

LEARN TO LIVE AND LEARN TO DIE:

HEINRICH SUSO'S *SCIRE MORI* IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of English
Faculty of Arts
University of Birmingham

1993

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are in an additional file**

Learn to Live and Learn to Die: Suso's *Scire Mori* in Fifteenth Century
England

Synopsis

This thesis is centred on the second chapter of the second book of Heinrich Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, the chapter entitled *De Scientia Utilissima Homini Mortali quae est Scire Mori*, in its three Middle English translations. Two of these are here edited for the first time: the first, here entitled *The Lichfield Translation*, from Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, and the second, *To Kunne Deie*, from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789 and Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496. Suso's life and works are briefly described together with the date of the entry of the *Horologium Sapientiae* into England and the production of the three Middle English translations drawing on this work, one of which is a re-working of the *Horologium* incorporating the *Scire Mori* chapter, the other two (those here edited) translations of this chapter alone. The circulation and ownership in England of the *Horologium Sapientiae* and of the three translations are also outlined. There follows a detailed examination of the *Scire Mori* chapter in its three Middle English forms, which endeavours to demonstrate how the text recommends meditation upon death as an efficacious method by which to promote repentance. This argument is further extended by a consideration of the manuscript context in which the three translations appear. The liturgical rites surrounding death as they appear in the Sarum Manuale are also examined in order to shed further light on the way in which the experience and spectacle of death were conceptualised in medieval spirituality. Finally, the conclusions reached in the course of these considerations are examined in the light of recent critical works on medieval attitudes towards death. Detailed descriptions of the eighteen manuscripts containing Middle English translations of Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* form one Appendix to the thesis; a second comprises brief descriptions of manuscripts written in England containing the work in Latin.

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral for permission to publish from Lichfield Cathedral Library Ms 16 and Dr Ben Benedikz for his assistance.

Thanks are also due:

To the Bodleian Library, the British Library, Cambridge University Library and the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth; to the following college libraries: Merton College, Oxford; Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; St John's College, Cambridge and Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, and finally to the Hunter Library, Glasgow University and Columbia University Library, New York, for the provision of microfilms.

To my supervisor Dr Valerie Edden for constant support and encouragement; to Dr Wendy Perkins and Dr Bernard Standing for their kind assistance; to the many friends whose stimulating company ultimately succeeded in helping rather than hindering the production of this thesis whatever may have been their intention, and especially to Adrian Peakman, Farat Ara and Hadyn Williams.

To my brothers Richard and Andrew whose hospitality enlivened many a visit to the Bodleian Library and especially to Richard, for his assistance with various Latin texts, and to my parents for their invaluable support.

And finally, thanks to Chris for the tape measure!

Abbreviations

Archiv: Archiv für das Studien der Neueren Sprachen.

BL: British Library.

CUL: Cambridge University Library.

EETS (OS and ES): Early English Text Society (Original Series and Extra Series).

f, ff: folio, folios.

IMEV: The Index of Middle English Verse C. Brown and R. H. Robbins (New York, 1943).

Supp: The Index of Middle English Verse: Supplement J. Cutler and R. H. Robbins, (Lexington, 1965).

LALME: Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English A. McIntosh, M. C. Samuels and M. Benskin, 4 Vols. (Aberdeen, 1986).

MED: Middle English Dictionary ed. H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, 1954 -).

MET: Middle English Texts.

MLN: Modern Language Notes.

MLR: Modern Language Review.

ms, mss: manuscript, manuscripts.

NF: Neue Folgen (*New Series*).

NS: new series.

OED: Oxford English Dictionary.

PL: Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina ed J. P Migne, 221 Vols (Paris, 1844-1864).

PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

r: recto.

SC: A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford 7 Vols (Oxford, 1895-1953).

STC: A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1465-1640 Revised W. A. Jackson. F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Panzer (London, 1986-1991).

STS: Scottish Texts Society.

v: verso.

vol: volume.

Wells and Hartung: A Manual of the Writing in Middle English 1050-1500 revised J. Burke Sievers and A^E Hartung, 8 Vols (New Haven, 1967-).

