11 and 12, in the course of the ten commandments piece. Quire 11 is fully finished up to p. 220, but the smaller decorated letters are missing after this, although spaces are left (156).

Pahlsson adds some useful comments on the use of decorated letters:

The beginning of each separate work (except the last two) in the volume is marked by large capitals ... 12-6 ms lines deep ... in blue and red with the interior profusely adorned with patterns of leaves and twisted designs in red, or red and violet, on a background lined in red ... sections and subdivisions of each separate work are marked with smaller initials which are generally 2-4, very often 3 ms lines deep. (vii)

This demarcation between main and subordinate sections demonstrates that the *Ten Hestes* section is related to the *Pains*, as the incipit also indicates. Pahlsson notes that alternating red and blue capitulum marks occur only in *Good Techynges*, and that these disappear along with the decorated letters after p. 221. His comment on the scribe, that '[he] worked in a perfectly mechanical manner, and accordingly the results are sometimes most ridiculous' (xi), is considered later (see 3.5).

The scribal dialect has been identified as that of Essex, possibly Waltham Abbey (LALME Vol. 3, 553). This Linguistic Profile uses two other manuscripts in which the hand of the Pepys 2498 scribe has been identified, London, British

Library, MS Harley 874, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud 622. Samuels quotes some items from Pepys 2498 as exemplars of his Type II London written standard (165-70).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.poet.a.1

This manuscript, hereafter Vernon, is also very well known and has been fully described by others (Doyle 1987, 1-14; Hanna 1986, 8; Madan, Craster and Denholm-Young 1937, 789-92), the most recent description being in Scase (2006). It is an anthology of religious writings, consisting of viii + 343 vellum folios, measuring 54.4 cm by 39.3 cm, and weighing some 22 kg, in all probability a coucher book designed to be kept on a lectern (Robinson 1990, 15-28). The date of production is estimated by Doyle to be between 1390 and 1400 (1990, 11) and the scribal dialect places it in the West Midlands, probably in North Worcestershire (LALME, vol. 3, 124-5). The *Pains of Sin* is found in the section of the manuscript that contains almost all the prose works, (ff. 292-3), immediately after the *Ancrene Riwe*, and it is followed first by the *Life of Adam*

and Eve, and then by an 'A' text version of *Piers Plowman*. The Vernon scribe left spaces in the text for Biblical quotations to be added later, but only one was actually inserted. The Index, produced by a different scribe at a somewhat later date, lists most of the quotations that should have been inserted (Sergeantson 1937, 251).

An edition of the Vernon version published in a Japanese university journal is mentioned by Doyle (1990, 7 n. 22a). This appeared impossible to obtain until recently, when it appeared on the Mie University website (Awaka, 2002). It is a diplomatic edition taken solely from the Vernon manuscript, as the editor was unaware of the other versions. It also offers a modernisation of the text, and a brief introduction.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 938

The opening of the *Pains of Sin* is also found in this manuscript, hereafter Bodley 938. It has a brief description in Madan and Craster (1922, 578-9). The work is an anthology of Middle English religious writings with vi + 283 leaves; ff. i, ii, 282

and 283 are paper, the remainder parchment. The manuscript seems to have been written by one scribe throughout, in an Anglicana hand, with varying size and spacing. The date is estimated to be mid fifteenth century. Madan and Craster describe some pencil writing on f. 279 as ‘would-be cryptic writing, 15th cent’ (579), and the same scribal hand is found in Cambridge University Library MS Ff. vi. 31, the John Colop common profit book, probably produced after his death, therefore no earlier than 1441 (Scase, 1992, 272 n. 31). There is no LALME entry for the manuscript.

The brief extract from the *Pains*, a passage of forty lines from f. 60, is the opening of a piece on the ten commandments rubricated as the *plagis of egipt*. Doyle first mentions that the piece can be found in Bodley 938 (1987, end fold-out). McKitterick specifies ff. 17-24 and ff. 61-63 (1992, 86), while Hanna mentions ff. 13-16 (1986, 8). However, examination of these folios has not revealed any resemblances. Hanna may have been misled by the similarity between the Bodley 938 rubric ‘summe prouerbis of Salomon with opere auctoritees of notable materes of holi writ’, found on f. 13, and the rubric that opens the *Pains*

in Pepys 2498, 'Here bigynnen good techynges of wise men'. This opening, appropriate to the series of biblical quotations that follows in Bodley 938, is actually a very poor description of the content of the *Pains*, as I discuss elsewhere (see 3.2). The reference to material found on ff. 61-3 may be based on a misunderstanding of the various texts of the ten commandments to be found in this manuscript. Bodley 938 has four different versions of the ten commandments: on ff. 2-4: on ff. 16-17, following the 'prouerbis', on ff. 60-62, the *plagis of egipt*, described as God's 'ten veniaunces' against those that break the commandments, and finally a much more substantial version on ff. 117v – 156v. This last version does appear to contain some passages similar to the *Ten Hestes* in Pepys 2498. Further detail on the MS can be found in Appendix One.

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R. 14. 7

The next section will demonstrate that the *Pains of Sin* is translated from two Anglo-Norman sources, the *Peines de Purgatorie*, and the *Dis Comandemens*. The *Peines de Purgatorie* is found in seven manuscripts, accompanied by the *Dis*

Comandemens in three of them.¹ There is also a Latin version of the former work, *De Penis Purgatorii*, found in eight manuscripts.² Cambridge, Trinity R. 14. 7 College Library, MS R. 14. 7 is described in detail, as it is the only manuscript consulted for the work on this edition, and was used to discover the Anglo-Norman original of the *Dis Comandemens*. The description is based on Relihan (1978, 101-3) and Trethewey (1958, xii-xiv), supplemented by my own examination. It consists of iv + 216 vellum folios, measuring 20 cm by 13.2 cm, containing Latin and Anglo-Norman texts on both religious and historical subjects; the religious pieces are in one hand, and the historical texts in another.

¹ The *Peines de Purgatorie* is found in London, British Library MS Arundel 288; Dublin Trinity College Library MS E. 4. 30; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 82. The *Peines* and the *Dis Comandemens* are found together in London, British Library MS Royal 16.E.II; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 654; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R. 14. 7; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS fonds francais 6267 (Paris).

² The *De Penis Purgatorii* is found in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 500; Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 155; London, British Library, MS Additional 33957; London, British Library, MS Harley 3673; Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. ii. 1; Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS C. 4. 9; Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS C. 5. 17; Cambridge, Fitzwillam Museum Library, MS 356.

In particular it contains a *Compileison* of Anglo-Norman works linked together as a complete whole. The date of acquisition can be placed between 1272 and 1325 (Trethewey 1958, xii). There are titles at the foot of each folio as far as f. 124; and a number of scribal omissions and corrections can also be found placed here.

2.2. Translation from Anglo-Norman

Proving the Translation

As stated above, the major discovery of the work for this edition has been the fact that the *Pains of Sin* is translated from two separate Anglo-Norman sources, the *Peines de Purgatorie* and the *Dis Comandemens*. Although a translation is by definition the closest possible use of a source, it is a difficult one to demonstrate in a short space; to be completely convincing, comparison of the relevant texts in their entirety is desirable. Complications include the fact that neither text is translated completely; that no edited version of the *Dis Comandemens* text is available; and finally, as would be expected in all manuscript studies, that there are many small variations in the Middle English witnesses, wherein they differ both from each other, and from the Anglo-Norman.

Hamel describes translation as a ‘Source Type One’, in these terms:

The Latin, French or other text that has been translated into Middle English prose ... [and] demonstrates a phrase-by-phrase, sense-by-sense, or even word-by-word correspondence,

with the Middle English writer apparently acting as an interpreter of linguistic meaning only. (Hamel, 1998, 205).

Later she quotes other principles required to decide whether a text is truly a source for another: these include ‘some sense of how one could have been derived from the other’, and that they should both be submitted to ‘the judgement of experienced scholars’ (1998, 209).

The earliest Anglo-Norman manuscript of the *Peines* dates from around 1300 (Relihan, 1978, 93-104), while Pepys 2498 and Vernon are probably both late fourteenth century; hence there is plenty of time for the translation to have been made and to have become available to scribes in two different parts of England. This edition will bring the full text to the attention of scholars, who can compare it with the edition of the *Peines*. I try to make the case here by describing two of the six parts in some detail; these are available in full in Anglo-Norman in Appendix Two. The transcription of the *Dis Comandemens* is my own work.

Relihan demonstrates that the manuscripts of the *Peines* fall into two main groups, which he has called ‘a’ and ‘c’. He uses Arundel as his base manuscript, which is at the head of the ‘a’ group. Most alternative readings come from Bodley

654, which heads the 'c' group (129-133). The text of this edition is sufficiently close to the Middle English texts to demonstrate that translation has taken place, although I will show later that it probably used an Anglo-Norman text different from any currently known.

Les Peines de Purgatorie

Chapter Two of the *Peines* has been selected to demonstrate that the *Pains of Sin* is a translation from that work; this chapter describes the seven pains to be experienced in purgatory, gives a name to the whole text, and contains some of the most unusual material. All references here are to the Pepys 2498 text, by line numbers in this edition; as would be expected there are small differences in Vernon, none of which make a significant difference, other than the illustration of manuscript relationships as set out in section 2.3 below. All the Anglo-Norman references are to both page and line numbers in Relihan, which are the same as the line numbers in Appendix Two.

Although the formal introduction, 'ici commence le secunde chapitre ...' is dropped from the Middle English, the following introductory phrase does have a Middle English equivalent.

Ore entendez bien ici vous qui ceste escrit lesez les seet peines
par les queles l'alme est purgé quant ele departe hors de ceste
vie (182/112-4)

Now understondeþ þat redeþ þis book seuen pynes by whiche
þe soule is clensed whan he departeþ fro the body out of þis lyf
(95-9)

The first pain is 'la hiduse vision des deables' (182/115-6), or 'þe gryselich
sizth of þe fendes' (99-100), trying to steal the soul. The image that illustrates the
second pain, the dread felt by the soul awaiting its judgement, 'quant homme est
en tempeste en la meer e a grant doute de venire a tere' (183/123-5), appears as 'as
man þat is in gret tempest of þe see . and haþ gret drede to drenche' (108-9). The
explanation why God allows this uncertainty, even though the soul has 'dreit fei e
ferm espraunce' (183/125-6), 'ri3th bileve and ri3th trosty hope' (110-1), is to
'clensen þe soule of synne' (112-3), or 'porger sei de pecchez' (184/127).

The intensity of the third pain, the fire of purgatory, is greater than that of earthly fire, as much as earthly fire is greater than the heat of a sunbeam:

E autaunt ou plus ke luy feu dount l'em se chauffe ci est plus
chaud ke n'est luy ray du solail ke est lusaunt desur la tere
(184/131-3)

And als mychel or more þat þe fyre whiche a man warmeþ hym
by here is more hott þan is þe sunne bem þat schyneþ here on
þe grounde (117-20)

The fourth pain consists of sicknesses appropriate to sins committed in life: 'dropesye for couetise of erþlich þing', 'palesie for sleuþe in goddes seruisse', 'ffeuere for wraþþe', 'jawnys for envie', 'menysoun and þe flux for leccherie', 'meselrye for pryde' (136-45). The same six diseases are all present in the Anglo-Norman, together with the sins, although 'fevre' and 'jauniz' are in reverse order (185-6/143-50). The sicknesses will last 'fourty ȝer or more for tweie daies or þre' (147-8), 'quarante aunz ou plus pur deus jours ou treis' (186/153), and the souls will feel them more severely, just as the eye feels something more keenly than the hand or foot:

aussi come petite chose greve le oyl ke poy greve le pee ou la
meyn aussi est l'alme por sa tendre nature plus grevé de meyns
ke n'est luy cors (186-7/155-8)

ri3th as a lytel greueþ gretlich þe ei3e . whiche þing greueþ litel
þe foot or þe honde or oþer lymes of þe body ⁊ also is þe soule
for tender kynde more greued þan þe body (150-4)

The fifth pain is being bound in prison with bonds that cannot be undone,
except through the fire of purgatory:

il ne poent hors venir dekes les lienz seient gastés e anentez par
le feu de porgatorie (187/161-3)

hy ne mowen nou3th comen out tyl þe bondes ben wasted and
fordon þorou3 þe fyre of purgatorie (158-60)

The sixth pain is exile, out of this life, away from friends and from their own true
country, paradise:

les almes sount exilez hors de ceste vie de leur amis saunz
returner en lur païs; ceo est a dire en paraïs ne poent eles
entrer (188/173-6)

þe soules ben exiled out of þis lyf from her frendes wipouten
any torning azein in to her cuntre þat is forto seie . in to
paradys ne mowen hy nou3th entren (163-7)

The seventh pain is ‘ke les ames sount aussi come en desert’ (189/179-80),
‘þe soules ben þere as in deserte’ (170-1); where they are deprived of everything
delightful, and suffer ‘totes maneres des defautes’ (189/184), ‘alle manere defautes’
(175-6), all made worse in this way:

por le grant desir ke eles ount a veer nostre Seignur plus sunt
en une manere penez por ceo ke eles ne poent leur desir aveir
(190/185-7)

for þe gret desire þat þai han forto seon oure lorde ⁊ hy ben þe
more pyned in on manere for enchesoun þat hy ne mowen han
her desire (177-80)

I believe that this comparison has met all the criteria set out by Hamel
above for demonstrating ‘phrase-by-phrase, sense-by-sense, or even word-by-word
correspondence’.

Dis Comandemens

Before beginning to use the *Dis Comandemens*, the translator abbreviates the opening of Chapter Six of the *Peines*. It begins ‘Vous avez devant oy e entendu les siet gloyres ke homme avera en cors glorifié; ore entendez les siet gloyres ke partenant especiaument a l’alme’ (222/484-7); and this becomes the Middle English ‘Now 3e haue understonden þise seuen ⁊ now understondeþ oþere seuene’ (435-6). The first spiritual joy is very briefly summarised as ‘þe soule schal wite al þe good þat haþ ben don in heuene and in erþe . and al þat is agon . and al þat is to comen’ (437-9), using twenty seven words where the Anglo-Norman uses more than three times as many. The question of whether or not the souls in heaven will remember their past sins, is considered at length in the *Peines*, but although the question is put in the *Pains*, the debate is omitted, so that the appearance of the conclusion of the argument makes the whole passage awkward:

And þou myȝth asken . schullen myne synnes ben wyst to alle
þo þat schullen ben saued of whiche synnes ich am schriuen .
Seint Anselm answereþ and seiþ þat þou schalt zelde
þo[n]kynges to god of þe goodes þat he haþ don to þe and hou

þou schalt þonken hym of þat he haþ forziuen þe þi synnes
(439-47).

The passage used by the translator comes from what is rubricated in Trinity R. 14. 7 as ‘la prologo de la compeleison de dis commandemenz’ (MS Trinity R. 14. 7, f. 111v). After a lengthy description of the contents of the *Dis Comandemens*, it tells the story, from Mark’s Gospel, of the young rich man who was unable to follow the call of Jesus: ‘Alez e vendez quanke vous avez e donez a poueres ; e venez e seez pouere ove mei’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 16-18).³ This is rendered in Pepys 2498 as ‘Goo and selle al þat þou haste and ziue it to poueres . and come and be pouere wiþ me’ (469-71). Two lessons are to be learned from this story: ‘La une chose si est ke se puet sauuer par garter les dis commandemenz’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 20-22), ‘þat man may ben saued forto keep þe comaundementz’ (473-5); but the second is the harder message, that one should ‘se rende en religion’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 23), ‘zælde hym in to religioun’ (Pepys 2498, 477-8). At

³ Trinity R. 14. 7 references are to the transcription in Appendix Two.

this point the text explicitly details possible ways for non-religious people to accomplish this:

ou uiue par cei en chastete ⁊ e en pouerte . ou en obedience par aucune reule ke est par le conseil de seinte eglise com sunt ceus ke uiuunt ensemble en congregacion en religion ou par sei com hermitis . ou com recluses (Trinity R. 14. 7, 23-9)

In Pepys 2498 this is translated as:

Or lyue by hym self in chastite . and in pouerte . and in obedience by summe rewle þat be by þe conseile of holy chirche As þo þat ben to gedre in congregatioun or by hem seluen as heremytes . and ankers (478-82)

Based on the New Testament passages mentioned above, the *Comandemens* text then details ‘tres auantages outre ls autres’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 31), ‘þre auantages ouere þe oþer’ (485), that are to be the reward for those who do follow Jesus in this more demanding manner: ‘cent double richesce’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 37), ‘an hundreþ folde dubble richesces’ (491); ‘vus serrez oue mei a iuger tut le mond au derein iour’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 42-4), ‘3ee schul sitten wiþ me and jugen al þe werlde att þe last day’ (494-6); and the third:

il en auerunt tant de poer ke il poerunt a mener auec eus
en la ioie du ciel lur parens e lur bien fesours e leur amis .
ke sunt hors de mortouz pecchez (Trinity R. 14. 7, 53-56)

hy schullen haue so mychel power þat hy schullen mowe
leden wiþ hem in to þe ioie of heuene her kynde and her
good doers . and her frendes þat ben out of dedlich synne
(505-9)

The scriptural authority for the first two of these three joys comes from Matthew 19:28-9. The third is pursued with some further interpretation, first rendering the ‘pauperes spiritu’ of the first Beatitude (Matthew 5:3) as ‘poueres par lur bone volunte’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 60-1) or ‘pouere by her good wil’ (514-5), meaning all those who have taken a vow of voluntary poverty. Next Luke 22:28-30 is used, where Jesus says at the last supper to those who have suffered temptation but not succumbed, ‘vus mangez et beuez oue me a ma table en le regne du ciel’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 69-70), ‘ȝe eten and drynken at my borde in þe ioie of heuene’ (525-6). It is then argued that as Jesus will lead his friends into heaven, so the just will do the same for their friends: ‘en meime la manere ad

ihesu crist li duz fiz otre a ceus ke ont le mond pur lui leite e guerpi' (Trinity R. 14. 7, 77-9); 'and rizt in þilke self manere haþ ihesus þe swete son graunted to þo þat han forsaken þe werlde for hym' (530-2).

The final part begins with another quotation from Luke 16:9:

ffacite inquit vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis ut cum defeceritis ipsi recipiant vos in eterna thabernacula (Trinity R. 14. 7, 85-8; 533-5).

This is interpreted to mean that it is God's will that the rich should divide their wealth with the poor, and that the poor will therefore one day receive the rich into heaven, poor in this sense again being understood as poor by choice. Such religious people are perceived by 'ceus ke eimunt le mund', as 'trop uil tenuz e ausi com perduz' (Trinity R. 14. 7, 90-2), translated as 'of hem þat louen þe werlde ... bot holden vile *and* naztty' (543-4).

e pur ceo ke il guerpirent tut le mond e tuz leur parenz . e sunt ausi com de nul poer isci ⁊ pur ceo serrunt il la com seignurs e come dames (Trinity R. 14. 7, 93-6)

And for hy forsoken al werlde and alle her frendes and ben as
of no myzth here ⁊ þerfore hy schullen ben þere as lordes and
lefdyes (546-9)

And finally it is admitted that they will not be respected for making this
choice in this life, but will be criticised as useless both to themselves and to
others, being ‘lost to the world’:

E ceo est encontre treis chose ke len dit de eus . ke il sunt
poueres beggers e loddres e ke il sunt au mond perdue e ke il
ne poent ne eus ne autres aider (Trinity R. 14. 7, 99-102)

And þat schewþ by þre þynges þat men seien by hem þat ben
pouere and beggers . þat hy ben to þe werlde ylore . þat hy
mowen noiþer hem seluen helpen ne non oþer (551-5)

This passage seems to equate the life of voluntary poverty with real poverty,
including beggars and vagabonds, though Pepys 2498 and Vernon both drop the
Anglo-Norman ‘loddres’, suggesting that such poor people have nothing to offer.
Religious people should know enough to be able to ignore such talk: ‘pou de

soece fere de lur dit' (Trinity R. 14. 7, 105-6), 'litel or noþing forto maken tale of her wordes' (557-8), for the reasons already set out.

De Penis Purgatorii

It has already been mentioned that there is also a Latin version of this text, *De Penis Purgatorii*. Relihan's analysis of the relationships between the Latin and Anglo-Norman manuscripts demonstrates that the Latin version must be later than, and derived from, the Anglo-Norman (134-147). However the possibility remains that the Middle English versions could have been translated from Latin, rather than from Anglo-Norman. Of the eight surviving Latin manuscripts, Lambeth 500 may predate Pepys 2498 or Vernon, but all the others are probably from the fifteenth century (Relihan, 1978, 104-14). Again, this does not mean that earlier Latin exemplars could not have been used and I turn to internal evidence to decide if this is possible or likely. Relihan has demonstrated that the Latin manuscripts are very likely to have all originated from one of the 'b' sub-family of Anglo-Norman manuscripts (148), as illustrated in Diagram 1 on p. 45

below, and it seems reasonably clear that the Middle English versions have been produced from sources much more closely related to the 'c' group Anglo-Norman manuscripts, as I demonstrate elsewhere (see 2.3). In particular this means that there is no Latin version of the *Dis Comandemens* in any of the manuscripts, and hence no source for most of part six of the *Pains*.

The most convincing proof that Latin is the likely translation source would be the existence of many instances where Latin and Middle English agree together but differ from Anglo-Norman. I have examined the differences between the versions in the three different languages, and have found approximately one hundred instances where Latin and Anglo-Norman agree, but differ from Middle English; over one hundred further instances where the Latin differs from all the others; and only eleven examples where the Latin might appear to agree with one or other Middle English version while differing from the Anglo-Norman. Moreover, these examples are all minor: where the Latin has 'angeli dei' (175/52) and the Anglo-Norman has 'les angles' (175/46), Pepys 2498 has 'goddess aungels' (26); and similarly, 'in igne purgatorii' (185/146), which is 'en cel fue' in Anglo-

Norman (184/138), appears in Pepys 2498 as 'in þat fyre of purgatorie' (129). None of these examples present any strong evidence for a Latin original, while a great deal of evidence points to the opposite conclusion.

A final and quite different argument against the idea that the Latin version could have been the source for the Middle English translations, comes from the presence of the many Anglo-Norman words used in the Middle English texts that appear to be directly derived from the *Peines*, as I demonstrate elsewhere (see 2.3). The Latin version appears to belong to what Lewis and McIntosh describe as 'the phenomenon of Latin translations of vernacular works which ... we are discovering to be fairly common in the Middle Ages' (1982, 12). They cite translations of the *Ancrene Riwe*, Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton. The ascription of the Latin *Peines* to Robert Grosseteste was perhaps a part of this phenomenon, adding the names of famous learned and religious writers to the new translations.