Sigla

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Porkington 19/ Brogyntyn Series II Ms 5	Po 19
Cambrai, Bibliotheque Publique 255	BP 255
Cambridge University Library Ff.v.45	CUL Ff.V.45
Cambridge University Library Hh.i.11	CUL Hh.i.11
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 390 (610)	G&C 390
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 268	CCC 268
Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496 (V.7.23)	GH 496
Lichfield, Lichfield Cathedral Library 16	Li 16
London, British Library Additional 37049	Add 37049
London, British Library Additional 37790	Add 37790
London, British Library Harley 1706	H1706
Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodleian 789	Bod 789
Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 114	D114
Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 322	D322
Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 111	Mu 111
Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 160	Mu 160
Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 398	Ta 398
New York, Columbia University Library, Plimpton 256	P1 256
Caxton edition	Ca.

Introduction

'Since death, when we come to consider it closely, is the true goal of our existence, I have formed during the last few years such close relations with this best and truest friend of mankind that his image is not only no longer terrifying to me but actually soothing and consoling. I thank God for allowing me to understand that the fact of death is the key, which unlocks the door to true happiness. I never lie down at night without reflecting that, young as I am, I may not live to see another day. Yet not one among my acquaintances could say that I am disgruntled or morose, and for this blessing I thank my Creator daily, and wish with all my heart that all my fellow-creatures could enjoy the same.'

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, 4th April 1787, in a letter to his father.

'No other epoch has laid so much stress as the expiring Middle Ages on the thought of death. An everlasting call of *memento mori* resounded through life... All that the meditations of the monks of yore had produced, was now condensed into a very primitive image. This vivid image, continually impressed upon all minds, had hardly assimilated more than a single element of the great complex of ideas relating to death, namely, the sense of the perishable nature of all things. It would seem, at times, as if the soul of the declining Middle Ages only succeeded in seeing death under this aspect.'

Johan Huizinga The Waning of the Middle Ages, p.134.

Huizinga's 'expiring Middle Ages' continually meditating upon the 'perishable nature of all things' and Mozart's description of death as 'the key, which unlocks the door to true happiness' are two images of death which to the 'modern reader' are both equally extreme, equally alien and unattainable. Yet Huizinga's generalisations about the late medieval attitude towards death arguably mask a situation far more diverse and stimulating than may be imagined from these words: a situation in which a wide selection of attitudes towards death were

embraced, and within whose boundaries reactions as extreme as these two both existed. Whilst the recovery of any of these attitudes is inescapably limited by the construction of death which contemporary culture imposes upon the critic or literary historian and by the complex and ambiguous nature of written testimony, I hope that, by examining a particular medieval text about death and considering the context in which it is found, some light may be shed upon one at least of the many medieval approaches towards death, and that perhaps, some of this light may be reflected back onto our own, equally elusive responses to 'the best and truest friend of mankind'.

The text concerned is a single chapter of Heinrich Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*, the *Scire Mori* chapter, or to be more precise, the three extant Middle English translations of this chapter. The *Horologium* was written in what is now Germany in 1336 and by the end of the fourteenth century had reached England. It was apparently never translated in full into Middle English, but a partial re-working of it, the *Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, is extant, in which the chapter in question occurs as the fifth chapter. This chapter circulated both as part of the *Treatise* and extracted from it. The two other translations of the chapter are independent of the *Treatise*. The first and probably the earliest of the three, here entitled as *To Kunne Deie*, is found in two manuscripts, Glasgow, Hunter Library 496 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789; the other, extant in a single Lichfield Cathedral manuscript, Lichfield 16, I have called the Lichfield translation. Both these two translations are here edited for the first time.

The chapter, like the rest of the *Horologium*, is in dialogue form, the principal interlocutors being Wisdom and the Disciple, although

these figures are lost in *To Kunne Deie*, and the Dying Man. The Disciple is confronted by a vision of a Young Man on the point of death, lamenting his state of spiritual unpreparedness. The emotional apprehension of his own mortality shocks the Disciple into a realisation of his own spiritual 'unreadiness', and his passionate resolution to repent and amend his own life wins the approval of Wisdom, who affirms the spiritual value of a continual awareness of the possibility of sudden death. Although often cited as a precursor of the *Ars Moriendi* texts proper, this work is not so much concerned with how to live the final moments of one's life, as with how to live one's life in the awareness that one's final moments pose the ultimate spiritual challenge: the challenge of the justification of one's life before God. The text encourages reflection upon the spiritual consequences of mortality, rather than the moment of death itself.