2.3. Anglo-Norman and Middle English Textual Relationships

The Middle English Textual Relationships

So far I have tried to demonstrate that the Pepys 2498 and Vernon versions of the *Pains* are translations from the Anglo-Norman *Peines* and *Dis Comandemens*, and not from a Latin version. It is now necessary to examine the relationship between the two Middle English texts to determine the nature of their relationship with the Anglo-Norman original, and with each other. It can be asked whether Pepys 2498 and Vernon could have been independently translated from Anglo-Norman; whether one of them could have been the original, and the other derived from it; or if they could both be descended from a single original, and if so, what might be deduced about the nature of this original translation. I argue from the considerable similarities they display, that it is extremely unlikely that they could both have been independent translations; and from the differences between them, I argue that neither could have been the original translation, and the other derived from it. On the other hand there are no strong reasons why a single original

cannot be postulated, and Relihan's analysis of the Anglo-Norman manuscript relationships enables some consideration of where the putative common source might originate. In this context I consider only the two main texts; the amount of material in the Bodley 938 fragment probably precludes using it in this way; it has a separate treatment that is more speculative, but does appear to complicate the picture somewhat.

Pepys 2498 and Vernon not independent translations

Two main arguments are used to demonstrate that they almost certainly are not independent translations. The first is that the same material has been omitted from the Anglo-Norman originals in a large number of instances; and the second is the equally large number of phrase-by-phrase, sense-by-sense, and word-by-word correspondences between the two.

The most obvious omission from the *Peines* is the loss of the introductory apparatus. The *Peines* has six clear divisions named 'Chapitres', each with an preparatory description of its contents. Typically this description includes the

number of ‘perografes’⁴ to be found in the text, a brief recapitulation of the previous chapter, and a summary of what is to come. There is also a general introduction to the whole work, which addresses ‘ses tres chiers freres et soers en Deu’, as well as those who ‘ceste compleison lirrount ou de autre lire orrunt’. The subject of the whole piece is described as ‘ceste compleison de la peyne de purgatorie a la sauvacioun de vos almes’ (Relihan, 1978, 170-1/3-9). Neither the general nor the chapter introductions are found in either Pepys 2498 or Vernon, although the six-part structure can still be discerned in the use of certain expressions that follow the introductions in the Anglo-Norman texts, and are translated into Middle English. Chapter Two opens with ‘Ore entendez bien ici vous qui ceste escrit lesez les seet peines par les queles l’alme est porgé’ (182/112-3); compare this with ‘Now understondeþ þat redeþ þis book seuen pynes by whiche þe soule is clensed’ (Pepys 2498, 95-7) and ‘Now vnderstondeþ . þat redeþ

⁴ Relihan divides his material up into modern paragraphs. I am unable to decide whether the word ‘perograf’ refers to a division in the text or to an intellectual division. The AND does not make this distinction (AND: “parogref”). The Trinity R. 14. 7 manuscript shows no textual divisions.

þis Bok . Seuen peynes þer beoþ . Bi whuche . þe soule is clanset' (Vernon, f. 392b)⁵ at the beginning of the section on the pains of purgatory. Similar closely corresponding expressions are found introducing the sections on venial sins and on the last judgement, Chapters Three and Four in the Anglo-Norman. The Vernon manuscript also has a decorated capital letter on the first word corresponding to the opening of each of the Anglo-Norman chapters.

A number of scriptural quotations are dropped in both Middle English texts: Ezechiel 4:6 (178/90-2); Job 24:19 (203/315-6); Mark 9:42-3 and Isaiah 66:24 and 14:11 (203-4/318-29), and Apocalypse 9:6 (207/346-7). Chapter One ends with a direct reference to its probable source: 'com dit Seint Johan de la Rochelle en un sermon des almes' (181/100-1), also missing in Middle English.

There are passages in the Anglo-Norman which are either abbreviated or omitted in both Middle English texts. A passage from Chapter Two is omitted, perhaps on the grounds of redundancy. It occurs in the description of the fifth pain of purgatory, imprisonment, where there is an exhortation to consider how

⁵ Vernon references are to the folios, as I am not able to cite the transcription.

unpleasant it would be to be tormented by devils for a hundred years or more, until all trace of sin is purged (188/166-72). Chapter Four has several passages omitted: one follows the description of the appearance of Christ with the cross, the nails, the lance and the crown of thorns, recapitulating what has been said already (199-200/278-82). The omission of the quotations from Isaiah mentioned above, and also of the speculation on the nature of vermin to be found in hell, is perhaps the first sign of actual abbreviation of material.

Examples of abbreviation becomes more prevalent in Chapter Five. One passage in Anglo-Norman vividly lists the obstacles that cannot impede the fourth joy of freedom:

ne mur, ne feer, ne pere, ne terre, ne closture, ne element, ne
nul rien luy porra rester, qu'il ne porra saunz travail parmy a sa
volunté passer, ne cele fraunchise jammés ne perdera
(216/430-4).

In Pepys 2498 this is simply 'þis freedom shal neuere be lorne' (412-3), and in Vernon it becomes 'þis freodam . schal neuer ben forloren' (Vernon, f. 393a).

There are a large number of instances where Pepys 2498 and Vernon are virtually identical in complete phrases or sentences apart from the small variations in grammar and syntax to be expected in different dialect areas. Thus for example:

For whan þou arisest of þi bed þou nost to lyuen tyl it euen be
. And whan þou gost to bed þou nost to risen wiþ þe lyf (Pepys
2498, 13-16)

ffor whenne þou arysest vp of þi bedde ⁊ þou ne wost to liuen .
til hit beo euen . And whon þou gost to bedde ⁊ þou ne wost
to rysen wiþ þe lyf (Vernon, f. 392b)

There are dialectical differences such as ‘whan’ ‘whenne’ and ‘whon’; small grammatical differences like ‘nost’ an ‘ne wost’; and small syntactical changes ‘tyl it euen be’ and ‘til hit beo euen’; the addition of ‘vp’ to ‘arysest’ in Vernon is the only vocabulary change and could perhaps be considered an idiomatic usage. I have counted over seventy examples of this type of close similarity in either a whole sentence or a significant phrase, and these exclude cases where the vocabulary choice is different, even if only by a single word. The examples are pretty well spread throughout the first five chapters, although there is only one example from

Chapter Six. There is a cluster of examples from the very beginning of Chapter One, including the example above, perhaps reflecting scribal attention to detail at the beginning of a long piece of work; by contrast Chapter Five, appears to have the smallest number of such resemblances.

There are a number of instances where the word that has been used to translate from Anglo-Norman is not an Old French borrowing, nor otherwise similar to the original, and yet appears the same in both Middle English texts . These are set out for convenience in Table 1 below. The references are to line numbers in Relihan and Pepys 2498, and to the folios in Vernon. While it could be argued that some of these examples are obvious choices, for example translating ‘parole’ with ‘word’, this does not apply to all. Some of them seem to reject the obvious choice in favour of something different: ‘maladie’ had been used in Middle English since at least 1275, and ‘hidous’ since 1350, yet a different word is used in the translations. Others clearly interpret the Anglo-Norman rather than translate it directly, as for example using ‘for enchesoun’ to interpret ‘por ceo ke’.

Table 1: Anglo-Norman with similar translations in Pepys 2498 and Vernon					
Anglo-Norman	Ref	Pepys 2498	Ref	Vernon	Ref
paroles	50	wordes	32	wordes	392b
come forte peine	151	þan strong	145	how strong	392va
aparailié	306	ordeyned	301	iordeynt	392vb
esteint	309	quenche	302	quenchen	392vb
hiduse	116	gryselich	99	grislich	392b
maladie	140	sekenesse	130	seknesse	392va
apostumes	150	meselrye	144	meselrye	392va
por ceo ke	35	þerfore	11	þerfore	392b
por ceo ke	186	for enchesoun	179	ffor on encheson	392va
asperment	213	scharplich	200	scharpliche	392va
suffor	349	brymston	333	brimston	392vb
humanité	107	manhede	525	monhod	393b
duz	112	swete	526	swete	342

Pepys 2498 and Vernon could descend from a single source

Having established the similarities that make it unlikely that Pepys 2498 and Vernon could be independently translated, the task now is to look closely at some of the variations between them, and then to rule out the possibility that either one could have been the original translation, and the other derived from it. The evidence shown below makes this very unlikely, and the simplest assumption therefore is that there could have been a single original source text. The evidence is further examined to decide which Middle English text may be considered closer to the common source, in its preservation of presumed original features. It seems probable from both the numbers and the significance of the variations that Pepys 2498 is, in general, closer to the source, but with one significant exception: the use of some Anglo-Norman vocabulary.

I have examined instances where one Middle English text retains material from the Anglo-Norman that is missing in the other; in at least fourteen of these, Pepys 2498 includes translated text that is missing from Vernon, compared with four of the opposite scenario. Six of the items missing from Vernon could be

described as substantial pieces of text, as opposed to single words or very short and commonplace phrases such as ‘in body and in soule’ (277-8), or ‘in chirche or wipoute’ (224-5). In Chapter One there is a description of how souls will be fearful of judgement after death:

ke les deables serront la en present e les angles a desputer de la vie del homme du comencement jekes a la fin (175/46-48)

ffor þe deuels schullen ben þere redy in presence and goddes aungels . to desputen þe lyf of þe man from þe bigynnyng to þe ende (Pepys 2498, 25-28)

ffor þe feondes schul be þer redi in presence . and þe Angeles also (Vernon, f. 392b)

The underlined phrase in Pepys 2498, clearly a translation from the Anglo-Norman, is missing completely in Vernon. Another significant omission is found in Chapter Three, on the venial sins:

Whan men praysen þe folk for losengerie . Whan men spenden her tyme in jangelrie or in ydel wordes (Pepys 2498, 222-4)

whon men spekeþ .and. preyseþ þe folk for losingerie . or in
Idel words (Vernon, f. 392va)

The Pepys 2498 version is a fairly close translation of the Anglo-Norman, so the Vernon text may show the omission of a complete line in the putative Middle English original and the underlined phrase is a clue to the original line length.

The sin described in Pepys 2498 as ‘whan men speken scharplich to her euencristen þere men schulden speke swetelich’ (219-21), is a close rendering of the Anglo-Norman; in Vernon this appears as ‘whon men speken fulþiliche’ (f. 392va). I am unable to suggest a reason for this difference, other than as a reference to local concerns, but it is a significant divergence from the original. Chapters Five and Six have examples of further abbreviations in Vernon, where Pepys 2498 is itself an abbreviation of the Anglo-Norman:

Now þenkeþ on þe synful hou þai ben charged of pyne and of
anguysch more þan any man may telle (430-2)

Now þenk on þe synful . how þei ben charget more þen I.nouh
(Vernon, f. 393a)

The examples of items present in Vernon but omitted in Pepys 2498 are either single words or very short phrases: ‘from þi bodi’, ‘hidouse’, and ‘tofore men’ (f. 392b). The only substantial item is this longer phrase, missing completely from Pepys 2498: ‘And þerfore þei han for lore þe Ioye þat I seide bi fore’ (f. 392vb) which renders the Anglo-Norman ‘e cel joye unt il ensement perdue’ (Relihan, 1978, 208-9/365-6).

There are many instances where the two manuscripts have variant readings, and again in a majority of cases, perhaps two out of every three, Pepys 2498 is closer to the Anglo-Norman. The long quotation from Anselm in the first part is introduced as the saying of the ‘þe holy seint Anselme’ in Pepys 2498 (41), as in the Anglo-Norman, but in Vernon it is from ‘þe holi godspel’ (f. 392b). In the description of the last judgement in part four, Anglo-Norman ‘eaue’ (206/336) becomes ‘watre’ in Pepys 2498 (319), but ‘see’ in Vernon (f. 392vb); ‘lermes’ (206/337) is similarly translated as ‘teres’ (321) and ‘water’ (f. 392vb); ‘vyn’ (207/352) becomes ‘wyne’ (337) and ‘drink’ (f. 392vb). An item of particular interest is the ‘olde englishe’ proverb quoted in Chapter Four of the Anglo-

Norman text in English: ‘zif hope ne were herte to brost’ (Relihan, 209/371). This is identical in Pepys 2498 (359), but is altered in Vernon to ‘zif hope neore ⁊ herte breeke’ (f. 392vb).

Vernon sometimes seems closer to the Anglo-Norman in the choice of vocabulary, when Pepys 2498 apparently rejects words borrowed from the Anglo-Norman original, in favour of alternatives derived from Old English, or from earlier and more established borrowings, as shown in Table 2.

Anglo-Norman	Ref	Pepys 2498	Ref	Vernon	Ref
apertement	69	openlich	57	apertelich	392b
anentez	163	fordon	160	aneentyset	392va
porgee	114	clensed	97	purget	392b
hidus	305	dredeful	297	hidous	392vb
menbre	414	lyme	398	menbre	393a
desturber	429	letten	411	distourblen	393a
vilement	303			vilnesliche	392vb

Sometimes the Vernon uses a word with an Old English root, but one that is recorded as coming into common use much more recently than the Pepys 2498 equivalent, as in Table 3.

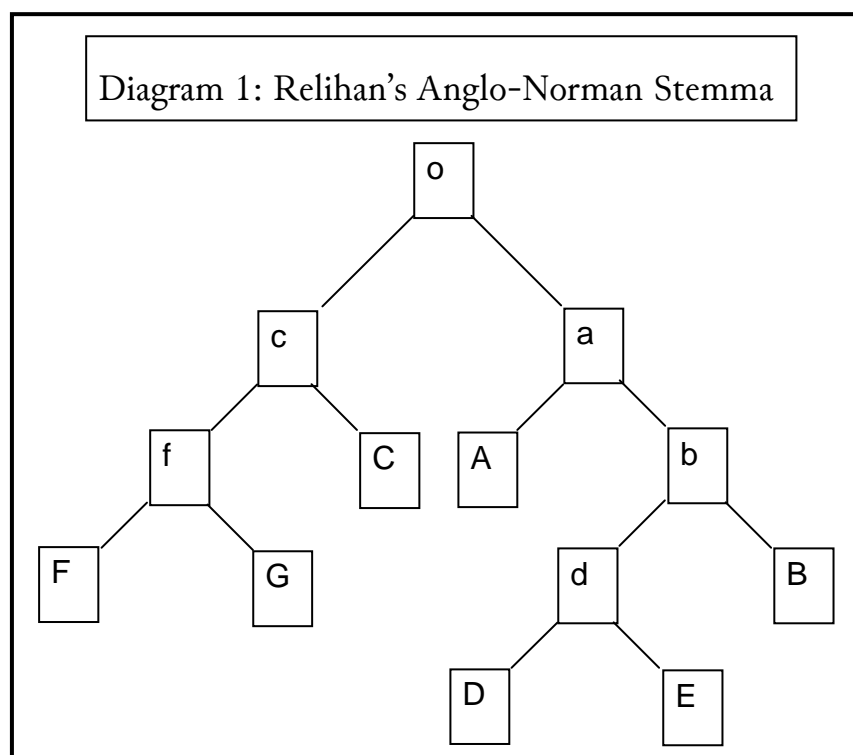
Table 3: Anglo-Norman translated with Old English vocabulary					
Anglo-Norman	Ref	Pepys 2498	Ref	Vernon	Ref
tartivement	222	liȝthliche (1121)	211	latliche (c. 1400)	392va
hidus	367	foule (1150)	353	loþful (1425)	392vb
agreger	392	haue more	306	acresen (1398)	392vb

The dates when these words are first recorded in the MED are shown in brackets.

As ‘loþful’ is actually only recorded from 1425 in the MED (“lothful”) or 1450 in the OED (“loathful”), the example here appears to be the currently earliest recorded use. In all these examples Vernon chooses to use either the direct Middle English borrowing, or a more recent, or more learned equivalent, the scribe’s relish for such words perhaps reflecting his background.

Relationship to existing Anglo-Norman manuscripts

Relihan's analysis of the relationships between the seven Anglo-Norman manuscripts is useful evidence in deciding which, if any, is likely to be the original of the *Pains*. Diagram 1 illustrates these relationships as he sees them. As mentioned above, he identifies two manuscript families, 'c' and 'a'. The 'c' family consists of Bodley 654, 'C' in the diagram, and a sub-family 'f', which consists of Trinity R. 14. 7, 'F', and Paris, 'G'. The 'a' family consists of Arundel 288, 'A', with two sub-families: 'b' comprising Dublin E. 4, 'B', and 'd', comprising Bodley 82, 'D', and Royal 16. E. II, 'E' (120-134).



The analysis that follows is almost wholly dependent on Relihan, as his is the only edition of any of the Anglo-Norman texts.

The external evidence for the 'c' family is the co-existence of the *Peines* and the *Dis Comandemens* in all three manuscripts. The presence of the *Ten Hestes* with the *Pains* in the Pepys 2498 manuscript at once associates it with the 'c' family. The internal evidence lies in a number of significant textual variations, which Relihan analyses to produce his stemma. Almost all the examples used to characterise the 'c' family are reproduced in both Pepys 2498 and Vernon. There are variants that Relihan classifies as errors in the 'c' family: for example, Pepys 2498 and Vernon both translate the 'c' misreading of 'pour' for 'plures' (1978, 246/291), as 'drede' (281; f. 392vb); and the 'c' variant 'donc nus purge deu en ceste vie' (244/249), appears in Pepys 2498 as 'þan god clenseþ us in oure lyf' (245-6), and in Vernon as 'þenne god clanseþ vs in þis lyue' (f. 392va); while the 'a' family has 'donke nous porgoms en ceste vie' (196/249). In other instances the 'a' family manuscripts appear to be in error against 'c', and here Pepys 2498 and Vernon again both agree with 'c'. The 'a' texts substitute 'lermes' for 'vermes' in

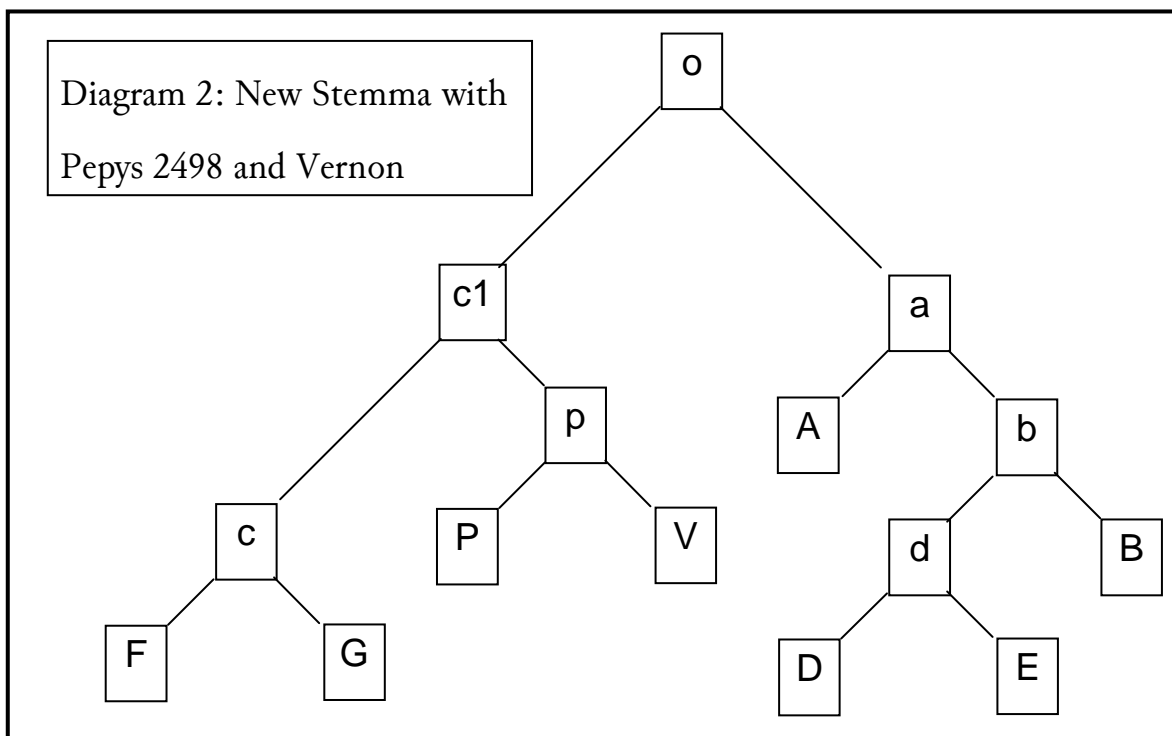
‘ouster les vermes de lor eus’ (252/425); Pepys 2498 and Vernon both have ‘worme’ (407; f. 393a). The ‘a’ family omits the italicised phrase from ‘ne de quele mort *ne on quel lu ne en quel tens ne en quel estat*’ (236/34); Pepys 2498 has ‘ne in what stede’ (8/9) and Vernon ‘ne in what stude’ (f. 392b).

However, there are a few examples in the Middle English texts that do not quite fit this picture. Some of the evidence suggests that they derive from an Anglo-Norman text nearer the ‘a’ family than any now known. Perhaps the strongest piece of this evidence occurs at the opening of the venial sins passage: ‘Quant vous mangez ou bevez *plus qe vous ne avez mester; quant vous parlez plus qe mester ne serrait* (Relihan, 1978, 242/209)’. The italicised phrase is missing in all the ‘a’ texts, presumably due to an eye-skip between the two occurrences of ‘plus ke’, while all the ‘c’ manuscripts include the missing phrase. Pepys 2498 also has ‘whan þou etest or drynkest more þan þou haste nede of’ (196-8); and Vernon has ‘whon þou etest .and. drinkest more þen I.nouh ⁊ or more þen þou hast neode of’ (f. 392va). It seems unlikely that both Pepys 2498 and Vernon would independently miss out the phrase; hence the association with the ‘a’ family. A

second example comes from the description of the torments of hell, where the ‘a’ texts have: ‘e si come dit lui prophete la mort les pestera e leur mager serra’ (Relihan, 1978, 206/342-3), but the ‘c’ family reading is: ‘e si come dist dauid le prophete la mort lur pestera e lur mager serra’, mentioning David as the author of the quotation from Psalm 48, and using the apparently ungrammatical ‘lur pestera’ (248/342). Pepys 2498 has ‘as þe prophete seiþ 9 mors depascet eos Deþ schal be her mete’ (327-8), while Vernon has ‘As þe prophete seiþ . []⁶ þat is to siggen . Deþ schal ben heore mete’ (f. 392vb). The Middle English manuscripts both omit the name of David, and also an accurate translation of the Latin ‘la mort les pestera’.

Diagram 2 below illustrates one possible explanation. ‘c1’ is a new family that includes Relihan’s ‘c’ as a sub-family, with a new sub-family ‘p’ that includes the original source for the the two Middle English translations.

⁶ Vernon has a space in the manuscript for the quotation, but it was not supplied.



Finally, there is one example where Pepys 2498 and Vernon resemble Relihan's 'b' sub-family. Both 'F' and 'G' manuscripts include these italicised words and phrases: '*si tres grant e si tres duce ke nule lange en ceste vies ne le poet parconter ne oil ne le poet veer ne quer ne le poet penser*' (Relihan, 1978, 212/391-2).

Relihan rejects these italicised phrases as examples of a 'general tendency to expansion' in these manuscripts, as they are not found in any of the others (128).

However we do see in Pepys 2498: '*þat ilk ioye ... þat is so gret þat no tunge may tellen . Ne eizen seen . Ne herte þenken*' (373-5); while Vernon has '*þat ilke Ioye*

... Þat is so gret . þat no tonge may telle . ne eize seo ⁊ ne herte þenken' (f. 393a).

While both Pepys 2498 and Vernon omit 'e si tres duce', and 'en ceste vies' they do both mention the 'lange', the 'oil' and the 'quer' from F and G. The only explanation I can conceive is that this well-known biblical expression from 1 Corinthians 2:9 was suggested to the scribe of the 'p' sub-family original, and written out in full again.

The relationship of the Bodley 938 excerpt to Pepys 2498 and Vernon

There is a single passage of forty lines in the Bodley 938 manuscript that appears to be closely related to the *Pains*. This is from the beginning of Chapter One, from 'Salamon seiþ *in alle þi werkes*' as far as 'no þing may be so priuy . þat ne it schal be schewid ne so priuy þat it ne chal be open to þe ize' (Bodley 938, 4-40). This fragment is part of the opening of a piece in that manuscript on the 'plagis of egipt', relating the ten plagues to the commandments, as appropriate punishments for breaking each of them. Examination of this text demonstrates a close similarity to both Pepys 2498 and Vernon. It seems unlikely that Bodley 938 could have been

copied from either Pepys 2498 or Vernon; the instances where Bodley 938 differs from both the other Middle English texts are more numerous than those in which it resembles one or the other. The following example probably rules out Vernon as the exemplar, as the underlined phrase from Bodley 938 is missing:

ffor þe deuels schullen ben þere redy in presence . and goddes
aungels to desputen þe lyf of þe man from þe bigynnyng to þe
ende (Pepys 2498, 25-88)

ffor þe feondes schul be þer redi in presence . and þe Angeles
also (Vernon, f. 392b)

ffor þe fendis schule be redy in presence and goddes angels .
forto dispute þe lif of man . fro þe begynnyng in to þe laste
ende (Bodley 938, 29-32)

Similarly the next example probably rules out Pepys 2498 as the exemplar. Bodley 938 has ‘no þing may be so priuy þat ne it schal be schewid ne so priuy þat it ne schal be open to ize’ (38-40), using a double construction similar to the Anglo-Norman ‘nule chose est si privement muscee ke ne serra moustree, ni si celee ke ne serra su e aperte’ (Relihan, 1978, 176/53-55). Vernon preserves this

construction, although in an abbreviated form: ‘no þing may be so priuelich hud þat hit ne schal ben open and schewet’ (f. 392b), but Pepys 2498 does not: ‘noþing so priuelich is hidde þat it ne schal be open’ (39-40).

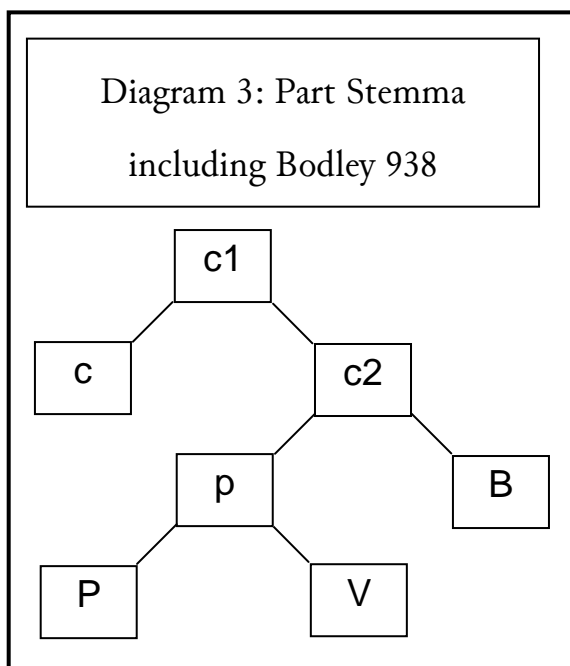


Diagram 3 illustrates what I understand to be the probable relationship of the manuscripts, ‘c2’ being a sub-family containing the Bodley 938 source on the one hand, and the common source for Pepys 2498 and Vernon on the other.

However there is a passage might be thought evidence for a contrary view, in that Vernon and Bodley 938 both exhibit an error that does not occur in Pepys 2498:

Pensez donc sovent ke vus morrez, e vous ne savez kaunt ne de quele mort ne en quel liu ne en quel tens ne en quel estat.
(Relihan, 1978, 174/32-35)

þenke þou schal diȝe and þou nost whanne neuere . ne on what
deþ . ne in what stede . ne in what state . ne in what tyme
(Pepys 2498, 7-11)

þenk þat þou schalt dyȝe . and þou ne wost whenne . in what
stude . Ne in what tyme . Ne on what dey ⁊ Ne in what state
(Vernon, f. 392b)

þenke þat þou schalt die and þou wost neuere when ne on what
day . ne in what tyme . ne in what stede . ne in what stat .
(Bodley 938, 4-9)

The phrase ‘ne on what dey’ in both Vernon and Bodley 938 is almost certainly an error, as the Pepys 2498 version ‘ne on what deþ’ is a translation of the Anglo-Norman ‘ne de quele mort’. Shared errors can be strong evidence for the relationship of manuscripts, and this one would indicate a relationship that placed Vernon with Bodley 938 a stage nearer the original than Pepys 2498, which is incompatible with other evidence of the relationship between Pepys 2498 and Vernon. To resolve this difficulty, I would suggest that this is an error that could have been made twice independently, in that the letter ‘y’ and the letter ‘þ’ are

often very similar, especially when the latter is written in an open form; hence 'deɸ' can quite easily become 'dey'.

2.4. The Original Translation and the Extant Manuscript Witnesses

In this section I try to make some general points, first about the hypothetical original translation of the *Pains* from Anglo-Norman; and second, how and why the extant versions appear to have diverged from this, and whether as a result of authorial or scribal change. The assumption of a single original is of course not provable, but is the simplest possible explanation.

The original translation

The first point to make about this putative original is that it is likely to have been copied from a manuscript that included both the *Peines de Purgatorie* and the *Dis Comandemens*. The previous section has demonstrated that the source for the original Middle English translation was probably a version of the *Peines* a step closer to the Anglo-Norman text from which all the extant manuscripts are derived. Hence it seems likely that association of the two texts begins earlier than any of the 'c' family.

It is possible to argue that the opening section of the *Dis Comandemens* was originally a separate text that later became incorporated into it. There are two grounds for this speculation: one is that the content is not entirely relevant to what follows, dealing as it does with people who go further than keeping the commandments, which seems inappropriate for the opening part of a discussion of the chosen subject, especially when the substance of the discussion on the commandments that follows is a traditional account of each one, in order, together with the sins that can be considered as breaking them.

The second reason is more substantial; examination of the Trinity R. 14. 7 and Bodley 654 witnesses to the Anglo-Norman *Dis Comandemens*, as well as of the Pepys 2498 *Ten Hestes*, reveals some confusion about where the text actually starts and ends. Trinity R. 14. 7 indicates that after the *Dis Comandemens* there are three shorter texts: these are mentioned in the Prologue as ‘des oit beneizuns ...des treis ordres de sauuation ... les sis choses ke gardent homme en senctete’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, f. 111v); and they are also shown with subtitles in the appropriate folios of the text itself (Trinity R. 14. 7, ff. 117-120v), although with

slight differences. Bodley 654 does not distinguish these as separate texts, but introduces them as the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the compilation of the ten commandments (ff. 136-137). All these texts are missing from the Pepys 2498 *ten hestes* apart from a few lines from the 'oit beneizuns'. Finally, the Pepys 2498 version includes material from yet another, so far unidentified source, on the text from Matthew 22:14 that though many are called, few are chosen; interpreting this to mean that only a few will actually get into heaven. It seems as though a number of different short texts have accumulated around the *Dis Comandemens* at different times, and have, in some manuscripts, been incorporated into it.

Whether or not the part translated from the *Dis Comandemens* was a separate text, we may consider why it was brought into the *Pains* instead of most of the final Chapter of the *Peines*. As I try to demonstrate in detail later (see 3.5), the inclusion of extra joys for people dedicated to religion, whether they 'ben togedre in congregatioun or by hem seluen as heremytes and ankers' (481-2), and the defence of voluntary poverty, are strong clues to the composition of the intended audience. The dropping of the Anglo-Norman introductory apparatus

can be seen as making it more a meditative than an intellectual exercise, while certain minor changes of the language used in translation seem designed to include people not living in a monastic setting.

Finally it is possible to identify some errors that were probably made in the original translation, as they are reproduced in both Pepys 2498 and Vernon, usually as obscurities of meaning, as shown in the notes on lines 228-29 and 500-502. The last example is identifiable as a mistranslation from the original.

Extant manuscript witnesses

A notable feature of the Pepys 2498 version is that the *Pains of Sin* is bundled together with the *Ten Hestes* as a single text. The introductory rubric mentions it specifically: 'Here bigynnen good techynges of wise men wiþ þe ten hestes afterward. distinctelich expounded'. The use of decorated letters is a further indication that both texts are to be considered as one whole; there is no larger decorated letter until p. 226 where the *Ten Hestes* finishes, following the final rubric verse:

þe comaundementz expounded: here enden I 3ou seie
vnto þe blis of heuene ⁊ god us wisse þe weie

By contrast, Vernon does not contain the *Ten Hestes*, and ends the *Pains* with:

God 3eue vs grace to be goode: and to make heer a good ende. AMEN' (Vernon, f. 393b).

The introductory rubric to the *Pains of Sin* in Pepys 2498, as 'good techynges of wise men', is misleading as to the actual content, even though there is no indication that this rubric was done by another scribe, unaware of the contents; it appears to be the same hand. The opening of the *Peines* in Arundel 288, Relihan's 'A' manuscript, has this rubric, shown as a variant in his edition: 'ici comence romaunz estret hors de divinite solom l'ordeynement des philosophes' (235/1). I wonder whether the title in Pepys 2498 might have been influenced by something similar in the putative original translation. This speculation is in line with earlier findings that the original translation was made from a 'c' family version closer to Relihan's 'a' family than any existing manuscripts; as well as being associated with the *Dis Comandemens* it could have had a similar title; and

the text that includes the Bodley 938 fragment is also introduced as ‘*summe prouerbis of Salamon wip opere auctoritees of notable materes of holi writt*’.

It was mentioned earlier that there are some differences in vocabulary between Pepys 2498 and Vernon, which are probably amendments introduced in Pepys 2498, substituting words derived originally from Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman words of an earlier date, for some direct borrowings from the Anglo-Norman *Peines* in the original translation (see 2.3). These differences may reflect either the personal taste of the scribe, or his perception of the taste of the intended audience, for simpler and less erudite terms.

Pahlsson claims that in copying the version of the *Ancrene Riwe* found in Pepys 2498, ‘the scribe worked in a perfectly mechanical manner, and accordingly the results are sometimes most ridiculous’, and that his blunders include serious errors in the Latin and English quotations (1911, xi). This judgement does not apply to errors made in transcribing the *Pains* with anything like the same degree of harshness. There are a few copying errors specific to Pepys 2498, as seen in the notes on lines 24, 56, 137, 294, 371, 444 and 546; none of them are of great

significance. The only corrections visible are strokes used to separate words in lines 156, 395, 548 and 551, and insertions in lines 285, 358 and 399; an insertion mark in line 21 has nothing inserted above it.

3. COMPOSITION HISTORY

3.1 Literary Context

Anglo-Norman to Middle English

The *Pains of Sin* is a late fourteenth-century prose text translated from late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman originals. The work reflects a large change that happened between those dates: the choice of Middle English rather than Anglo-Norman as the language of most religious writing. Watson cites the ‘overwhelming preponderance of religious works in Anglo-Norman over works in Middle English for the period 1150-1300’, he notes that the major English works produced in the thirteenth and in much of the fourteenth centuries, drew on Anglo-Norman sources rather than or in addition to Latin (Watson, 2009, 336). Similarly Hanna says Pepys 2498 makes available ‘to English readers some of the literary riches of past centuries, works composed in England, but not in English’ (Hanna, 2005, 157). He traces the emergence of a secularised Anglo-Norman

book trade from about the middle of the thirteenth century, followed by the later rendering of the standard texts into Middle English (1-39). Hanna says that only the *Ancrene Riwe* and the 'Good Techinges' are not translated from Anglo-Norman, but it is now possible to see that it is the *Ancrene Riwe* alone that is not a translation.

Decline in the use of French in the late fourteenth century

The thirteenth century is characterised by 'pervasive interrelations ... between works in English and French' (Crane, 1999, 50). Many religious works, written after 1215 to support priests and laity in their newly defined religious duties, exist in multiple copies in both languages; examples include Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour* (c. 1220), Robert of Gretham's verse *Miroir* (c. 1230), which became the *Mirur* in Middle English, and Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* (1303), translating the *Manuel des Pechiez* (c. 1250).

However the later fourteenth century saw huge further increases in the use of English, and the beginnings of the decline of French in its most important

usages. This was the time when English was beginning to supplant French as the language of the professional classes, aristocratic households, and even the church, and it is witnessed by the very large accretions of words of Anglo-Norman origin that occurred at this time. Ingham has suggested that the Black Death was finally responsible for the decline of Anglo-Norman. Many aristocratic households were still fully bilingual in the fourteenth century, while aspiring administrators and lawyers learned French as a matter of course. However the clerics that instructed children in Latin through the medium of French, in the song schools and the grammar schools or as household tutors, were particularly badly affected by the plague, and were no longer available in the required numbers to maintain the acquired language against the easy availability of the vernacular (Ingham, 2010). Ingham shows that although pronunciation began to change well before this time, it was only in the latter part of the fourteenth century that errors in grammar began to appear, such as confusion between pronoun forms 'sa' and 'son'; the conclusion is that the grammar was no longer being understood.

3.2 Sources and Adaptations

Peines de Purgatorie

The work is a compilation culled from the Latin works of both ancient and contemporary religious writers. Relihan has carefully examined these, and has identified possible sources for all the chapters, including works which have been directly translated or adapted, and works with similarity in subject matter and verbal detail, but not necessarily the immediate sources (1978, 47-61). The directly translated works used are the *Meditatio ad Concitandum Timorem* of Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033-1109), forming a considerable part of the first chapter on the fear of death; and the *Sermo CLXXIX* of Caesarius of Arles (c. 469 – 502), also known as *De Igne Purgatorii*, the source of the third chapter on venial sins, which Relihan describes as ‘translation with minor deviations’ (53).

Relihan also concludes that the second chapter, on the pains of purgatory, ‘depends upon’ the *All Soul’s Sermon* of the Franciscan theologian Jean de la Rochelle’ (d. 1245); while Eadmer’s *Liber de Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus*

provides most of the material for the final two chapters on the fourteen joys of heaven (51). Finally he concludes that although the description of the last judgement in Chapter Four 'is a medieval commonplace', a number of similarities in the treatment and in language suggest the possible use of Book III of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis: 'this identification is governed by the complete eschatological framework common to both and by specific verbal parallels' (58).

Anglo-Norman adaptation and change

Relihan also shows the ways in which the sources have been adapted, modified, or fitted into a wider picture. The quotation from Anselm in the first chapter, the description of the particular judgement immediately after death

is only one part of a continual stream of self-deprecation ... there is little mention of confession or patient suffering ... the distinction between mortal and venial sin is foreign to Anselm's spiritual exercise (1978, 49-50).

But the *Peines de Purgatorie* is concerned with being 'positive and practical', encouraging confession, and taking responsibility for one's own salvation (50).

Indeed, it can be seen that the author has introduced a small contradiction in the material. Anselm's concept of sinfulness extends to sins we may commit without being aware, and even to sins that may have seemed, in life, to be good deeds; while the passage immediately following assures readers that it is possible get to heaven direct:

ffor þe soule þat is here purged of al manere of synne dedlich
and venial . by penaunce and by holy praiers ⁊ schal entren
non wiþ þe holy aungels in to þe ioie of paradys (Pepys 2498,
64-68)

This would seem to be unlikely in the world described by Anselm.

Anselm's descriptions of the joys of heaven are also modified stylistically: 'key images are retained, but the Anselmean descriptions are simplified, while at the same time, repetitively amplified'. (53). Similarly the material on the pains of purgatory, adapted from Jean de la Rochelle

eliminates all [his] more scholastically allegorical and exegetical
amplification ... the exposition is similar to the adaptation of
the Anselmean beatitudes in that both present the simple
development of a concept ... dominated by a central image.(57)

Middle English

All the sources mentioned above appear in the Middle English version, as do most of the illustrative examples. The experience of the particular judgement is compared to being in a storm and in fear of drowning (Pepys 2498, 108-9); the pain of purgatorial fire is greater than that of earthly fire, ‘als mychel or more þat þe fyre whiche a man warmeþ hym by here is more hott þan is þe sunne bem þat schyneþ here on þe grounde’ (117-120); the delight in the exercise of the senses in heaven is compared to heating iron red-hot, transforming it into something ‘beter fyre þan yrne’ (425-8).

3.3 Title, Contents, Date and Authorship

Title

This title was first assigned to the Vernon version. In a note to her article on the Index to the Vernon manuscript, Serjeantson quotes from a manuscript note made by Macaulay on the *Ancrene Riwe* in the Bodleian copy of Halliwell's *Some Account of the Vernon MS*: 'the Vernon copy ... adds reflections which do not belong to the *A[ncrene].R[iwe]*. at all – a new article I suppose ... on the pains of sin and the joys of righteousness' (Serjeantson, 1937, 260). This association with the *Ancrene Riwe* is of some interest, as the *Peines de Purgatorie* and the *Dis Comandemens* appear with the *Ancrene Riwe* in Anglo-Norman compilations (see 3.7).

Content

The *Pains of Sin* is an eschatological meditation, that is to say a contemplation of the last things to be kept in mind by Christian souls at all times. These are: the possible imminence of death, and of the immediate and comprehensive judgement

on one's whole life that will follow; the length and severity of the suffering to be expected in purgatory, and the nature of the seven pains experienced there; the dreadful fact that many lesser sins will be revealed and require purging, together with a list of some typical venial sins; the end of the world, with Christ coming to deliver the last judgement, followed by the terror that the wicked then experience, and the physical, mental and moral punishments of hell; the seven physical joys of heaven, and three special joys reserved for those who have dedicated themselves to a life of religion. It exhorts its readers or audience to patiently accept suffering in this world, as that will earn great merit in the next; to avoid any sins that could condemn the soul to hell; and finally, to embrace poverty, and to ignore worldly people who cast doubt on the value of lives devoted to religion.

Date

The date of the original Anglo-Norman work is probably between the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century. Relihan estimates this to be between 1230 and 1274; his 'terminus a quo' is the date of publication of the complete

writings of Jean de la Rochelle, the probable source of the third chapter of the compilation (1978, 3-5). However it could have been earlier or later than this date. The Trinity R. 14. 7 compilation refers to Friars of the Sack, 'ou uus en sac', an order established in 1257, and therefore the manuscript must have been written after this date (Trethewey, 1958, xxiii). Again this is of little help in dating the *Peines de Purgatorie*. Relihan's 'terminus ante quem' is based on estimates of the dates of the Arundel 288 and Bodley 654 manuscripts, which are probably from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Trethewey argues that although the Friars of the Sack were abolished in 1274, members of the order survived up to about 1300; and as the address to potential readers in Trinity R. 14. 7 is clearly trying to be inclusive, it might be assumed to include these survivors; hence the Trinity R. 14. 7 compilation could have been first written at any time up to this date, but probably no later, and the *Peines de Purgatorie* must have been first written before this date. All we can say with any certainty is that it was composed before the end of the thirteenth century.

I have shown previously that the Pepys 2498 manuscript was probably written during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and Vernon in the last decade (see 2.1). The postulated original translation from Anglo-Norman is likely to be not very much earlier than the Pepys 2498 date, evidenced by the presence in both manuscripts, of a number of late fourteenth century words or expressions, some directly borrowed from Anglo-Norman, and others that are translations or adaptations, and that seem to have first appeared at about this time. An example is the disease of 'meselrye' (Pepys 2498, 145; Vernon, f. 392va), the word used to translate the Anglo-Norman 'apostumes' (Relihan, 1978, 186/150). The AND gives the meaning of the latter as 'boils' ("aposteme" def. 1), while the MED and OED define 'meselrye' as 'leprosy', or more generally as 'a skin disease', with the first recorded example from 1387 ("meselrie" def. a and b MED; "meselry" OED). Similarly 'flux' is first recorded in 1384 in the MED, and in 1387 in the OED. Although this type of evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive, it does suggest a date in the last quarter of the fourteenth century for the original translation as well as for the Pepys 2498 version.

Authorship

The Latin versions of the *Peines* attributed authorship to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (c. 1175–1253), but this attribution must be considered dubious. Thomson hesitates over the attribution (1940, 136-7). Warner and Gilson, describe it as ‘rather improbable’ (1921, 194). It is clear that the Latin version is derived from the Anglo-Norman, (see 2.2) and the Anglo-Norman manuscripts have no such attribution. Relihan concludes that the Latin attribution belongs to the tendency to misassign popular religious works to Grosseteste after his death, particularly in the fourteenth century when his popularity was growing fast (1978, 25-37).

The *Peines de Purgatorie* is introduced with the traditional greeting used by people of religion to their fellows: ‘A ses tres chiers freres et soers en Deu, as tous iceaus ki ceste compleison lirrount ou de autre lire orrunt, saluz et santé de alme e de cors’ (170-1/3-6). But this does not indicate either the status or the clerical order of the author. This greeting is not translated. The sensible assumption,

where other evidence is lacking, is that the *Pains of Sin* was translated in a monastery:

Monasteries, more than any other institutions in England, possessed the means (the learning, the libraries, the skills and resources for book production) that turning doctrinal truths preserved in Latin or French into English ... required. (Cannon, 1999, 332).

Moreover, the anonymity that appears now to be the hallmark of so much medieval writing, may be belied by the fact that

[writings] ... may in fact have been readily identified with their producer, who may often also have been their original performer or reader (Gillespie, 2004, 127).

3.4 The Audiences of the *Peines de Purgatorie* and the *Pains of Sin*

Evidence from Sources

Certain generalisations about audiences may be made from the language used. Latin works were translated first into Anglo-Norman for audiences consisting of ‘aristocrats, gentryfolk, parish priests and the urban laity’ (Watson, 2009, 338); and then later into Middle English, probably for similar audiences, but at the time when Anglo-Norman began its sharp decline as the polite language for members of religious orders, and for the educated laity. Hanna specifically describes the contents of the Pepys 2498 manuscript as exemplifying a ‘standard situation ... from Latinate monastics to French speaking monastics and aristocrats to English literate Londoners’ (2005, 157-8).

The section above on sources demonstrates how some of the original Latin sources were modified in the Anglo-Norman version to create a work of practical piety for the intended audience, retaining vivid images, but modifying the scholastic contents. I show further on that the content of the section on purgatory

gave its name to the whole text and was a significant source of its popularity, presenting a picture that is more grounded in the experience of genteel persons, and less dependent on horror and violence (see 3.4). In the same section I also show that the catalogue of venial sins seems to have been another popular feature of the work, venial sins being the sins of everyday life of a similarly genteel set of people.

Evidence from translations

What are the implications of the changes made in the Middle English translations? The most significant change is of course the addition of material from the *Dis Comandemens*. One passage already noted refers explicitly to different styles of religious living:

Bot who so wil be pryue frende to god . and *parfitelich seruen* god and plesen hym ⁊ zelde hym in to religioun or lyue by hym self in chastite . and in pouerte . and in obedience by summe rewle þat be by þe conseile of holy chirche as þo þat ben togedre in congregatioun or by hem seluen as heremytes . and ankers (Pepys 2498, 475-82)

Moreover, as is shown in more detail in the next section, the *Dis Comandemens* contains a defence of voluntary poverty against accusations of uselessness, which may have particular relevance to urban monastic foundations, and especially to anchorites.

A second noteworthy change is the omission of the apparatus of chapters and introductory comments, ‘with a summary of the previous argument and the substance of the following chapter’ (Relihan, 1978, 12). This apparatus is appropriate to what Parkes has described as the thirteenth-century development of a scholastic approach to texts, with a presentation which ‘involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text and consultation for reference purposes’, a usage that is different from the monastic spiritual exercise where the reading is designed to produce meditation (1976, 115). The removal of the apparatus would perhaps have made the work appear less scholastic and more suited to the needs of a lay audience.

There is little direct evidence for the audience, other than the opening address from the *Peines de Purgatorie*: ‘A ses tres chiers freres et soers en Deu, as

tous iceaus ki ceste compleison lirrount ou de autre lire orrunt' (170/3-4); a later address in Pepys 2498 to 'leue soule þat redest þis book or herest it' (363-4) is a translation of the traditional Anglo-Norman greeting among co-religionists 'cher alme'. The Vernon rendition of this as 'leoue Breþeren' seems to point to a male audience for this particular version (f. 393a). There are a few small indications that the original Middle English translation was been intended for a wider audience than a monastery. This passage in the Anglo-Norman, translated from Anselm, describes the accountability for time spent on earth in terms of a typical monastic day:

Adonke serrez vous blamé e pené du tens ke vous avez
despendu ou en parole, ou en silence, ou en labour, ou en
quieté (177/61-3)

Pepys 2498 and Vernon both have a rendering of this in general terms that could describe any life:

þan schaltow be blamed and þenke on þe tyme þat þou haste
dispended in word . in þou3th . in wille . or in werk (Pepys
2498, 47-49)

Similarly the Anglo-Norman 'en mouster ou dehors' (195/232-33) is translated as 'in chirche or wiþoute' (Pepys 2498, 224), generalising from 'monastery' to 'church'.

Finally the vocabulary changes shown in Pepys 2498 suggest that perhaps the scribe felt that the inclusion of these words made the piece sound a little pretentious, a little too much the language of the aristocracy or of pretentiousness, to appeal to its intended audience (see 2.4).

3.5 The *Dis Comandemens* and the Defence of Voluntary Poverty

Dis Comandemens

It is necessary to look in some detail at the second source of translation for the *Pains of Sin*. The *Dis Comandemens* is found together with the *Peines de Purgatorie* in three of the seven Anglo-Norman manuscripts: Bodley 654, Trinity R. 14. 7 and Paris ff 6267. I demonstrate elsewhere that the original Middle English translation, although clearly related to this group of manuscripts, could not have been made from any of them, but the manuscript that was used for the translation of the *Peines* may well also have contained the *Dis Comandemens* (see 2.3; 2.4) . The Pepys 2498 manuscript contains both the *Pains of Sin* and a translation of the *Dis Comandemens* which it refers to as the *Ten Hestes*. In fact the introductory and closing rubrics seem to include both as parts of one work. The introduction is: 'Here bigynnen good techynges of wise men wiþ þe ten hestes afterward . distinctelich expounded' (1-4), and the ending is a rhymed couplet:

þe comaundementz expounded ⁊ here enden I 3ou seie
vnto þe blis of heuene ⁊ god us wisse þe weie (MS Pepys 2498, p. 226)

It might be argued that the inclusion of translated material from the opening of the Anglo-Norman *Dis Comandemens* in the final part of the *Pains of Sin* could be explained as a simple confusion where the former actually begins. However, close examination of the latter shows that a clear editing process has taken place to make room for it (see 2.2). The content of the opening section of the *Dis Comandemens* is in some respects not particularly relevant to much of what follows, and as we shall see it is itself followed in the manuscripts by some short pieces that are not always distinguished from it. I believe it is possible that the first section may have been once a separate short text, that became incorporated with the rest of the material on the *Dis Comandemens* in the existing Anglo-Norman manuscripts.

Ten Hestes

The *Ten Hestes* is approximately twice as long as the *Pains of Sin*, occupying nine hundred and thirty two lines in Pepys 2498. The first section of the *Dis Comandemens*, as witnessed in the Anglo-Norman manuscripts, has been included

in the last part of the *Pains of Sin*, so that the *Ten Hestes* now begins with the next section, marked in MS Trinity R. 14. 7 with a two-line decorated letter (MS Trinity R. 14. 7, f. 112). This comprises a general introduction to the Commandments, and the blessings and curses that follow to those that keep or break them. Next comes the traditional division of the ten into the first three ‘techen þe hou þou schalt louen god’, and the remaining seven, ‘hou þou schalt bere þe and haue loue to þine euencristen’ (MS Pepys 2498, p. 218). Then follows an examination of each commandment in turn, describing the different ways in which it is possible to break them, often in lively language with examples and images from everyday life. The matter of the Ten Commandments ends on p. 225, with further reasons for keeping them: being Christ’s friend, being ‘as neiȝ kyn’, and having hope of blessings from God in this life, to be ended with a good death.

But this is not the end of the piece. These lines follow immediately:

oure lorde ȝiueþ his blissing in þe godspel to eiztte manere of
folk and þerfore euerych man þat wil saue his soule and
purchase hym goddes blissing ⁊ schulde peynen hym to do þe
eizte vertues wiþ al his myȝth

In the Trinity R. 14. 7 manuscript these lines, in Anglo-Norman, introduce a further piece which is named ‘des oit beneisons dampne deu’, and which runs from f. 117 to f. 119. None of this appears in Pepys 2498; instead the final part of the *Ten Hestes* begins with the quotation from Matthew 22:14 ‘multi sunt vocati pauci vero electi’ (Pepys 2498, 225-6), with further biblical precedents such as Noah’s flood quoted to make the point that very few shall ever attain heaven. This part has no Anglo-Norman equivalent in either Trinity R. 14. 7 or Bodley 654, the two manuscripts I have been able to examine.

Defence of voluntary poverty

We may speculate why the translator decided to abbreviate the final part of the *Peines*, and to include material from the *Dis Comandemens* instead. I have already described how the three extra joys of heaven are said to compensate all those who undertake the vow of voluntary poverty (see 2.2). But the text goes on to say that they will not be honoured in this world for making such a choice: ‘for þat þai ben here bot litel praysed of hem þat louen þe werlde . and bot holden vile and naztty’

(Pepys 2498, 542-4). These do not seem to be the terms of typical attacks on the lifestyle of enclosed monks, who were more usually criticised for worldliness, and for poor observance of vows. But accusations of uselessness might be said to relate to the monastic way of life specifically in urban settings. Burton argues that the monastic way of life did not suit the ethos of a developing urban economy:

What the friars in the early thirteenth century had begun successfully to tap – and to appeal to – was individuality ... their message was also that a good, religious life could be lived in the ordinary, everyday world of the town and the market place (1994, 266).

Gilchrist also points out that anchorites in particular required support from patrons, and that the interpretation of the ‘mammon of iniquity’ passage as a bargain to be struck between rich and religious poor, would fit this interpretation quite well. (Gilchrist, 1995, 183).

However, there are references also to religious people being compared to beggars and vagabonds, ‘beggars e loddors’ (Trinity R. 14. 7, 100-1), while Vernon says they may be considered ‘vilore þen a þeof’ (Vernon, f. 363b). Such terms

might appear more applicable to the mendicant orders, where the practice of begging was considered an economic threat both to the income of parish priests and to the poor themselves. 'As beggars with a pastoral ministry, the friars competed with the secular clergy for the wealth ... of the parishes' (Scase, 1989, 5).

In the end, the general tone of the passage does not seem like a polemic against any particular order, but rather appears to be encouraging acceptance of criticism by the worldly as something only to be expected from those who are unable to devote themselves wholly to religion in this way.

3.6 The Popularity of the *Peines de Purgatorie*

The Anglo-Norman *Peines de Purgatorie* and its Latin equivalent, *De Penis Purgatorii*, seem to have been highly regarded throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, judging from the number of extant manuscripts spanning this timescale, and from its attribution to the prestigious Robert Grosseteste, and inclusion in compilations with the Anglo-Norman version of the *Ancrene Riwe*.

Although the word 'purgatory' does not appear in a title to the Middle English *Pains of Sin*, there are some lesser indications that this aspect was of special interest to its readers. Pepys 2498 has marginal rubrics, now cropped, but still discernable: the first four pains, written in the right-hand column of p. 213, have 'prim', 'secun', 'ter', 'quat' at the beginning of the description of each; while the last three, in the left hand column of p. 214 have 'a pena', 'pena', and 'a pena'. It should be noted that similar rubrics are shown in Pepys 2498 for the first three joys of heaven. Vernon also has the seven pains numbered in the margins of the

manuscript on ff. 392 and 392v. The first flyleaf of Pepys 2498 contains a selection of the contents of the manuscript, with page references, presumably because they were considered of particular interest. They are:

priests their duties and privileges
baptism, its ceremonies
testament making
obedience of wives
sacramental body and blood of Christ
purgatory
canonical hours.

Representation of purgatory

We might ask why there was such an interest in this aspect of the text. I believe it was the rather unusual content of the purgatory section which was the source of its appeal. It has already been noted how the original Latin sources were adapted to the needs of its audience, by omitting scholastic elements, by making it a practical guide to salvation, and by using a simple and vivid style in the manner of good preaching. A look at the content will also perhaps reveal an attraction to ordinary devout people, in that it offers a vision of purgatory that is at once

understandable in terms of ordinary life experiences, and not too horrific. Relihan points out that the content of the purgatory section is not typical:

This treatment is a departure from the representation of purgatory which dominates medieval writing up to the thirteenth century ... the treatment of purgatorial pain in the *Peines de Purgatorie* is striking and must account for the fact that the majority of Latin manuscripts assign a title, *De Penis Purgatorii*, to a work only one sixth of which is the subject of purgatory (Relihan, 1978, 55-6).

The dominant representation to which Relihan is referring is the Augustinian scholastic debates on the fires that both punish and purge, on the whereabouts of purgatory, and on whether the souls suffering there can gain merit for themselves or others.

There was another tradition of greater popular appeal, which Relihan calls the '*Visio* tradition', referring to the apocalypses and visions that describe the sufferings of purgatory in lurid detail, a folk-lore that in Jacques le Goff's phrase contributed to a 'vulgarised, infernalised purgatory' (Le Goff, 1984, 315). Hughes notes that 'although the doctrine of purgatory served as a safety net that made

allowances for the limitations of penitent[s] ... it was shown to be an ambiguous source of comfort', citing a number of the more disturbing visions (1991, 115). This vulgarisation, amounting almost to a kind of pornography of pain, could not have appealed to the devout gentility that was the original audience, in spite of its good intention of encouraging avoidance of sin.

The seven pains

A close examination of the text of the purgatory section is found in section 2.2. This shows that the first two pains are the experiences of the soul immediately after death, the horrific sight of devils, and the awful uncertainty awaiting the outcome of the personal judgement. These would both be recognised as true doctrine, and, therefore, clearly to be expected. The third pain is the traditional fire, not described in the usual gruesome detail, but rather through a simple comparison between pain of a real fire and the warmth of a sunbeam, the difference between them illustrating the difference between earthly and purgatorial fires. The fourth pain is perhaps the most idiosyncratic: the

punishment of particular sins by appropriate diseases. The association of sins with diseases was traditional, but the punishment in purgatory by disease is much less known. In fact Bloomfield mentions only two instances where this is known: in the *Pricke of Conscience* (1967, 176-7) and in the *Treatise of Ghostly Battle* (220-1). Relihan notes that both these works use the *Peines de Purgatorie* for their source (1978, 61), although as I hope to show in the next section, the latter work probably derives in part from the Middle English *Pains of Sin*.

The last three pains, the experiences of being in a prison, in exile, and in a desert can all be described as earthly punishments, not very pleasant, but within ordinary understanding, and possibly experience. In prison one is bound with bonds of sin that will be released when the debt due to penance for those sins is paid. Exile is from one's true country, paradise, and one will certainly one day go there. In the desert the suffering is from hunger and thirst, heat and cold, unpleasant but not unbearable. The desert experience can be found in other versions of purgatory, in particular within the *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* tradition, as the following extract from the *Vision of Tundale* demonstrates:

Men and wemen saw he thare / That semud full of sorow and
care,

For they had bothe hongur and thurst / And grett travell
withowttyn rest.

Gret cold they hadon alsoo, / That dudde hom sorow and
made hom woo.

Hem wantedyn clothys and foode; / As downmpe bestys, nakyd
they yode.

Her penanse was hard to see, / But lyght they had grett plenté.

“Thys folke,” quod the angyll, “aryn all save, / But penance yett
behovys hom to have.” (Foster, 2004, 1507-18)

The point of most interest here is that this description, very similar to the depiction of the desert in the *Pains of Sin*, comes from the ‘Primum Gaudium’ of the *Vision*; at this point the visionary has escaped from hell and is beginning the journey towards heaven; it is therefore a very positive experience compared to what has gone before.

3.7 Influences and Analogues

The Pricke of Conscience

As mentioned above, material on the diseases in purgatory is found only in two other Middle English texts, the *Pricke of Conscience* and the *Tretyse of Gostly Batayle*. All seven pains of purgatory exist in both these texts, and there are many further parallels in the *Pricke of Conscience* from the first section on death and judgement, and the fourteen joys of heaven. The *Peines* is a recognised source for the *Pricke*, (Lewis and McIntosh, 1982, 3), and Relihan reckons that ‘approximately eighty percent of the substantive material of the *Peines* appears in the *Pricke*’ (1978, 72).

The List of Venial Sins

The third section of the *Peines*, on venial sins, was also used extensively by the author of the *Pricke of Conscience*. Like the purgatory material, this is a relatively unusual treatment of the subject of sin; more typically venial sins were only

mentioned in contexts where the primary concern was with mortal sins. The sins mentioned, derived from Caesarius of Arles, have been described as ‘the venial sins of parish life’ (Hughes, 1991, 127). There are one or two that might originally have applied more properly to the enclosed life, such as ‘quant vous estes en silence et vous pussez bien fere e aider de vostre parole e ne volez’ (Relihan, 1978, 192/211-3), referring to the time allotted in monastic life to silence; but the Middle English rendering as ‘whan þou art in pes þere þou myzth wel don wiþ þi word’ (Pepys 2498, 198-9) would seem to have tried to give this a more general application. Some sins are specific to the lay family: ‘whan man haþ fleshlich likyng wiþ his wyf wiþouten will forto engendren a childe to goddes worshippe’ (208-10); others could apply to any Christian: ‘whan þou etest or drynkest more þan þou haste nede of’ (196-8), or ‘whan þou spekest scharplich to þe poure for þai asken gredilich’ (199-201). An interesting gloss on the original Latin text from Caesarius, ‘Quotiens in carcere positos tardius requisierit, infirmos rarius visitaverit’ (Morin, 1953, 723-9) is this additional reference to purgatory as the devil’s prison that appears in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions:

whan þou li3thlich visites þe seek and hem þat ben in prisoun
in body or in þe deuels prisoun . And þe soule þorou3 synne þat
is pyned in purgatory (Pepys 2498, 197-8).

These and the other typical daily sins demonstrate once again the relevance of the *Pains of Sin* to its audience, and its popularity. The venial sins catalogue is also found as an extract in its own right in Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS 0.2.40 with the title 'Augustinus de peccatis venialibus' (Lewis and McIntosh, 1982, 149).

The Parson's Tale

Relihan notes that the list of venial sins has a number of items in common with a similar list that is found in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*:

The source of this list is a sermon on purgatory ... by Caesarius of Arles ... [and] is analogous to the enumeration of venial sins in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* ... although Chaucer's catalogue differs from that of the *Peines* and of Caesarius in both number and order (1978, 285).

As already mentioned, extracts from the Trinity R. 14. 7 text appear in the *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Dempster, 1941, 745-58), but none of these are from the *Peines* or the *Comandemens*. Dempster explains in a note that she did not herself read the *Peines de Purgatorie*, as that was to be 'studied by Miss Ruth Dean' (724). Relihan mentions in his Acknowledgements that 'this study and edition owe their existence to Professor Ruth Dean who graciously allowed me to complete a project she had begun' (1978, iii). The second edition of this work adds Anselm's *Meditatio ad Concitandum Timorem* to the Chapter on *The Parson's Tale* as 'an illustrative source' (Newhauser, 2002, 538), but again does not refer to the *Peines de Purgatorie*.

Chaucer's catalogue may well have been derived in part from the *Peines de Purgatorie*, and there are indications suggesting that he may have read the original Latin version; in the example above Chaucer makes no mention of purgatory, citing only 'whan he wol nat visite the sike and the prisoner, if he may'. The Latin 'si pauperibus esurientibus nimium deliciosa vel sumptuosa sibi convivia praeperavit' (Relihan, 1978, 284-5) has no Anglo-Norman or Middle English

translation, but Chaucer has ‘if he apparilleth his mete moore deliciously than nede is, or ete it to hastily by likerousnesse’ (Benson, 1988, 299).

I would not claim it as at all likely that he had read the *Pains of Sin*; although the dates do not render it impossible, the Middle English translation of the text appears to have been relatively little known. Appendix Four presents the different versions of the venial sins text to enable further comparison.

A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle

I have discovered that the Middle English *Pains of Sin* was almost certainly a source for the *Tretyse of Gostly Batayle*. This is the work mentioned by Bloomfield as one which describes the diseases of purgatory (220-1). As in the *Pricke of Conscience*, there are many close resemblances to the first part, on the fear of death, and to the second part, on the pains of purgatory; and there are also some echoes from the joys of heaven, including material from both Chapters Five and Six of the *Peines de Purgatorie*, the bodily and spiritual joys, and from the sufferings of hell, which mix up elements from Chapters Four and Five. The list

of venial sins is not present, although the dangers of venial sin in general receive a passing mention. Some resemblances to the Middle English *Pains* are so close that they must have had a common source; indeed some are so close that at times they could be considered another version of the Middle English work. But there are also elements taken from the Anglo-Norman *Peines* that do not appear in the Middle English version, and hence an Anglo-Norman source must also have been used.

I only have space for a single example to illustrate the closeness of the two texts; many others can be seen in Appendix Three. The example is from the opening of the *Pains*:

SAlamon seiþ in alle þi werkes þenke on þe ende . *and* þou schalt neuere don synne . þenke þou schal dize *and* þou nost whanne neuere . ne on what deþ . ne in what stede . ne in what state . ne in what tyme . And þerfore seiþ seint Austyn þat euermore schulde oure last day be in oure mynde . ffor whan þou arisest of þi bed þou nost to lyuen tyl it euen be : And whan þou gost to bed þou nost to risen wiþ þe lyf (Pepys 2498, 5-16)

This is the same passage from the *Tretyse*:

for Salomone seyth: 'In alle thy werkes thynke one thy ende, ande thou shalt neuer doo syne'. Thynke that thou shalt dye and thow wottest neuer where ne whene ne what dethe, ne in what state ne in what daye ne what tyme; ande therfore seyth seynt Austyn̄ that euer shulde oure last day be in oure mynde, for whene þou rysest thow arte nat sykere to liue to euen, ne when thou gost to thi bed thou art nat syker to] ryse with thy lyfe. (Horstmann, 1896, 428)

The similarities in the descriptions of the joys of heaven, and the sufferings of hell are of a different type. They are not close correspondences, but rather contain some elements, recognisable phrases and words jumbled up together, perhaps done from distant memories rather than from an exemplum ready to hand. Some of the elements are found only in the Anglo-Norman original, as the following example illustrates:

Ande so they shalle be fulfyllede in theyre .v. wyttes with alle maner of ioye; for lyke as a vesselle that ys dyppyde in the water ys wete bothe with-inne & with-oute, aboue ande benethe ande on euery syde, and nomore lykore may resceyue for fulnesse, ryghte so shulle they that shalle be sauysde be

fulfyllede with ioye and blys with-outen ende. (Horstmann, 1896, 433)

The Anglo-Norman text has the image of the overflowing vessel, as well as the other, already mentioned, referring to a red-hot iron:

La sime gloyre si serra delit ke homme avera en tous ses sens, e par dedeinz e par dehors, autaunt ou plus ke homme poet desirer; ke aussi come lui feer ke est taunt eschaufé dedeinz e dehors issi ke ceo semble plus feu ke feer, aussi serra homme glorifié de l'amor Dieu repleni e de espiritele joye e de seint delit. Aussi come le vesseal ke est plungé en eaue e ad eaue amount e aval e de totes pars, encoste e dedeinz e dehors, e nent plus poet resceivre dedeinz kant il est pleyn, aussi serra de la joie dount homme serra repleni k'il ne porra plus desirer. (218-9/452-463)

Compare this with Pepys 2498, which does not have the image of the overflowing vessel, and neither does Vernon:

¶ Þe sexte ioye schal be delyt þat men owen to haue in alle her wyttes þat as yrne þat is ful hatt in þe fyre semeþ better fyre þan yrne : rizth so schullen þe men þat ben fulfilde of ioye and of delytt (425-30)

The Ancrene Riwe

The *Peines* and the *Pains* have some interesting associations with the *Ancrene Riwe*, which deserve further study. As mentioned before, the *Peines de Purgatorie* and the *Dis Comandemens* appear in Trinity R. 14. 7 and Paris ff 6267 with extracts from the Anglo-Norman version of the *Riwe*, forming a series of ‘compileisons’ on ‘set morteus pecches’, ‘de seinte penance’, ‘des peines de purgatorie’, ‘des dis commandements’, and the ‘vie de gent de religion’. The first two contain extracts from the *Riwe*, while the final part is entirely taken from it. This final part also refers to the various compilations as being part of a complete pious work, the eighth and ninth parts of which are the *Comandemens* and the *Peines*. These two texts are first found together in Bodley 654, which probably predates both Trinity R. 14. 7 and Paris ff 6267.

It has also been mentioned that the *Pains of Sin* is followed in Pepys 2498 by the *Ten Hestes* (see 2.4), and that in some respects the two works should be considered together as a single text. The *Hestes* text continues from the second section of the *Comandemens*, as the first part has already been incorporated into

the *Pains*. It should also be noted that the *Pains* follows the *Riwle* in Vernon without any break; Macaulay's note (see 3.3) is the first reference to the existence of the *Pains* as a separate work. The *Riwle* also appears in Pepys 2498, but is not associated in any way with the *Pains of Sin*.

These associations are noteworthy, but without further study, little can be deduced from them. An examination of the origins of the *Comandemens* and of the *Hestes* should prove of interest; I have noted some similarities between the long Bodley 938 exposition on the Ten Commandments, and the later, currently unsourced additions to the *Hestes* (2.1).

4. EDITORIAL METHODS

A Diplomatic Edition

The text is a diplomatic edition of the Pepys manuscript version of the *Pains of Sin*. The Pepys manuscript text appears to be generally closer to the Anglo-Norman sources (see 2.3), and I felt that a diplomatic edition of this text would be the most appropriate for a number of reasons. As the sources are clearly understood, there is no need to attempt to reconstruct an original by means of a critical edition, although certain deductions have been made as to the nature of the hypothetical first translation into Middle English (see 2.4). The differences that do exist between the two versions are of relatively minor significance, and are easily illustrated by comparative notes. Moreover a transcript of the Vernon Manuscript text will soon be available in the facsimile edition produced by the Vernon Manuscript Project (Scase, 2010). I have found that this text was also edited diplomatically in 1982 by Professor Awaka, and published originally in a

Japanese University Journal (Awaka, 2002). A further advantage of the diplomatic format is its suitability for inclusion in electronic Middle English corpora.

The layout follows that of the Pepys manuscript, so that the lines break in the same places. References to the pagination of the Pepys manuscript are shown in the margins, as are the truncated marginal notes drawing attention to the seven pains and the seven joys.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are expanded using italicised letters, including the Tironian notae used for Middle English ‘and’, and Latin ‘et’. The abbreviations used present no difficulties and appear to be used with a high degree of consistency. Letter groups expanded regularly include ‘ar, ‘er’, ‘ur’, ‘ra’, ‘re’, and ‘ro’, all unambiguously. Superscript ‘t’ frequently occurs over ‘þ’ to represent ‘þat’; crossed ‘h’ represents ‘es’ in ‘jhesus’. In one instance, the Latin word ‘ipsi’, a macron over ‘p’ represents ‘s’. The word ‘schullen’ is abbreviated either by a macron over final ‘e’, or by crossing ‘ll’.

Orthography

Orthography follows the practices used in the text, even when they are inconsistent. The letters ‘þ’ and ‘z’ are used throughout, except in the case where ‘z’ represents the Latin ‘ue’ in ‘neque’ (38). Letter ‘j’ is used at to begin all appropriate words, except ‘ioye[s]’, which begins with ‘i’ twenty times, and with ‘j’ only twice. Lower case ‘m’ is sometimes written in a different form, with the third minim curved below the line. This occurs almost always at the beginning of ‘man’ and ‘men’, and otherwise, on ‘makeþ’ (537), ‘moders’ (277), and ‘martirs’ (76). I have not tried to reproduce this in any way. Lower case ‘v’ is used at the beginning of words to represent /v/, while ‘u’ is usually, but not exclusively, used in intermediate positions. Modern ‘sea’ is spelled ‘cee’ here(109), as it begins with a letter form also found representing letter ‘c’ on ‘croice’ (261), and on Latin ‘caput’ (343).

The use of litterae notabiliores presents some difficulties, as the only way of representing them in modern orthography is by the use of capital letters, which cannot begin to represent the range of different letter forms present in the

manuscript. The practice adopted is to use a modern capital letter only where the manuscript letter is both larger than, and in a form different from those commonly used. Hence many larger versions of letters such as ‘a’ are ignored, and also some smaller variant forms. Exceptions to this rule have been made, and the large ‘p’ and the different form of ‘U’ (369) are shown as capitals, where these follow a paraph mark, as all other letters immediately following this mark are definitely capitals. Capital letters frequently appear on ‘And’, ‘Bot’, ‘Now’, and also the double ‘ff’ on ‘ffor’, illustrative of the rather discursive sentence structure typical of the text. I see no good reason to replace ‘ff’ with a capital letter even though it may fulfil the functions of one.

This rule produces some oddities: ‘sentences’ that do not begin with a capital letter, and words in the middle of sentences that unaccountably have capital letters. This is consistent with the editorial policy of reproducing the manuscript as faithfully as possible.

Punctuation

Punctuation has been simplified. The elements reproduced are: the paraph mark, using the modern paragraph marker or ‘¶’; the punctus, represented by the full stop; the punctus elevatus represented by the ‘ ⁂ ’ available in the Junicode font; the hyphen; and the positura, which appears in the manuscript in a variety of forms ranging from a comma like mark to a more elaborate squiggle, and which clearly does not fulfil the role of the modern comma, being used to mark Latin and English quotations on the one hand, and on the other to be a substitute punctus; it is represented by the Junicode ‘ᵑ’. All punctuation marks are separated by spaces from the text, so as to emphasise the difference from modern usages, and hence inconsistencies in the manuscript are unresolved.

Variants

As this is a diplomatic edition, variant readings from the other Middle English versions are only used to help resolve difficulties, illustrate points of interest, or

act as references for textual items mentioned in the introductory chapters. The

following abbreviated variant references are used:

B: Bodley 938 text of *Pains of Sin*

C: Relihan 'C' text variant of *Peines de Purgatorie*

L: Relihan Latin text

P: Pepys 2498 text of *Pains of Sin*

R: Relihan 'A' text edition of *Peines de Purgatorie*

T: Trinity R. 14. 7 transcript in Appendix Two

V: Vernon text (ed. Scase) of the *Pains of Sin*

Holes in the manuscript, erasures, and insertions are indicated in the notes, as are certain scribal markings not included as punctuation but perhaps not to be dismissed as mere flourishes. Glosses are presented without capitail letters or full stops.

5. THE *PAINS OF SIN*

EDITED FROM CAMBRIDGE,
MAGDALENE COLLEGE LIBRARY,

MS PEPYS 2498

1 Here bigynnen good te p. 212b
 2 chynge of wise men
 3 wiþ þe ten hestes *after*
 4 ward . distinctelich expounded 9
 5 SALamon seiþ in alle þi
 6 werkes þenke on þe en
 7 de . *and* þou schalt neuere don synne . þen
 8 ke þou schal dyze *and* þou nost whanne
 9 neuere . ne on what deþ . ne in what
 10 stede . ne in what state . ne in what

1-4 This introductory rubric is misleading as to the content of the *Pains of Sin*, but links it strongly with the following *Ten Hestes*.

3 *hestes*] commandments

5 *SAlamon*] Decorated letter 'S' 6 lines high, followed by capital 'A'.

5-7 Sirach 7:40. The Book of Sirach is also known as Ecclesiasticus, and confusion with Ecclesiastes leads to the misattribution to Solomon.

8 MS has // over 'w' in *whanne*. It is not clear what, if anything, this means.

8-11 Matthew 24:36 'But of that day and hour no one knows'.

9 *deþ*] *ne de quele mort* R, *dey* V, *day* B.

10 *ne in what stede*] *ne on quel lu* C, *ne in what stude* V.

11 tyme . And þerfore seiþ seint Austyn þat
 12 euermore schulde oure last day be in
 13 oure mynde . ffor whan þou arisest of
 14 þi bed þou nost to lyuen tyl it e
 15 uen be . And whan þou gost to bed
 16 þou nost to risen wiþ þe lyf þenk
 17 in all tymes on þe ioyes of heuen
 18 *and* on þe pynes of helle . and so miȝt
 19 tow wel wiþdrawe þi body from al
 20 couertise *and* from yuel þouȝttes . for þi
 21 body ne norisch þou it neuer so longe

11 After tyme] *ne whidir þou schalt go . when þou art deed . ne what iuggement þou schalt haue* B. Quotation attributed to Saint Augustine not found.

13 mynde] *les oez de vostre quer* R, *þouht* V, *mynde* B; *oculos cordis vestri* Ephesians 1:18

16 After lyf] *And þerfore þenke besily of þe mesure of þi lyf . how schort it is And þenke how besy þou hast ben for þi body þat is deedly and how slowe þou hast be aboute profit of þi soule . þat euere schal liue in blisse or peyne* B.

22 nedelich it mote dyȝe . and non oȝer
 23 þing haue bot rotyng *and* gryselich
 24 siȝttes many see . and þe soule departe
 25 wiȝ gret drede . ffor þe deuels schul -
 26 len ben þere redy in presence . *and* god -
 27 des aungels to desputen þe lyf of
 28 þe man from þe bigynnyng to þe ende 9 p. 213a
 29 and þe aungels schullen sigge þe good
 30 and þe deuelen þe wicked þat nouȝt
 31 shal be forȝete to alle þe þouȝttes þat
 32 euere man þouȝth oȝer assented to . and

23 *gryselich*] // over *gr*.

24 *many see*] // over *m*. þou schal se V. This appears to be a copying error in P, perhaps originally þou may see. departe] schal departen from þi bodi V.

27 -28 *to desputen ... to þe ende*] om. V, *for to dispute þe lif of man . fro þe begynnyng in to þe laste ende* B.

32 *oȝer*] or LALME has only 3 examples of this form (vol. 4 229). Also see line 63.

33 alle þe wordes þat euere he spak schul
 34 len ben examined *and* þe dedes schullen
 35 ben alle schewed þat non schal be
 36 heled 9 þat is þat god seiþ in þe
 37 godspel 9 *Nichil absconditum quod non*
 38 *reueletur neque occultum quod non sciatur* 9
 39 þat is to sigge þat noþing so priue
 40 lich is hidde þat it ne schal be open .
 41 And þe holy seint Anselme spekeþ to
 42 þe soule *and* seiþ . what schaltow sigge

33 *wordes*] *paroles* R, *wordes* V.

36 *heled*] concealed

37-38 Luke 12:2.

39-40 *Noþing ... open*] *nule chose est si priuement muscee ke ne serra moustree, ni si celee ke ne serra su e aperte* R, *no þing may be so priuelich hud þat hit ne schal ben open and schewet* V, *no þing may be so priuy þat ne it schal be schewid ne so priuy þat it ne schal be open to ize* B.

41 *Anselme*] *Aunselme* R, *godspel* V.

42-64 *what schaltow ... foule synnes*] A close translation from the *Meditatio ad Concitandum Timorem*.

43 þat þou hast don whan resoun schal
 44 be asked þe of alle þi lyf hou þou it
 45 haste ledde to als mychel tyme as
 46 þou my3th twyncl with þyne eize .
 47 þan schaltow be blamed and þenke
 48 on þe tyme þat þou haste dispended
 49 in word . in þou3th . in wille . or in werk
 50 3if þat þou ne haue nou3th þi wille
 51 at þine entent to do goddes wille
 52 3if it be nou3th amended in þis lyf

45 After *ledde*] Small hole in manuscript.

46 *twyncl with þyne eize*] This expression from 1 Corinthians 15:52 translates the Vulgate *ictus oculi* and was considered the smallest possible division of time.

47 After *þenke*] Extra pen stroke partially erased at end of line.

48 After *dispended*] Small hole in manuscript.

49 *in word ... werk*] *en parole, ou en silence, ou en labour, ou en quieté* R. Middle English versions generalise from the monastic day to all one's time on earth.

51 *þi wille at þine entent*] *in wille .and. in entent* V.

53 wel Streitlich schal al þi lyf be souzt
 54 onon to þe last þouzt þat euere þou
 55 þouzttest . Allas what alle synnes
 56 þat þou ne miȝth none see schullen
 57 þan come bifore þe openlich . forsoþe
 58 many *and par* auenture more to dreden
 59 *and* more griselich þan þou miȝth now
 60 see . And many þinges þat þou we -
 61 nest now be wel don schullen þan
 62 shewe foule synnes . and þe bihoueþ
 63 to resceyue after þi werkes ioȝe oiþer
 64 pyne . ffor þe soule þat is here purged

54 *onon*] The spelling of *anon* first recorded 1400. Almost half of 83 instances in MED are from the hand of the Pepys scribe, either in Pepys or in Laud 622.

56 *þat ... none see*] *ke vous ne poëz ore veer* R, *nou . not se* V. P should probably be *now see*.

57 *openlich*] *apertement* R, *aperteliche* V.

60-61 *wenest*] think

65 of al manere of synne dedlich *and* venial .
 66 by penaunce and by holy *praiers* ⁊ schal entren
 67 onon wiþ þe holy aungels in to þe ioie
 68 of *paradys* . And þe soule þat is nouȝt
 69 here purged of venial synnes . and þe
 70 soule þat haþ taken here her penaunce
 71 of dedlich synnes . *and* þe deed þat naþ
 72 nouȝth fulfilled hys penaunce ⁊ þise two
 73 manere of soules schullen be greued in
 74 pyne of *purgatorie* *and* ben purged wiþ de -
 75 uelen . þat pyne is more hard to felen
 76 *and* to suffren þan al þe pyne þat þe mar -
 77 tirs suffreden here in erþe . *and* more gre -

66 *praiers*] *oresoun* R, *orisoun* V.

66-68 *schal entren ... paradys*] This is much against the spirit of the preceding passage from Anselm.

75-79 This passage is attributed to Augustine's third *Enarration on Psalm 37*.

78 uous þan any pyne þat may be þou3tþ
 79 in þis werlde . or seid . or seen . þere sch -
 80 ulle þe soule ben in þat hard pyne tour
 81 mented of þe deuels fourty dayes . for
 82 þe penaunce þat it mi3th haue don in erþe p. 213b
 83 in . o . day . þat is to sigge for fourty day -
 84 es here fourty 3er þere . And ne weneþ
 85 nou3th þat þat ilk pyne dooþ any þing
 86 to þe soule bot clenseþ it . for þe more
 87 ioye in heuene ne schal he neuere purchacen
 88 hym for þilk pyne þei3 he were in purga -
 89 tori a þousand 3er . And þe pyne þat a
 90 man suffreþ here in his lyf by his owne

81 *fourty dayes*] Forty days was a standard unit of penance, based on the time Christ spent in the wilderness.

83-84 Ezekiel 4:6 'I will give them a year for a day'.

88 *þei3*] although

91 good wille helpeþ to tweie þinges . boþe
 92 to clensen hym of synne . *and* for euere uche
 93 pyne þat a man suffreþ here for soþfast -
 94 nesse he schal haue a special ioye in he -
 95 uene . *and* þat schal last wiþouten ende . ¶ Now
 96 understondeþ þat redeþ þis book seuen
 97 pynes by whiche þe soule is clensed
 98 whan he departeþ fro the body out of þis
 99 lyf . ¶ þe first is the gryselich [s]izth of þe tt Prim
 100 fendes þat schullen schewen hem to þe
 101 soule in þe tyme þat he schal departen
 102 fro the body . *Summe chalangen* treulich forto

93 *soþfastnesse*] righteousness

95-96 Beginning of Chapter Two in R, and aken from the All Souls' sermon of Jean de la Rochelle.

96 *clensed*] *porgee* R, *purget* V.

99 *gryselich*] *hiduse* R, *grislich* V. [s]izth] Letter s obscured by blot.

102 *chalangen*] lay claim to

116 yclensed of al necgligence . *and* of all ma -
 117 nere synnes . and als mychel or more þat
 118 þe fyre whiche a man warmeþ hym
 119 by here is more hott þan is þe sunne
 120 bem þat schyneþ here on þe grounde ⁊ by
 121 als mychel is þe fyre of purgatory mo -
 122 re hot þan is þe fyre þat brenneþ
 123 here . And by als mychel as it were mo
 124 re hard to putt þe naked foot in þe fyre
 125 þat brenneþ here þan in schynyng
 126 of þe sunne ⁊ by als mychel is it more hard
 127 to þe soule to brenne in þat fyre of pur
 128 gatory whan he schal be departed fro þe

116 *necgligence*] [sin of] omission

117-20 *and als mychel ... grounde*] Image from Jean de la Rochelle.

121 *purgatory*] *ga* smudged.

122 After *þat*] Partial erasure of a letter *þ*.

- 129 body al naked *and* despoyled . ¶ þe fierþe tt Quart
- 130 pyne schal be þe sekenesse whiche þe soule
- 131 schal haue . ffor also as sekenesse in diuers
- 132 manere greueþ þe body here ⁊ also is þe sou
- 133 le in *purgatory* greued *and* pyned in þe
- 134 manere of sekenesse for his synne . ffor
- 135 summe men schullen ben as it were in þe
- 136 manere of dropesye for couertise of erþlich þing p. 214a
- 137 and summe as in were in the Palesie for
- 138 sleuþe in goddes seruise . ¶ Summe as it we -
- 139 re in þe ffeuere for wraþþe . Summe as it
- 140 were in þe jawnys for envie . Summe as it

129 *despoyled*] stripped to the skin

130 *sekenesse*] *maladie* R, *seknesse* V.

134 *for his synne*] in a way appropriate to one's sin

136 *dropesye*] swelling due to water retention

137 *as in were*] A copying error for 'as it were'. *Palesie*] paralysis with or without tremor

140 *jawnys*] jaundice

141 were in þe menysoun and þe flux for lecche
 142 rie . of whiche þat þai hadden repentaun -
 143 ce bot þai fulfilden nouȝth her penaunce
 144 parfiteley here in her lyue . Summe as it were
 145 in meselrye for pryde . þenke þan strong
 146 it were to þi body to ben in on of þise se -
 147 kenesses fourty ȝer or more for tweie dai
 148 es or þre . and herby miȝttow underston
 149 de þat þe soule is greued of þis peyne
 150 more þan þe body . ffor riȝth as a lytel
 151 greueþ gretlich þe eiȝe . whiche þing gre
 152 ueþ litel þe foot or þe honde or oþer lymes
 153 of þe body ⁊ also is þe soule for tender kyn -

141 *menysoun and flux*] Both are terms for dysentery. *Flux* first recorded in 1384 in the MED, and in 1387 in the OED.

145 *meselrye*] *apostumes* R, *meselrye* V. Leprosy or other skin disease; first recorded in 1387 (MED, “meselrie” def. a and b; OED, ‘meselrye”). *þenke þan strong*] *þenk þenne* . *how strong hit weore* V. *hou* probably missing before *strong* in P.

a pena de more greued þan þe body . ¶ þe fyfte
 155 peyne is þat þe soule is as men þat
 156 ben bounden wiþ bondes in prisoun . for hy
 157 ben bounden wiþ bondes of synnes . and
 158 ben bischett þat hy ne mowen nouȝth
 159 comen out tyl þe bondes ben wasted *and*
 160 fordon þorouȝ þe fyre of purgatorie . ne hy
 161 ne mowen after þis lyf noþing *purchacen*
 pena to hem seluen ¶ ¶ þe sexte peyne is exile
 163 ffor þe soules ben exiled out of þis lyf
 164 from her frendes wiþouten any *torning*
 165 aȝein in to her cuntre þat is forto seie .
 166 in to Paradys ne mowen hy nouȝth en

156 *for hy*] The two words are separated by a stroke in the ms.

158 *bischett*] enclosed

159 *wasted*] done away with

160 *fordon*] blotted out *anentez R, a neentyset V.*

- 167 tren bot hy heren tiþinges of us þat
- 168 we ben departed here out of þis lyf 9 from
- 169 us comeþ als mychel as god wil here
- a pena granten 9 ¶ Þe seuenþe pynne is þat þe soules
- 171 ben þere as in deserte . whare þat defaut
- 172 is of alle þinges whare of þat þai wol -
- 173 den deliten hem . Now in chele . now in
- 174 hete so gret more þan any man may he -
- 175 re þenken in hungere . in þrust . wiþ alle
- 176 manere de fautes . and wiþ þe peynes for -
- 177 seide . and for þe gret desire þat þai han
- 178 forto seon oure lorde ˆ hy ben þe more pyned

167-170 *bot hy heren ... granten*] The meaning is obscure and may be a mistranslation. R has *Mes noveles de nous oent ke ici sumes par ceaus ke de ceste vie de nous la venent*, 'they have news of us that are here, from those that come from us out of this life' (188-9/176-7).

171 *defaut*] lack

176 *de fautes*] Hole in ms between these words, with letters visible beneath.

179 in on manere for enchesoun þat hy ne mo -
180 wen han her desire . Þe peynes hy moten ne -
181 des suffren for her trespas . ¶ Now under
182 stondeþ for whiche þinges þe soules ben
183 so pyned þere . and fleize þat þou ne come
184 nouȝth þere . ffirst for enchesoun þat hy ne
185 fulfilden nouȝth her penaunces of grete
186 synnes þat ben dedlich þeiȝ hy weren tre -
187 wlich schryuen of þo synnes . Also hy
188 ben pyned for venial synnes . and for nec
189 ligence þat hy ne wolden nouȝth of
190 swiche synnes purgen hem in her lyue p. 214b
191 And þere ben so many þat noman ne
192 may parfitelich fleize hem in þis lyue

179 *enchesoun*] reason *por ceo ke R, ffor on encheson V.*

181- 2 *Now understondeþ...*] Beginning of Chapter Three in R

186 *þeiȝ*] although

- 193 ne be he neuere so holy . and þere ben so
 194 many þat non ne may noumbre hem 9
 195 Bot seint Austyn nempneþ summe of
 196 swiche synnes *and* seiþ þus . whan þou
 197 etest or drynkest more þan þou haste
 198 nede of . whan þou art in pes þere þou
 199 myȝth wel don wiþ þi word . whan
 200 þou spekest scharplich to þe pouere for
 201 þai asken gredilich . whan þou art hol
 202 of body *and* wilt eten whan oþere fasten
 203 whan þou for sleuþ in heuynesse to

195-230 Translated from Caesarius of Arles *De Igne Purgatorii* Sermo CLXXIX . An analogue of the list of venial sins in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*'.

196-8 *whan þou ... nede of*] *Quant vous mangez ou bevez plus qe vous ne avez mester; quant vous parlez plus qe mester ne serrait* R.

198- 9 *whan þou ... þi word*] *quant vous estes en silence et vous pussez bien fere e aider de vostre parole e ne volez* R. The translation awkward, but seems to describe the sin of 'being silent when you should have spoken'.

200 *scharplich*] *asperment* R, *scharpliche* V.

204 mychel slepest . And whan men comen
205 latter to chirche þan men schulden don .
206 or his *praiers* or his houres sigge lat
207 ter þan he schulde don *and* wiþ necgli
208 gence . whan man haþ fleshlich likyng
209 wiþ his wyf wiþouten will forto en
210 gendren a childe to goddes worshippe
211 whan þou liȝthlich visites þe seek and
212 hem þat ben in prisoun in body or in þe
213 deuels prisoun . and þe soule þorouȝ syn
214 ne þat is pyned in purgatory which
215 is gret almes forto visiten wiþ we
216 pyngge . *and* bisechyngge . *and* almesdede ȝiuin
217 ge . *and* many oþere werkes of charite do

211 *liȝthlich*] carelessly *tartivement* R, *latliche* V.

- 218 ynge . whan men don nouzth her power
 219 to acorden hem þat ben in dyscorde . whan
 220 men speken scharplich to her euencristen
 221 þere men schulden speke swetelich . whan
 222 men praysen þe folk for losengerie . whan
 223 men spenden her tyme in jangelrie or in
 224 ydel wordes . whan men þenken in chir
 225 che or wiþoute in vanitees . whan men
 226 sweren hastilich wiþouten forþou3th *and*
 227 þan ne mowen nouzth holden her oop
 228 whan men myssiggen hastilich wiþouten

219-21 *whan swetelich]* *quant homme parout asprement a son proeme quant il deut parler ducement R, whon men speken fulpiliche V.*

220 *euencristen]* neighbour, fellow Christian

222 *losingerie]* flattery 222-3 *whan ... jangelrie]* om. V.

223 *jangelrie]* gossip

224-5 *in chirche or withoute]* *en mouster ou dehors R, om. V.*

228-9 *whan ... hate]* *quant homme maudit legerement saunz coupe R.* Sense not clear in original or translation, although AND has 'guilt' ("coupe" def. 1).

229 hate . whan men han suspekthe and wenyng
 230 ge of wick þere no wickednesse is . þise
 231 ben venial synnes *and* many oþer whiche
 232 man may nouȝth tellen . ffor whiche þe
 233 soule nys nouȝth worþi to come bifor
 234 god til þe soule be clensed of alle swiche
 235 synnes . And þerfore it bihoueþ in þis lyf
 236 to don penaunce for swiche synnes by
 237 oure good wille 9 or elles ȝif oure lorde
 238 sende us hard seknesse . or losse of catel .
 239 or of oure fleshlich frendes . Or any oþer
 240 bitter tribulacioun . and þan ȝif we haue
 241 good pacience as good sones schulden

229 *wenyng*] thinking

wick] wickedness MED first records this in 1393 (“wikke” def. a).

235 – 253 ‘A very abbreviated paraphrase’ of Caesarius (Relihan 53).

238 *catel*] property

254 afterward ententiflich on þe last day
 255 whan god schal ʒiuen his doom to al ma -
 256 nere folk . and understonde hou al þe fir -
 257 mament and þe werlde schullen be
 258 fulfild of brennande fyre . And oure lor -
 259 de jhesus crist schal comen out openlich
 260 wiþ þe aungels and archaungels . and
 261 þe aungels schullen brynge þe croice
 262 where on he was pyned . and þe nailes
 263 and þe launce wher wiþ he was nayled
 264 on þe croice and þirled to þe herte . and
 265 þe coroune of þe þornes wherwiþ he
 266 was coroune aʒein synne for hem þat

258 *fulfildfe*] full *plein de* R, *ful of* V.

263 *nayled*] *crucifié* R, *don* V.

265 *coroun*] First 'o' added with omission mark.

267 cunnen hym litel þonk *and* han by her
 268 dedlich synnes wrapþed hym . And ar -
 269 chaungels shullen blowen aloude in a
 270 Beeme þis woord . zee alle þat ben
 271 deed . ariseþ alle in to lyue . and euerych
 272 soule resceyue þe body . And þan in les -
 273 se tyme þan a man may twynclen wiþ
 274 his eize . þat is forto sigge in a moment
 275 in als lytel tyme as þou myzth turne
 276 þine honde schullen comen alle þat euere
 277 were borne of moders wombe in body
 278 *and* in soule . Non ne may hiden hym þat

267 *cunnen* ... *þonk*] feel grateful MED, “connen” def. 6g.

268-70 *And* ... *Beeme*] Matthew 24:31 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16.

270 *Beeme*] trumpet

272-4 *And þan* ... *moment*] See note on line 46.

277-8 *in body* ... *soule*] om. V.

279 he ne mote come forþ bifore crist þe riȝt
 280 ful juge . And þe synful schullen ben
 281 quakyngē ful of drede *and* of grysēnesse .
 282 for jh̄esus crist schal sytt abouen hem
 283 in wraþþe . and helle open to resceyuen
 284 þe wicked . þe erþe schal quaken of er -
 285 þedene for he ne wolde nomore bere none
 286 synful . þe werlde schal brenne abouten
 287 hem . þe deuels bisiden hem schullen ac -
 288 cusen hem of her synnes . openlich by -
 289 fore al þe werlde . *and* tofore alle þe aungels
 290 and alle þe deuels her synnes schullen
 291 ben yschedwed . þe heuene abouen schal
 292 smyte þe synful wiþ liȝttinge and

281 *drede*] *plures* R, *pour* C, *drede* V. *grysēnesse*] horror

285 *ne*] Written above line with insertion mark.

293 wiþ þonder . and 3if þai wil hiden hem
 294 in þe cee ⁊ þe cee wil cast þen upon þe
 295 londe . noþing schal resceyuen hem bot
 296 onlich helle . þan schal oure lorde seie þi -
 297 se wordes þat ben dredeful Ite maledicti
 298 in ignem eternum qui preparatus est diabolo p. 215b
 299 et angelis eius . ¶ Þat is to sigge . goo 3e
 300 wicked folk in to þe fyre þat euere schal
 301 brenne þat is ordeynde to þe deuel and to his
 302 seruaunt3 . þat fyre schal neuere quenche . ffor
 303 al þe water þat is ne my3th a sparkel of þat

294] *þen* Presumably should be *hem*.

295 After *londe*] *vilement* R, *vilnesliche* V. *resceyven*] Blots above in MS.

297 *dredeful*] *hidus* R, *hidous* V. 297-9 *Ite ... angelis eius* Matthew 25:41.

301 *ordeynde*] *apparailé* R, *iordeynt* V.

302 *quenche*] *estaint* R, *quenchen* V. 302-4 *ffor ... fyr*] Honorius: 'ignis qui ita semel est accensus ut si totum mare influerit non extingueretur' (Relihan 1978, 59).

303 After *my3th*] *quenchen* V. Presumably omitted accidentally in P .

304 fyre . and þat fyre þai schullen brenne in bo -
 305 dy *and* in soule wiþouten ende . And forto ha -
 306 ue more pyne hy schullen out of þat ilk
 307 hete *and* hy schullen be baþed in watere þat
 308 shal be more colde þan any snow . and god
 309 seiþ in þe godspell þat her *vermyne* schal
 310 neuere deie . ffor hy schullen be wryed wiþ
 311 todes . and addres . and snakes *and* euetes
 312 and wiþ oþer wicked *vermyne* . þise schullen
 313 ben in þe stede of bed cloþes to þe *lecchours*
 314 *and* oþere wicked þinges þat schullen eten her
 315 *membres* . *and* pynen hem þere þat hy hadden

305-8 *And forto ... snow*] Job 24:19.

306 -7 *haue more*] *agreger* R, *acresen* V.

309-10 *her vermyne ... deie*] Mark 9:42-3.

310 *wryed*] *covers* R, *wriþed* V.

311 *euetes*] lizards 312-3 *þise ... lecchours*] Isaiah 14:11.

315 *membres*] genitals

316 most delytt azeins goddes wille in her
 317 lyue . and as an holy man seiþ . þe *vermyn*
 318 shal lybben in þe hete of helle as þe fys
 319 sches doon in þe *watere* . And wiþouten ende
 320 shullen wepen alle þo þat þere schullen be .
 321 And onlepy man schal wepe mo teres þan
 322 is *watere* in al þe werlde . Bot after un -
 323 derstondeþ þe *hungere* and þe þryst þat þai
 324 shullen haue . ffor hy ne schullen haue
 325 nouȝth . forto eten ne forto drynken . and for
 326 *hungere* hy schullen deuouren her owen fles -
 327 sche as wood men as þe *prophete* seiþ 9 mors

317-9 *þe vermyn ... watere*] Honorius: 'vermes immortalis qui ut pisces in aqua ita vivunt in flamma'.

318 *lybben*] live

319 *watere*] *eaue* R, *sée* V.

321 *onlepy*] one single

327 *wood*] mad 327-8 *mors ... eos*] Psalms 48:15.

- 328 depascet eos ¶ Deþ schal be her mete . ffor as
 329 þe man þat is sore of hungred desireþ af -
 330 ter mete ⁊ also desiren hy after þe deþ þat
 331 þai so mychel hateden here . bot þai ne sch -
 332 ullen neuere mowe dyze . þe leytt of þe fire
 333 medled wiþ stynkeande brymston schal be
 334 her drynk as Daudid þe prophete seiþ 9 Ignis
 335 sulphur *et spiritus procellarum pars calicis eorum* 9
 336 And galle of dragons *and* venym of addren
 337 shal ben her wyne as is seide 9 ffel draco
 338 *num vinum eorum et venenum aspidum insanabile* 9

328 *Deþ ... mete*] *la mort lur pestera e lur mager serra* R. The accurate translation from Latin, meaning 'death shall devour them' is omitted in Middle English.

329 *of hungred*] very hungry

332 *leytt*] flame This form of *leit* is not recorded in MED.

333 *brymston*] *suffor* R, *brimston* V.

334-5 *ignis ... eorum*] Psalms 11:7.

337 *wyne*] *vyn* R, *drink* V. 337-8 Deuteronomy 32:33.

339 And so mychel þrust þai schullen habbe
 340 for þe grete hete þat þai schullen souken
 341 þe neddres heuedes forto drawen out
 342 þe venym as a childe soukeþ þe tetes
 343 of his moder as seiþ god by job . Caput
 344 aspidum suggest ¶ þat schulden glotouns þen
 345 chen *and* louen soberte . And understondeþ
 346 more þat so mychel sorou3 þai schullen
 347 haue þat þai ne mowen nou3th þenken bot
 348 on þe pyne þat þai schullen suffre wiþouten
 349 ende . þai ne schullen neuere . ne hope forto
 350 be deliuered . hy schullen wite wel þat hy
 351 han lorne þe ioie of heuene for þe ioie þat

343-4 *caput ... suggest*] Job 20:16.

346 *sorou3*] sorrow MED has 45 occurrences of this form, of which 40 are from the this scribe, whether in Pepys, Laud 622 or Harley 874 (“sorwe”).

352 hy loueden so mychel in þis werlde . *and* hy p. 216a
 353 shullen haue foule deuels to her felawes
 354 and eueryche schal haten oþere . *and* werewen . *and*
 355 eueryche sle hym seluen 3if he mi3th . helle
 356 shal be ful of derknesse . of smoke *and* of
 357 pynes *and* of alle oþer wickednesses mo þan
 358 man may on þenken 9 men seien *in* olde engl -
 359 ische 3if hope ne were herte to brost . bot
 360 þere is hard þere may be non hope ne herte
 361 ne may nou3th breke . for euermore þai sch -
 362 ullen libbe and reles of her pyne ne shullen

352 After *werlde*] *e cel joye unt il ensement perdue* R, *And þerfore . þei han for lore þe Ioye :*
þat I . seide bi fore V.

353 *foule*] *hidus* R, *loþful* V.

354 *werewen*] curse This form of *warowen* not recorded in MED.

358 *in*] Above line with insertion mark.

359 *3if... brost*] Apparently a well-known proverb, quoted in English in R; also found in
Ancrene Wisse (Tolkien 1962, 43).

360 *hard*] heard

363 hy neuere haue . And þerfore leue soule þat
 364 redest þis book or herest it . þenk on þat
 365 ilche pyne *and* eschiwe it . and kepe þe clene
 366 from synne þat ledeþ men to þat ilk wo
 367 wiþouten ende wiþ outen any hope to asca
 368 pen . ffor hy ne schullen neuere see god ne
 369 neuere ioie haue 9 ¶ Understonde . leue soule
 370 of þe grete ioie þat þe good schullen ha -
 371 ue þat schullen bey ysaued . and desireþ and
 372 dooþ al 3oure my3th to lyuen holy lyf þat
 373 3e moten come to þat ilk ioie þat euer
 374 shal laste þat is so gret þat no tunge

363 *leue soule*] *cher' alme* R, *leoue breþeren* V. 365 *eschiwe*] avoid

369 *Understonde leue soule*] The opening of Chapter Five of the *Peines*; Eadmer's *Liber de Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus* is the most complete possible source for the Chapter.

371 *bey*] Form of *be* not recorded in MED; possible final *y* confused with next word.

374 After *laste*] Small mark in MS. 374-5 *tunge ... þenken*] *nule lange en ceste vie ne le poet þarconter ne oil ne le poet veer ne quer ne le poet penser* R (MSS F and G only), *no tonge may telle ne eize seo ne herte þenken* V.

375 may tellen . ne eizen seen . ne herte þenken .
 376 Bot seinte Anselme writeþ *and* seiþ þat
 377 þe body . *and* þe soule schullen haue seuen
 audium manere of ioyes . ¶ þe first is þat þe body
 379 þat is now so foule schal ben after his
 380 arisyngre more cleer *and* more schynyngre
 381 þan þe sunne is now whan it schyneþ al
 382 þer brizttest . Swiþe fair schal be þe *assem*
 383 ble whan þai schullen be alle assembled
 384 and eueryche of alle schal haue so gret briz -
 385 thnesse . and þe synful schullen be blak
 386 ker þan any cole *and* fouler stynkande þan
 audium , any caroyne . ¶ þe secounde ioye is . þat þe
 388 body schal haue so mychel lizthnesse . þat

382 *swiþe*] very

387 *caroyne*] corpse

389 in als mychel time as þou my3th twyn -
 390 clen wiþ þine eize . may man fleizen from
 391 erþe in to heuen *and* from þe on ende of
 392 þe werlde to þat oþer . or whider he
 393 wil als liztlych as it þenkeþ and also
 394 he may don þis wiþouten any maner
 395 trauaile . ¶ Þe synful schullen be al at
 396 þe contrarie . ffor hy schullen so be char
 397 ged of synne þat hy ne mowen muven
 398 honde ne foot ne no lyme of her body 9
 399 Ligatis manibus *et* pedibus mittite eos in tenebras ex

390 *twynclen*] See notes on lines 46, 273.

393 *als ... þenkeþ*] *as libtliche as he bit þenkeþ* V. P appears to have omitted *he*.

395 After *synful*] A stroke to separate from *schullen*.

398 *lyme*] *menbre* R, *membre* V.

399-400 *ligatis ... exteriores* Matthew 22:13.

399 *et pedibus*] Above line with insertion mark.

gaudium teriores . ¶ þe þridd ioye schal ben þat man
401 shal be so glorified þat he schal be so strong
402 were he neuere so feble here þat he schul -
403 de remuen alle þe hylles of þis werlde
404 at his wille 3if nede were þat noþing
405 may wiþstonden hym . And þe synful
406 shal be so feble þat he ne schal nou3th
407 remuen a worme from his eize ¶ ¶ þe fier
408 þe joye is fredom þat man schal be in no
409 manere of seruage for he ne schal noþing suf -
410 fren no don bot þat him lyst ¶ Noþing
411 ne may letten hym ne defenden hym of
412 þing þat he wil haue don . þis fredom
413 schal neuere be lorne ¶ Bot þe synful schal

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403 *remuen*] move

407 *worme*] *lacrimas* L, *vermes* C, *lernes* A, *worm* V.

411 *letten*] *desturber* R, *distourblen* V.

414 be in so mychel þraldom þat he ne may
 415 do noþing of þat he wolde haue don .
 416 bot he mote suffre al þe wo þat men
 417 wil to hym done . Elenglich lyuen hy . al
 418 las þat euere were hy borne 9 ¶ Þe fyfte ioye
 419 shal ben helpe wiþouten any manere of
 420 sekenesse . ffor no peyne ne sekenesse ne
 421 shal greue þe body in no manere . ne no
 422 sorou3 . ¶ Bot þe synful schullen so my -
 423 chel be greued wiþ diuers peynes þat ne
 424 uer for no medicine helpe no mowen hy
 425 coueren 9 ¶ Þe sexte ioye schal be delyt þat

414 *þraldom*] servitude

417 *elenglich*] miserably

422 *sorou3*] sorrow See note on line 346.

425 *coueren*] recover

426 men owen to haue in alle her wyttes þat
 427 as yrne þat is ful hatt in þe fyre semeþ
 428 better fyre þan yrne ⁊ riȝth so schullen
 429 þe men þat ben fulfilde of ioye *and* of de
 430 lytt . ¶ Now þenkeþ on þe synful hou
 431 þai ben charged of pyne *and* of anguysch
 432 more þan any man may telle . ¶ Þe se
 433 uenþe joye is þe lyf þat euere schal last
 434 hy schullen lyuen wiþ swete jhesu wiþou
 435 ten ende . Now ȝe haue understonden þi
 436 se seuen . now understondeþ oþere seuene 9
 437 ¶ Þe soule schal wite al þe good þat haþ

426 *owen*] are supposed to

429 *fulfilde*] full

430-2 *hou þai ... telle*] *how þei ben charget more þen i.noub V.*

435 *Now ȝe haue ...*] Beginning of Chapter Six.

435-55 From Eadmer's *Liber de Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus*.

435-6 *Now ... oþere seuene*] *Now vndurstondeþ þe toþur seuene V.*

438 ben don in heuene *and* in erþe . *and* al þat is
 439 agon . *and* al þat is to comen . And þou
 440 myȝth asken . schullen myne synnes
 441 ben wȝst to alle þo þat schullen ben
 442 saued of whiche synnes ich am schri
 443 uen . Seint Anselm answereþ and seiþ
 444 þat þou schalt ȝelde þokynge to god
 445 of þe goodes þat he haþ don to þe *and* hou
 446 þou schalt þonken hym of þat he haþ
 447 forȝiuen þe þi synnes þat seiþ Dauid
 448 *Misericordias domini in eternum cantabo* . ¶ Þat
 449 is to sigge . j schal synge þe mercyes of
 450 oure lorde wiþouten ende . haue mynd
 451 of hou many foule *and* gryselych synnes

438-9 *and al þat is agon ... comen*] *and al þat is to comen* V.

444 *þokynge*] Should preumably be *þonkynges*.

448 *Misericordias ... cantabo*] Psalms 89:2.

452 he haþ deliuered þe by his mercy . *and*
 453 his pyte . þo þat schullen be dampned .
 454 for her grete pyne *and* her grete sorou3
 455 hy schullen be as it were woode men .
 456 ¶ Now mi3ttow asken hou þou mi3th *pur*
 457 chasen þe þat gret ioye . Oure lord seiþ
 458 in þe godspel þat a man asked hym þat
 459 þou askest *and* seide 9 A 7 jhesu maister what
 460 myth ich do þat ich my3th haue þe lyf p. 217a
 461 euere lastynge . and swete jhesus ansuered
 462 hym *and* seide . 3if þou wilt come to þilk
 463 lyf keep wel þe ten comaundement3 and
 464 nempned whiche . and þo þat man an -

455 *woode*] mad

456 *Now mi3ttow asken ...*] *Dis Comandemens* translation starts here.

457-72 *Oure ... godspel*] Mark 10:17-25.

465 suered *and* seide . þoo ich haue *parfytlich*
 466 kepte fro my zouþe . And oure lorde loued
 467 hym *and* seide hym in conseil . O þing þe
 468 faileþ *zutt* zif þou wilt be a *parfyt* good
 469 man . Goo *and* selle al þat þou haste *and*
 470 ziuue it to pouere . *and* come *and* be pouere wiþ
 471 me . *and* he went away wepeande for
 472 he wolde nouzth leuen his richesse . he -
 473 re understondeþ two þinges þat man
 474 may ben saued forto keep þe comaun -
 475 dementz . Bot who so wil be pryue
 476 frende to god . *and* *parfitelich* *seruen* god
 477 *and* plesen hym : zelde hym in to religi
 478 oun . or lyue by hym self in chastite . *and*

465 *þoo*] those

468 *zutt*] yet MED has 8 occurrences, of which 4 are in the hand of this scribe (“yet”).

479 in pouerte . *and* in obedience by summe rew
 480 le þat be by þe conseile of holy chirche
 481 as þo þat ben to gedre in congregatioun
 482 or by hem seluen as heremytes . *and* ankers .
 483 ffor þo schullen haue þe blisse wiþouten
 484 ende . And alle þe þat schullen be saued
 485 shullen haue þre auauntages ouere þe oþer
 486 þe first as god seiþ in þe godspel . Euere
 487 uche þat haþ forsaken *and* left for þe loue
 488 of me his houses . or his kyn . as fader
 489 or moder or breþeren or sustren . sones
 490 or douztren . or londes or rentes ⁊ he schal
 491 haue an hundreþ folde dubble riches
 492 and lyf wiþouten ende . ¶ Þe oþer auaunta
 493 ge schal ben þat god seiþ . 3ee þat han

486-92 *þe first ... ende*] Matthew 19:29.

492-6 *þe oþer ... þe last day*] Matthew 19:28.

494 al þing forsaken *and* left for me . 3ee schul
 495 sitten wiþ me and jugen al þe werlde att
 496 þe last day . *and* þat schal be grete wor -
 497 schippe whan þo þat han forsaken þe
 498 werlde *parfytych* schullen sitten wiþ oure
 499 lorde forto juggen . Nou3th onlich þe
 500 wicked þat azeins oure lordes wille lo -
 501 ueden werldelich goodes *and* hadden hem
 502 by goddes wille ⁊ bot þo þat weren nou3t
 503 so *parfytt* þat hy wolden forsaken þe werl -
 504 de . ¶ þe þrydd ioie is þat god haþ *graunted*
 505 to hem as þe godspel seiþ . þat hy schul -

500-2 *loueden werldelich ... goddes wille*] *louede worldelich þinges azeynes Godes wille* V. V
 reading probably makes more sense; however neither accurately translates the original:
iceus ... serrunt ... aiuger ne seulement les mauueis ke encountre deu amerunt les biens du
mond mes les bons ke auoient tempsdeus biens par la uolonte de deu (T 45-50). 'They will
 judge not only the wicked who in defiance of God loved worldly things but [also] the
 good who had worldly wealth by God's will'.

506 len haue so mychel power þat hy schul -
 507 len mowe leden wiþ hem in to þe ioeye
 508 of heuene her kynde *and* her good doers . *and*
 509 her frendes þat ben out of dedlich synne .
 510 forwhi so þe kyngdom of heuene so is
 511 here and þerfore hy mowen lede þider wiþ
 512 hem wham þai willen . *Beati pauperes spi -*
 513 ritu *quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum* . ¶ god
 seiþ
 514 blissed be þai þat ben pouere by her good wil - p. 217b
 515 le for þe loue of god ⁊ for þe kyngdom of
 516 heuen so is heren . and he seiþ 9 Uos estis
 517 qui permansistis *mecum* in temptacionibus meis

506-7 *schullen mowe*] should be able to

510-1 *so þe ... so is here*] *ffor whi þe kyngdom of heuene is heoren V.*

512 *wham*] whom 512-3 *Beati ... celorum*] Matthew 5:3.

516-20 *Uos ... celorum*] Luke 22:28-30.

518 *et ego dispono vobis sicut disposuit michi*
 519 *pater meus regnum ut edatis et bibatis su -*
 520 *per mensam meam in regno celorum ¶ þat*
 521 *is to sigge . 3ee han suffred temptaciouns*
 522 *as ich suffred and ne weren nou3th ouerco -*
 523 *men . and þerfore ich graunte 3ou þe ioye of*
 524 *heuene as my fader haþ graunted to me*
 525 *in my manhede þat 3e eten and drynken*
 526 *at my borde in þe ioye of heuene 9 Bot*
 527 *god þe swete fader haþ graunted to þe*
 528 *swete son on þis manere þat he entre*
 529 *in to heuene and alle þo þat he wil leden wiþ*
 530 *hym ⁊ and ri3th in þilke self manere haþ jhesus*
 531 *þe swete son graunted to þo þat han forsa*

525 *manhede*] *humanité* T, *monhod* V.

527 *swete*] *duz* T, *swete* V.

532 ken þe werlde for hym . þan he seiþ to
 533 þe riche of þis werlde 9 ffacite vobis amicos
 534 de mammona iniquitatis ut cum defeceritis
 535 ipsi recipiant vos in eterna thabernacula 9
 536 ¶ þis is to sigge to þe riche of þis werlde
 537 makeþ goddes pouere 3oure frendes wiþ
 538 3oure riches . ffor ich wil þat 3e parten
 539 3oure godes wiþ hem . and hy schullen
 540 þan resceyuen 3ou in to her ioye in heuen
 541 þenkeþ þerfore þat þo ben here good
 542 pouere schullen be þere riche . And for þat
 543 þai ben here bot litel praysed of hem þat
 544 louen þe werlde . and bot holden vile and naztty .
 545 þerfore hy schullen ben ouere alle men wor

533-5 ffacite ...thabernacula] Luke 16:9.

544 vile] worthless naztty] needy mes il sunt trop uil tenuz e ausi com perduz T, vilore þen a þeof V.

546 schiped . And for hy forsoken al werlde
 547 and alle her frendes and ben as of no
 548 my3th here ⁊ þerfore hy schullen ben þere as
 549 lordes and lefdyes . to resceyuen *and* to wor
 550 shipen her frendes . as 3e han bifore herd .
 551 And þat scheweþ by þre þynges þat men
 552 seien by hem þat ben pouere *and* beggers .
 553 þat hy ben to þe werlde ylore . þat hy
 554 mowen noiþer hem seluen helpen ne non
 555 oþer . 3if 3e understonde wel þis þing
 556 3e au3tten to haue þe werlde in despytt
 557 and litel or noþing forto maken tale
 558 of her wordes .

546 *al werlde*] *tut le mond* T. Presumably *al þe werlde*.

548 Between *þere* and *as*] Separating stroke.

550-1 *worshipen*] esteem, hold in honour

551 Between *þat* and *men*] Separating stroke.

552 *pouere and beggers*] *poueres beggers e ladders* T.

557 *maken tale*] take notice of

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APPENDIX ONE - BODLEY DESCRIPTION AND TRANSCRIPT

1. Technical Description

The full shelf reference is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938. It is listed in Madan and Craster (REF) with the Summary Catalogue reference number 3054, and is there described as being: 'In Southern English, on parchment: written in the first half of the 15th cent.: 7½ x 5½ in., vi + 283 leaves, with illuminated borders and capitals etc.'

Collation

Ff. i, ii, 282 and 283 are paper. The margins are pricked and ruled, although the ruling is now only visible in a few places. There is one column, usually of 26 lines. Pagination is in ink except for i-vi and 282-3, which is in pencil. Collation is in 8's, except for the last quire, with framed catchwords in the usual place at the end of quires. Folio numbers are confusing; quire 1 is paginated 1-7, as there are two folios numbered 3, with 'a' and 'b' added in pencil; all others follow from this: ff. 8-15, ff.16-23 etc. Ff. 24 - 270 have appropriate page titles. Both the first and last parchment folios are worm eaten.

Script

The manuscript seems to have been written by one scribe throughout, with varying size and spacing. The hand is Anglicana and has been identified as the same as the hand used in ff. 43-99 in Cambridge University Library Ff. vi. 31,

John Colop's common profit book (Scase, *Common Profit Books* REF). Yogh and thorn are used throughout. Punctuation used includes the punctus, the punctus elevatus, and a double punctus resembling a modern colon. Standard abbreviations include the macron over a medial or final vowel, usually for 'n'; a medial superscript hook for 'er', and a crossed 'p' for 'ro'; 'þ^u' is sometimes used for 'thou', and 'w^t' for 'with'; 'a' with right hook mark is sometimes used for 'and'. Biblical quotations are glossed in the margins on f. 60v 'm^t 12^o' (Matthew 12:26) and 'm^t 10^o' (Matthew 10:26).

Decoration

Initials are in blue ink, usually 2-4 lines in height, some with red lace-like penwork extending up to half a page or more; single line blue capitals are seen in itemised lists such as the seven deadly sins, or the five senses, with the remainder of the word in red. Rubrics and underlinings are in red; the credo on f. 1 has the Latin in red with the Middle English translation in ink; this first page also has a blue and red decorated border all round. Marginal notes such as the numbers of the commandments or scriptural references are in ink, usually underlined with capitulum marks in both text and margin; the more extensive Latin glosses are in a much smaller script. Blue and red capitulum marks are freely used in page headings, in marginal notes, and in the body text. In places where the original text has been scrubbed out, later corrections have been added in a deep black ink.

Binding and Additional Text

Binding is in brown leather. Additional text in Latin is reproduced as far as it could be deciphered:

f. iii 'nostri ei specialitur filii mei Jo(?) si tibi placeat'

f. iv [indecipherable three lines + four lines numbered like a recipe]

f. v 'the poore caytyffe' followed by nine lines of Latin

f. 279 'Per me Geo[r]ge page fili de Rica[r]di Page' - 'in would-be cryptic writing, 15th cent.' (Madan and Craster REF)

f. 280 'Sonning dedit e duo abjtulit'

f. 280v twelve lines of Middle English followed by two lines of what appear to be practice letters.

Date and Provenance

The date is probably mid fifteenth century, based on evidence from the note above on cryptic writing, and from the fact that the same scribe copied ff. 43-99 in the John Colop common profit book (Scase, *Common Profit Books REF*). The inscription 'This booke was made of þe goodis of John Collopp' suggests that it was produced after his death, which must have occurred after his involvement in the administration of post mortem affairs in 1439 and 1441. Although LALME has entries for three different hands found in Ff. 6. 31, none of these include the Bodley scribe's involvement. The hands identified are (first foliation) ff. 1v-9v 'probably of NE Leics or Lincs border'; ff. 10-63 'NE Herts or Cambs/Essex border'; (second foliation) ff. 1-27v 'Ely' (LALME REF).

Content

- f. 1 A short exposition of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, Seven Deadly Sins
- f. 10 'A schort reule of lif for ech man in general and for prestis and lordis and laboreris in special'
- f. 13 'Summe prouerbis of Salamon with othere auctoritees of notable materes of holi writ'
- f. 24 A commentary on the Lord's Prayer
- f. 35 A commentary on the Hail Mary
- f. 39 'The Pore Caytyf' in fourteen parts, with other discourses interspersed between f. 50 and f. 117: f. 50 'Thre thingis distrien þis world'; f. 56 'þe xvj conditions of charite'; f. 60 'þe plagis of egipt'; f. 62 'of weddid men and wemmen'; f. 73 'þe seuene dedly synnes'
- f. 209 The Prick of Love
- f. 236 'Hou men þat ben in heele schulde visite seeke men' (Horstmann, Vol. 2 449-53).
- f. 248 'A tretys of tribulacioun'
- f. 262 'þe reule of þe lijf of oure Lady' (Horstmann, Vol. 1 158-9).
- f. 265 'of widwehod'
- f. 267 'of þe vii Sacramentis'
- f. 270 'Quincunque vult wiþ þe glöse'

2. Transcription of the The Bodley Extract

¶ plagis of egipt

1 Here bigynnen
2 summe proverbis of Salamon *wiþ* oþere auctori
3 tees of notable materes of holi writt :
4 Salamon seiþ *in* alle þi werkes þenke
5 on þin ende : and þou schalt neuere do
6 synne / þenke þat þou schalt die *and* þou
7 wost neuere when ne on what day . ne in what
8 tyme . ne in what stede . ne *in* what
9 stat . ne whidir þou schalt go . when þou
10 art deed . ne what iuggement þou schalt
11 haue / And þerfore seint Austyn seiþ
12 þat euermore schulde þi laste day be *in* þi mynde /
13 ffor when þou arisist of þi bed . þou ne
14 wost : wher þou schalt liue til euen and
15 when þou goist to bedde . þou ne wost wher
16 þou schalt arise aliue / And þerfore þenke be
17 sily of þe mesure of þi lyf . how schort it
18 is / And þenke how besy þou hast ben for
19 þi body þat is deedly : and how slowe þou
20 hast be aboute *profit* of þi soule . þat euere
21 schal liue in blisse or peyne / And þus þenke

22 of þe ioies of heuen euer schule laste . and
23 of þe peynes of helle ⁊ and so þou schalt
24 kepe þee from wickid couetise . And fro *pride*
25 of þis wrecchid lif . And fro fleischly lustes
26 ffor norisch þou þi body neuer so wel 3it it
27 schal die and rote stynk . and many a gri
28 sely sikt þou schalt se ar þe soule *departe*
29 from þe body / ffor þe fendis schule be redy
30 in presence *and* goddis angels . forto dispute
31 þe lif of man . fro þe begynnyng in to þe
32 laste ende / þe angels schule seie þe goode
33 dedis . *and* þe fendis þe wickid dedis þat no3t
34 schal be forzete of alle þe euyl þou3tis þat
35 euer man assentid to ¶ and alle þe ydel wor
36 dis þat euer man spak . schule be rehercid
37 and þe dedis schulen be schewid *and* noon
38 schal be helid ¶ ffor god seiþ in þe gospel . þat no þing
39 may be so priuy . þat ne it schal be schewid
40 ne so priuy þat it ne schal be open to þe ize

APPENDIX TWO: ANGLO-NORMAN TRANSCRIPTS

1. *Les Peines de Purgatoire* (Relihan 181-190)

102 Ici comence le secunde chapitre de la com-
103 pileson de porgatorie ke parout des seit peines
104 par les queles l'alme est purgé. En yceste chapitre
105 si en ad siet perografs. Jeo vous ay devaunt mus-
106 tré por quei soverement penser de vostre fin,
107 coment adonke tote vostre vie serra serché estrei-
108 tement dekes a la meindre pensee, enaprès queles
109 deus maneres de almes serront en purgatorie penez.
110 Ici après nous tocherons peines especials par les
111 queles l'alme, quant ele departe de son cors, est
112 porgé. Ore entendez bien ici vous qui ceste escrit
113 lesez les seet peines par les queles l'alme est por-
114 gé quant ele departe hors de ceste vie.
115 La premiere peyne si est la hiduse vision des
116 deables qe se moustrent apertement a l'alme en la
117 mort quant ele deit du cors departier, aussi come
118 leons cruels a chalenger e a ravyr l'alme oveskes
119 eaus ou en enfern ou en purgatorie por see pecchés.
120 La secunde peyne est de la grant dolur e doute
121 e del hidour qe l'alme avera avant ke le jugement

122 seit fini entre les aungeles e les deables d'estre
123 sauvé ou dampné, aussi come est quant homme est
124 en tempeste en la meer e a grant doute de venir a
125 tere, ke tot eit l'alme dreit fei e ferm espe-
126 raunce, nekedent Dieu soefre ke l'alme eit cele
127 pour por porger sei de pecchez.
128 La tierce peyne est le fu de purgatorie en
129 queu fu l'alme si longement ardera dekes ele seit
130 porgee de totes negligences e de totes maneres des
131 pecchez. E autaut ou plus ke luy feu dount l'em
132 se chauffe ci est plus chaud ke n'est luy ray du so-
133 lail ke est lusaunt desur la tere, de autaut est luy
134 feu de purgatorie plus chaud ke le feu ke art issi
135 devaunt la gent. E autaut come il est plus chaut
136 issi de mettre son pee nu en fu chauffee, autaut e
137 plus fort serra a l'alme de arder en cel fu nue
138 quant ele serra du cors aussi come tot despoillé.
139 La quarte peyne serra maladie dount l'alme serra
140 pennee, ke aussi come maladie isci en diverse manere
141 greve le cors, ausi est l'alme en purgatorie pennee
142 e grevé en sa manere de maladie por peché, ke les
143 uns sount come en idropesye por coveitise de chose
144 teriene, les uns sount aussi come en parelesye por
145 accidié e pur peresce el service Dieu, aukuns sount

146 aussi come en jauniz por envye, aukuns sount come
147 en fevre por ire, aukuns sount com en meneison e en
148 flux por lescherie de la quele il furent repen-
149 taunz, mes il ne parfurent pas parfitement leur
150 penaunce en leur vie. Aukuns sount come en apostumes
151 e en agüe por orgoil. Pensez donke come forte peine
152 serreit au cors d'estre en une des cestes maladies
153 ou quaraunte aunz ou plus, pur deus jours ou treis.
154 E par ceo poëz vous entendre ke l'alme est plus
155 grevé de cele peyne ke le cors, ke aussi come petite
156 chose greve le oyl ke poy greve le pee ou la meyn,
157 aussi est l'alme por sa tendre nature plus grevé
158 de meyns ke n'est luy cors.
159 La quinte peine est ke les almes sount aussi
160 come genz ke sount liez en prisoun, kar eles sount
161 liez de lienz por pecché ke il ne poent hors venir
162 dekes les lienz seient gastés e anentez par le feu
163 de porgatorie, ne il ne poent après ceste vie riens
164 porchaser a eaus delivrer ne prompter ne riens
165 deservier, kar la ne est tens ne liu a merite
166 porchacer. Pensez donke coment greve chose est as
167 almes de estre cent aunz ou plus ou meins uncore
168 en cel prison tormentez des peines des deables avant
169 nomé, ke les deables ount poër de tormenter les

170 almes aussi longement come eles ount tecche e
171 semblaunce de pecché, mes nent plus k'eles sount
172 de tot porgez.
173 La sime peine est exil, ke les almes sount
174 exilez hors de ceste vie de leur amis saunz return-
175 er en lur païs; ceo est a dire en paraïs ne poent
176 eles entrer. Mes noveles de nous oent ke ici sumes
177 par ceaus ke de ceste vie de nous la venent, tant
178 come Deus veut a eles otraer.
179 La setime peine est ke les ames sount aussi
180 come en desert ou defaute est des totes choses dount
181 ele se poent deliter. Ore sount en freit, ore sount
182 en chaut, ore sount en ci tregrant pluies qe nul
183 homme ici poet penser. E si sount en feim e en
184 seif e en totes maneres des defautes ové les peines
185 avant nomez. E por le grant desir ke eles ount a
186 veer nostre Seignur plus sunt en une manere penez
187 por ceo ke eles ne poent leur desir avoir ke des
188 peynes qu'il leur covent por leur trespas soeffrier.

2. Dis Comendmens from Trinity Manuscript

1 Si *vus* demandez
2 donc coment *vus* poez auer la vie *pardurable* ⁜
3 ieo *vus* dit coment . Tenez les comandemenz
4 deu ⁜ si come dit le *prophete* ci deuant . E *nostre*
5 *seignur* en le euangelié nus dit coment .
6 Car un homme demanda de lui ceo ke *vus*
7 demaundez . e dit a ihesu crist si com toute
8 le euangelié . Mestre ke fra ieo *por* auer la
9 vie *pardurable* ⁜ E li duz ihesu li respondi
10 e dist . si *vus* uolez a cele vie uenir ⁜ gar
11 dez les dis comaundemenz [E li noma queus des comandemenz .] E il
dit e res
12 pondi a *nostre* Sire . Ces ai ieo dit il *parfitement*
13 garde de ma iuente E *nostre* *seignur* lui
14 ama e li dit soen conseil . Une chose fet
15 il *vus* faut onkore . Si *vus* uolez estre *parfite*
16 ment *prodomme* ⁜ Alez e vendez *quanke* *vus*
17 avez e donez a poueres ; e venez e seez pouere ove
18 mei e il seu *departi* plorant . kar il esteit

11 *E li noma ... comaundemenz*] Line from foot of MS inserted.

18 *seu*] Uncertain reading.

19 riche . e il hait mout a lesser ses riches
20 ces Ici ententez deus choses . La une cho
21 se siest ke se puet sauuer *par* garter les dis
22 *commandementz* . Mes ke uout estre *priue*
23 ami deu [E parfitement seruir e plere a deu ⁊] si se rende en religion ou
 uiue
24 par cei en chastete . e en pouerte . ou en obe
25 dience par aucune reule ke est *par* le con
26 seil de seinte eglise liverree *com* sunt ceus
27 ke uiuunt ensemble en congregacion
28 en religion ou par sei *com* hermitis . ou *com*
29 recluses . Car iceus en auerunt la ioie
30 pardurable ke tuz les sauuez auerunt ⁊
31 et tres auantages outre les autres . La *pri*
32 mere auantage est ⁊ ceo ke deu dit en la
33 euangelie . Chescun homme fet il ke ad guer
34 pi e lesse pur le *amur* de moi mesons e pa
35 renz ⁊ *com* freres e suers . e peres ou mere . e
36 fiz ou alies . ou *femme* . ou *terres* ou rentes il
37 auera a cent double richesce e ioie outre
38 les autres e nekedent la vie *pardurable*
39 auera il oue les autres . Lautre auanta

23 *E parfitement ... a deu*] Inserted from foot of MS.

40 ge serra ceste . ke dit ausi *nostre sire deu* . *Vus*
41 fet il ke auez totes choses guerpies e lessz
42 *pur* mei e mei auez *par* seinte uie ensin ⁊ vus
43 serrez oue mei aiuger tut le mond au de
44 rein iour . E iceo serra *grant* honur *quant*
45 iceus ke ont guerpi le mond parfitement
46 serrunt oue *nostre seignur* aiuger ne une seu
47 lement les mauueis . ke encontre deu a
48 merunt les biens du mond ⁊ mes les *bons*
49 ke auoient temporeus biens ⁊ *par* la uolon
50 te de deu mes il ne furent pas si parfiz
51 ke il uoloient le mond lester . La tierce
52 chose si est ⁊ ky dampne deu ad otrie(?) a
53 eus en la euangelie ⁊ ke il en auerunt tant
54 de poer ke il poerunt a mener auec eus en
55 la ioie du ciel lur parens e lur bien feso
56 urs e leur amis . Ky sunt hors de morteuz
57 pecchez . Car li regne du ciel si est lour
58 e por ceo purrunt il leur mener ceus
59 ke il uoudrant . Car issi dit deu en le euan
60 gelie . beneiz seient ceus ke sunt poueres

46 *une*] Uncertain reading.

52 *otrie*] Uncertain reading.

61 par lur bone volunte ꝛ pur la *amur* de deu .
62 Car li regne de ciel si est lur. *Beati* inquit
63 pauperes *spiritu* ꝛ *quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum* .
64 E en un autre liu euz en la euangelie
65 dit *nostre seignur* . *Vus* auez fet a suffert *temp*
66 tacions ausi come ieo suffri ꝛ e ne fuistes
67 par uencuz .e. pur ceo *vus* otrie ieo la ioie
68 du ciel sicome mon peir le ma otrie
69 en ma humanite ky *vus* mangez et beuez o
70 ue me a ma table en le regne du ciel . *Vos*
71 estis inquit qui permansistis *mecum in temp*
72 tacionibus meis *et ego dispono vobis regnum*
73 sicut *mibi* pater disposuit . ut edatis and bibatis
74 super mensam meam in regno *celorum* . Mes
75 sicome deu li duz pere ad otrie a soen fiz
76 en ceste manere ke il entre en ciel tuz ceus
77 e celes ke il voudra ou lui mener ꝛ en meime
78 la manere ad *ihesucrist* li duz fiz otrie a ceus
79 ke ont le mond pur lui leite e guerpi .
80 Dunc il dit a riches du mond . *Vus* riches
81 dit il feter les poueres deu estre uos amis *par*

66 *fuistes*] Uncertain reading.

68 *ma*] Uncertain reading.

82 uosa richesses . ky ieo uoil ke *vus* portez vos
83 biens temporeus ouec eus ke *quart* uos ri
84 chesces e *vus* lauderez ke a *vus* receiuent
85 a donc a lur ioie en ciel . ffacite *inquit vobis* a
86 micos de *mammona iniquitatis* ⁊ ut *cum*
87 defeceritis ipsi recipiant vos in eterna tab
88 ernacula . E pensez ore ke pur ceo ke il sunt
89 isci poueres . il serrunt la riches e pur ceo
90 ke il sunt isci pou pricez de ceus ke eimunt
91 le mond ⁊ mes il sunt trop uil tenuz e
92 ausi *com* perduz pur ceo serrunt il la *oultre*
93 totes genz honurez . e pur ceo ke il guer
94 pirent tut le mond e tuz leur parenz .
95 e sunt ausi *com* de nul poer isci ⁊ pur ceo
96 serrunt il la *com* *seignurs* e come dames
97 a resceiuere e a honurer e a riches fere
98 lour amis ⁊ *sicom vus* auez auant si enten
99 du . E ceo est encontre treis chose ke *len*
100 dit de eus . ke il sunt poueres beggers
101 e lodders e ke il sunt au mond perdue e
102 ke il ne poent ne eus ne autres aider ⁊ Si

83 *quart*] Uncertain reading.

84 *a*] Uncertain reading.

- 103 *vous* estes donc isci? pouere pur deu e *vous* enten
104 dez bien ceste chose deuant dite : *vous* deuez
105 auer le mond en despit : e pou de force fe
106 re de lur dit :

APPENDIX THREE: COMPARISON OF THE *PAINS OF SIN* WITH *A TRETYSSE OF GOSTLY BATAYLE*

<i>Tretyse of Gostly Batayle</i> (Horstmann, Vol. 2)	<i>Pains of Sin</i> (Pepys)
<p>for Salomone seyth: 'In alle thy werkes thynke one thy ende, ande thou shalt neuer doo syne'. Thynke that thou shalt dye and thow wottest neuer where ne whene ne what dethe, ne in what state ne in what daye ne what tyme; ande therfore seyth seynt Austyn̄ that euer schulde oure last day be in oure mynde, for whene þou rysest thow arte nat sykere to [liue to euen, ne when thou gost to thi bed thou art nat syker to] ryse with thy lyfe. (428)</p>	<p>SAlamon seiþ in alle þi werkes þenke on þe ende . <i>and</i> þou schalt neuere don synne . þenke þou schal dize <i>and</i> þou nost whanne neuere . ne on what deþ . ne in what stede . ne in what state . ne in what tyme . And þerfore seiþ seint Austyn þat euermore schulde oure last day be in oure mynde . ffor whan þou arisest of þi bed þou nost to lyuen tyl it euen be : And whan þou gost to bed þou nost to risen wiþ þe lyf (Pepys 5-16)</p>
<p>Also haue mynde howe the sowle shalle departe frome the body with grete drede: for the fendys shulle be present and goode aungellis for to dyspute thy lyff fro the begynnyng to the ende, ande the goode aungellis shalle sey to the goode, ande the ffeendys the wyckede, that noughte shalle be forgete to the leste thought that euer thou thowghtest other consentest to, ande alle the wordys that euer thow speke shullene be examynede, and alle thy dedys shewede. (429)</p>	<p>And þe soule departe wiþ gret drede . ffor þe deuels schullen ben þere redy in presence . <i>and</i> goddes aungels to desputen þe lyf of þe man from þe bigynnyng to þe ende and þe aungels schullen sigge þe good and þe deuelen þe wicked þat nou3th shal be for3ete to alle þe þou3ttes þat euere man þou3th oiþer assented to . and alle þe wordes euere he spak schullen ben examined <i>and</i> þe dedes schullen ben alle schewed þat non schal be heled (24-36)</p>

<p>And thane many synnes that thow may nat now see nor thynke, shalle than come be fore the opynly ande perauenture more to drede ande more gryselly thane thoo that thow may now see, and many thyngis [that] thow wenyst be now welle done shalle schew than fowle synne. (429)</p>	<p>Allas what alle synnes þat þou ne miȝth none see schullen þan come bifore þe openlich . forsoþe many <i>and par</i> auenture more to dreden <i>and</i> more gryselich þan þou miȝth now see . And many þinges þat þou wenest now be wel don schullen þan shewe foule synnes (55-62)</p>
<p>More-ouer sende thyne herte in to purgatory, that ys the free prysone off oure lorde gode to punyssh heme that were clene-shryvene off alle here synnes or they passyne owte off thys worlde, and hane nat perfourmede here penaunce here in thys lyff ne were nat fully clensyd as hem behouyth for to be. (431)</p>	<p>¶ Now understondeþ for whiche þinges þe soules ben so pyned þere . and fleize þat þou ne come nouȝth þere . ffirst for enchesoun þat hy ne fulfilden nouȝth her penaunces of grete synnes þat ben dedlich þeiȝ hy weren trewlich schryuen of þo synnes . Also hy ben pyned for venial synnes . and for necligence þat hy ne wolden nouȝth of swiche synnes <i>purgen</i> hem in her lyue (181-90)</p>
<p>In the whyche purgatory they shalle be purede with bytter peynes, and that paynes ys more harde to suffre eyther to fele than alle the paynes that euere martyres suffredene, ande more payne thane tunge cane rehearse or telle. (431)</p>	<p>þat pyne is more hard to felen <i>and</i> to suffren þan al þe pyne þat þe martirs suffreden here in erþe . <i>and</i> more greuous þan any pyne þat may be þouȝth in þis werlde . or seid . or seen (75-9)</p>
<p>Ther shalle thy soule be turment thorow ane hole yere for the penaunce that myght haue be done here in o day - here-fore oure lorde seyth: Diem pro anno dedi tibi, that ys: 'I haue yeuene [the] a day for a yere'. (431)</p>	<p>þere schulle þe soule ben in þat hard pyne tourmented of þe deuels fourty dayes . for þe penaunce þat it miȝth haue don in erþe in . o . day . þat is to sigge for fourty dayes here fourty ȝer þere (79-84)</p>

<p>And trusteth for certeyne that that payne doth nat ellys but clenseth the soule frome syne; for the more ioye in heuene shalle he neuere purchase therby for that peyne sufferynge, though he were there from the begynnyng off thys worlde in to the day of dome. (431)</p>	<p>And ne weneþ nouzth þat þat ilk pyne dooþ any þing to þe soule bot clenseþ it . for þe more ioye in heuene ne schal he neuer purchacen hym for þilk pyne þeiz he were in purgatori a þousand zer (84-9)</p>
<p>But the payne that thou suffrest here with meke herte, thynkyng that thoue art worthy hit and moche more for the grete trespasses and vnkyndenes that thou euery day dost ayenst oure lorde gode, shalle bothe helpe to clense thy soule, and to encrese thy blysse in heuene. (431)</p>	<p>And þe pyne þat a man suffreþ here in his lyf by his owne good wille helpeþ to tweie þinges . boþe to clensen hym of synne . <i>and</i> for euere uche pyne þat a man suffreþ here for soþfastnesse he schal haue a special ioye in heuene <i>and</i> þat schal last wiþouten ende (89-95)</p>
<p>Also haue mynde of .VII. paynes that thy soule shalle haue. The furst shalle be whane thy body ande thy soule shalle parte; for thane shallene the fendys appere in theyr lykenesse to rauyssh the soule in to helle with grysely chere, with chalangis ande thretenyngis as hit were theyre ryghte to haue hit, and so to brynge hit in to dyspeyre yeff they mowene. (431)</p>	<p>Now understondeþ þat redeþ þis book seuen pynes by whiche þe soule is clensed whan he departeþ fro the body out of þis lyf . þe first is the gryselich sizth of þe fendes þat schullen schewen hem to þe soule in þe tyme þat he schal departen fro the body . Summe chalangen treulich forto rauisshen þe soule wiþ hem in to helle or in to purgatory for his synnes (99-104)</p>

<p>The seconde peyne ys thys: the grete drede that the soule shalle haue tyll the Iugement be endyde be-twene the aungelles ande the fffendis; for lyke as a mane beyng in grete tempestis on the see hath grete drede of drenchyng, so the soule heryng the grete and horryble synnes that he hath done reherysde be the fende, stondesth in grete fere for to be dronchede in the fyre of helle; for though the soule haue ryghte be-leue ande ryghte trusty hope to be sauide, yet oure lorde suffreth hit to haue the drede, for to clense hit frome synne. (431)</p>	<p>Þe secounde peyn is gret drede tyl the juggement be ended bitwene the aungels <i>and</i> þe deuelen to be dampned or saued as man þat is in gret tempest of þe al haue þe soule riȝth bileue <i>and</i> riȝth trosty hope . neuere þe latter god suffreþ þat þe lyf haue þat ilk drede forto clensen þe soule of synne (104-113)</p>
<p>The IIIde ys exylyng; for the soule ys exylyde oute off thys lyfe, from hys frendis, and from hys herytage—whyche ys paradyse—thorowgh syne the whyche they shullene neuer be restorede to, vn-to the tyme that hit be purede and claryfyede as clene as hit was att the day off bapteme; for seynt Austyne seyth: 'lyke as golde ys purede and claryfyede be fyre here, ryghte so shale the soule be purede ande claryfyede by the fyre there'. (431)</p>	<p>Þe sexte peyne is exile ffor þe soules ben exiled out of þis lyf from her frendes wiþouten any torning aȝein in to her cuntre þat is forto seie . in to Paradyse ne mowen hy nouȝth entren (162-7)</p>

<p>And loke, howe moch here the fyre ys hotere thane the sone-beame, so moche ys the fyre off purgatory more hote thane the fyre here; and loke, what peyne hit were to suffre any parte off the body to brynne in the fyre here, so moche peyne ande more hit ys to the soule to be in [the] fyre there; (431)</p>	<p>And als mychel or more þat þe fyre whiche a man warmeþ hym by here is more hott þan is þe sunne bem þat schyneþ here on þe grounde : by als mychel is þe fyre of purgatory more hot þan is þe fyre þat brenneþ here . And by als mychel as it were more hard to putt þe naked foot in þe fyre þat brenneþ here þan in schynyng of þe sunne : by als mychel is it more hard to þe soule to brenne in þat fyre of purgatory whan he schal be departed from þe body al naked <i>and</i> despoyled (117-29)</p>
<p>The fourthe payne ys that the soule ys boundyne with bondys off synne, that hit may nat helpe hit-selfe but nedys muste suffre, to the bondys be wasted; for lyke as a mane boundene muste suffre the malyce off hys enemyes, ryghte so the soule muste suffre the peynes tulle hit be purede. (432)</p>	<p>þe fyfte peyne is þat þe soule is as men þat ben bounden wiþ bondes in prisoun . for hy ben bounden wiþ bondes of synnes . and ben bischett þat hy ne mowen nou3th comen out tyl þe bondes ben wasted <i>and</i> fordon þorou3 þe fyre of purgatorie (154-60)</p>

<p>The fyfte payne ys the sekenesse that the soule shalle be greuede with; for [lyke] as the body ys peynede and greuede with dyuerse peynes [in purgatori] in dyuerse peynes in dyuers partyes or powers off the soule in whyche he synned in thys lyfe. Som shalle be as they were in a dropeseye, for miscouetyse off erthely thyngis; som as they were in a pallsey, for slougthe in goddis seruyse; som as they were in the feuers, for wratth; som as they were in the iaundys, for enuy; som as they were in the menyson or in the flyxe, for lecherye; som as they were in meserly for pryde. (432)</p>	<p>þe fierþ pyne schal be þe sekenesse whyche þe soule schal haue . for also as sekenesse in diuers manere greueþ þe body here : also is þe soule in purgatory greued <i>and</i> pyned in þe manere of sekenesse for his synne . ffor summe men schullen ben as it were in þe manere of dropesye for couertise of erþlich þings and summe as in were in the Palesie for sleuþe in goddes seruyse . ¶ Summe as it were in þe ffeuere for wraþþe . Summe as it were in þe jawnys for envie . Summe as it were in þe menysoun and þe flux for lecche rie . of whiche þat þai hadden repentaunce bot þai fulfilden nouȝth her penaunce perfitely here in her lyue . Summe as it were in meselrye for pryde . (129-45)</p>
<p>The sixt payne is that the soules bene there as in dissert, where defaute is of alle gode, and plenty of alle eville. (432)</p>	<p>Þe seuenþe pyne is þat þe soules ben þere as in deserte . Whare þat defaut is of alle þinges whare of þat þai wolden deliten hem (170-3)</p>

<p>Now whane thou hast welle examynede what peyne ys in purgatory for penaunce that ys nat done in thys lyfe, and for venyalle synnes that he was natt shryvene off neyther made [a]sythe for heme in noone other waye: be ware thane that thou delay nat from day to day to do penaunce, neyther be recheles in doying, ne sory to do hit, but do hit with grete mekenesse and gladnesse off herte, hauyng mynde what peyne thow were worthy to suffre for thy trespasse that thou dost custumablye ayenst thy makere, thyne ayenebeyere, and thy mercyffulle sparere, and þat therto foryeueth the thy peynes of purgatory for so lytelle penaunce doying with meke herte. (432-3)</p>	<p>Now understondeþ for whiche þinges þe soules ben so pyned þere . and fleize þat þou ne come nou3th þere . ffirst for enchesoun þat hy ne fulfilden nou3th her penaunces of grete synnes þat ben dedlich þeiz hy weren trewlich schryuen of þo synnes . Also hy ben pyned for venial synnes . and for necligence þat hy ne wolden nou3th of swiche synnes <i>purgen</i> hem in her lyue (181-90)</p>
<p>Also mannys body shalle be brytere thene the sonne whene hit shyneth brygthest (433)</p>	<p>þe first [ioye] is þat þe body þat is now so foule schal ben after his arisyng more cleer <i>and</i> more schynyng þan þe sunne is now whan it schyneþ al þer brizttest (378-82)</p>

<p>and shalle haue more swiftnesse then alle erthely creatures mow deuise, and her thoughtis, her wylles and her desyres shal be fulfyllde in the twynkelyng of ane eye. nouthere no thyng shalle withstande heme, for they shalle be so myghty that they shalle mowe passe al hylles and valeys, and so to be frome the one ende off the worlde to the othere in as breeff tyme as hit may be thoughte. (433)</p>	<p>þe secounde ioye is . þat þe body schal haue so mychel lizthnesse . þat in als mychel time as þou myzth twynclen wiþ þine eize . may man fleizen from erþe in to heuen <i>and</i> from þe on ende of þe werlde to þat oþer . or whider he wil als liztlych as it þenkeþ and also he may don þis wiþouten any maner trauaile (387-95)</p>
<p>For thowgh they were so febylle here, there they shullene be so lyghte, so lusty, so beauteouse, ande so fulfyllede with ioye, that nothyng shalle withstande theyme that ys contrary to theyre wylle (433)</p>	<p>þe þridde ioye schal ben þat man shal be so glorified þat he schal be so strong were he neuere so feble here þat he schulde remuen alle þe hylles of þis werlde at his wille 3if nede were þat noþing may wiþstonden hym 400-5</p>
<p>For they shulle haue ffulle knowyng of alle thyngis that euer were doone or shalle be doone (433)</p>	<p>þe soule schal wite al þe good þat haþ ben don in heuene and on erþe . al þat is agon . and al þat is to comen . (437-9)</p>
<p>Ande so they shalle be fulfyllede in theyre .v. wyttes with alle maner of ioye; for lyke as a vesselle that ys dyppyde in the water ys wete bothe with-inne & with-oute, aboue ande benethe ande on euery syde, and nomore lykore may resceyue for fulnesse, ryghte so shulle they that shalle be sauide be fulfyllede with ioye and blys with-outen ende. (433)</p>	<p>þe sexte ioye schal be delyt þat men owen to haue in alle her wyttes þat as yrne þat is ful hatt in þe fyre semeþ better fyre þan yrne : rizth so schullen þe men þat ben fulfilde of ioye <i>and</i> of delytt (425-30).</p>

<p>eueryche hatyng other as the deuylle most horryble, and euer cursyng the tyme that they were borne, and euer desyryng dethe. And so they be euer dying but neuer ffulle dede, but shul lyue euer in payne, woo and turment. They hatedene dethe whane they lyuedene in lustis ande lykyngis of this worlde and fulfyllede here flesshly appetytys . Ther ys ane olde prouerbe that, ne hope were, herte wolde breste; and ther shalle be neyther herte-breste ne hope off releuyng. (434)</p>	<p><i>and</i> hy shullen haue foule deuels to her felawes and eueryche schal haten oþere . <i>and</i> werewen . <i>and</i> eueryche sle hym seluen 3if he miȝth . also desiren hy after þe deþ þat þai so mychel hateden here bot þai ne schullen neuere mowe dyȝe . men seien <i>in</i> olde englische 3if hope ne were herte to brost . bot þere is hard þere may be non hope ne herte ne may nouȝth breke (353-61)</p>
<p>Also the soules that shalle be there must be dyrke ande dymme, hydously stynkyng and lothsome to see; for the bodyes off heme shulle be so febylle and so chargede with synne that they ne shalle [mow] remeve the lest worme frome no party off theyre body, but must suffre alle here malyce (434)</p>	<p>And þe synful shal be so feble þat he ne schal nouȝth remuen a worme from his eiȝe (405-7)</p>

**APPENDIX FOUR: A COMPARISON OF THE ‘VENIAL SINS’ PASSAGES IN CAESARIUS OF ARLES, LES
PEINES DE PURGATORIE, THE *PAINS OF SIN*, AND CHAUCER’S *PARSON’S TALE***

Caesarius (Morin 723-9)	<i>Peines de Purgatoire</i> (Relihan 192-5/209-37)	<i>Pains of Sin</i> (Pepys 2498 196-230)	<i>Parson’s Tale</i> (Benson 299)
Quotiens aliquis aut in cibo aut in potu plus accipit quam necesse est	Quant vous mangez ou bevez plus qe vous ne avez mester	whan þou etest or drynkest more þan þou haste nede of	at every tyme that a man eteth or drynketh moore than suffiseth to the sustenance of his body, in certein he dooth synne
Quotiens plus loquitur quam oportet, plus tacet quam expedit	quant vous parlez plus qe mester ne serrait; quant vous estes en silence et vous pussez bien fere e aider de vostre parole e ne volez;	Whan þou art in pes þere þou my3th wel don wiþ þi word	And eek whan he speketh moore than it nedeth, it is synne.

Quotiens pauperem inportune petentem exasperat	quant vous parlez asperment as povres por ceo qu'il demaudent egrement de bien por Deu;	whan þou spekest scharplich to þe poure for þai asken gredilich .	Eke whan he herkneth nat benignely the compleint of the povre
Quotiens cum sit corpore sanus aliis ieiuantibus prandere voluerit	quant vous estes sein de cors e vous volez manger quant autres jurent;	Whan þou art hol of body and wilt eten whan oþer fasten	eke whan he is in heele of body, and wol nat faste whan other folk faste, withouten cause resonable
Et somno deditus tardius ad ecclesiam surgit	quant par sompnolence e par pesauntime de dormir homme vet plus tart qu'il ne dust a l'eglise	whan þou for sleuþ in hevynesse to mychel slepest . whan men comen latter to chirche þan men schulden don	eke whan he slepeth moore than nedeth, or whan he comth by thilke enchesoun to late to chirche,

Quotiens excepto desiderio filiorum uxorem suam agnoverit	quant homme en matremoigne quert delit charnel ovesque sa epouse saunz desir d'engendre enfaunt al honor Deu;	Whan man haþ fleshlich likyng wiþ his wyf wiþouten will forto engendren a childe to goddes worshippe	eke whan he useth his wyf, withouten sovereyn desir of engendrure to the honour of god
Quotiens in carcere positos tardius requisierit, infirmos rarius visitaverit	quant homme tartivement visite les malades e ceaus ke sount enprisonnez en cors ou en la prisoun au deable	whan þou lizthlich visites þe seek and hem þat ben in prisoun in body or in þe deuels prisoun	eke whan he wol nat visite the sike and the prisoner, if he may
Si discordes ad concordiam revocare neglexerit	quant homme ne mette son leal poër a acorder ceaus que sount en descord	whan men don nouzth her power to acorden hem þat ben in dyscorde	

Si plus aut proximum aut uxorem aut filium aut servum exasperaverit quam oportet, si amplius fuerit blanditus quam expedit	quant homme parout asprement a son proeme quant il deut parler ducement;	whan men speken scharplich to her euencristen þere men schulden speke swetelich	
Si cuicumque maiori personae aut ex voluntate aut ex necessitate adulari voluerit	quant homme preise la gent par losengerie plus qu'il ne deut, tot die il verité	Whan men praysen þe folk for losengerie	Eke if he flatere or blandise moore than hym oghte for any necessitee
Si pauperibus esurientibus nimium deliciosa vel sumptuosa sibi convivia praeperavit			eke if he apparilleth his mete moore deliciously than nede is, or ete it to hastily by likerousnesse

<p>Si se aut in ecclesia aut extra ecclesiam fabulis otiosis, de quibus in die iudicii ratio redenda est occupaverit</p>	<p>quant homme despent son tens en jaungel ou en udives paroles ou en veyne pensez, ou en mouster ou dehors</p>	<p>Whan men spenden her tyme in jangelrie or in ydel wordes . whan men þenken in chirche or wiþoute in vanitees</p>	<p>Eke if he tale vanytees at chirche or at goddes service, or that he be a talker of ydel wordes of folye or of vileynye</p>
<p>Si cum incaute iuramus et cum hoc per aliquam necessitatem implere non potuerimus, utique periuramus et cum omni facilitate vel temeritate maledicimus</p>	<p>quant homme jure hastivement saunz propos e puis ne peut son serment tener . quant homme maudit legerement saunz coupe</p>	<p>Whan men sweren hastilich wiþouten forþou3th and þan ne mowen nou3th holden her oop . Whan men myssiggen hastilich wiþouten hate</p>	<p>eke whan he biheteth or assureth to do thynges that he may nat perfourne; eke whan that he by lightnesse or folie mysseyeth or scorneth his neighebor</p>

Et cum temere aliquid suspiciamur, quod tamen plerumque non ita ut credimus conprobatur, sine ulla dubitatione delinquimus	quant homme ad suspicion e quidaunce de mal la ou nul mal n'en est	Whan men han suspekete and wenyng of wick þe no wickednesse is	Eke whan he hath any wikked suspecioun of thyng ther he ne woot of it no soothfastnesse
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