The examination of the contents of the manuscripts in which this text occurs aims to elucidate whether the later Middle Ages had indeed reduced the contemplation of death to 'a sense of the perishable nature of all things' or whether in fact meditation upon death contained nuances far beyond this, as this text would seem to suggest. The liturgy surrounding death provides a further context for the consideration of these translations, and together with the manuscript context and the consideration of the extent of the text's circulation, readership and influence upon other works, both Middle English and Latin, suggests that Huizinga's reconstruction of the Medieval attitude towards death is a far from accurate reflection of the variety and nature of the responses death actually invoked, and that in fact, Mozart's words written some 450 years after Suso's were closer in spirit to Suso than may be imagined.

CHAPTER ONE

Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* in England

Heinrich Suso was one of a group of fourteenth century Rhineland mystics of whom Meister Eckhart is best remembered today and which also included Johann Tauler. Although a contemporary *Life* of Suso exists,¹ at least partially written by himself, it is largely a spiritual history, an 'erbaulich erzählte Geschichte einer Seele',² so that the more factual details of Suso's life tend to be difficult to establish with any certainty and have occasioned much debate amongst Suso's various biographers and editors, the most prominent of whom are Denifle, Bihlmeyer, and Künzle.³

Suso was born on the 21st March. This he states in his *Life*, but the year of his birth is not given and this has consequently given rise to some debate, as summarised by Künzle.⁴ The possibilities range from 1295/6 - 1300-1305; both Bihlmeyer and Künzle favour the earlier date. There is no documentary evidence for his birthplace either, but most scholars agree that Constance is most likely, rather than Überlingen, whence his mother's family originated. He is known to have assumed his mother's name, probably after her death, out of reverence for her.⁵ Künzle indicates that there is reason to doubt the tradition that his father was a knight of the Von Berg family, suggesting that there is no real evidence for this assumption,⁶ an interesting point since so many critics have drawn attention to the chivalric and courtly nature of Suso's writing (he is frequently described as a 'minnesinger' of God)⁷ and attributed this to his family background.⁸

At the age of 13 he entered the Dominican order at Constance, two years younger than the usual age at which novices were accepted. He was therefore educated by the Dominicans, and was sent, around 1324

(according to Armstrong and Bihlmeyer),⁹ or 1326-7, according to Künzle and Clark,¹⁰ to Cologne to study there. It is generally assumed that he studied under Eckhart, although there is again no documentary proof to support this, save for his own testimony that Eckhart freed him from his feelings of guilt about the means by which his early entry into the order had been achieved - a gift of money which he interpreted as simony.¹¹ At any rate he was familiar with Eckhart's teachings and his first work, *Das Büchlein der Wahrheit*, was in part a defence of Eckhart against the charges of heresy that had been brought against him in 1326, but which dragged on until 1329, by which time Eckhart was dead. Like the later *Horologium*, it is in dialogue form, between a Young Man (Jünger) and Truth (Wahrheit).

It has been pointed out that Suso did not go to Paris to take his doctorate, but there is no evidence to explain why. It has been suggested that his defence of Eckhart led him to be suspected of heresy. Alternatively the reason may lie in Suso's avowed rejection of a life of learning in favour of the cloister.¹²

Suso's 'Life' bears witness to the fact that he indulged in severe bodily mortifications in his early spiritual life, until he was ordered in a vision to desist. In later life he advised those in his spiritual care to avoid such practices and himself favoured a very different way of approaching God: that of the mystic.

After his time in Cologne he returned to Constance and there held the post of lector. At some point he was elected prior, although it is unclear when: some scholars favour c1343-4; others 1334,¹³ against which date there are a number of difficulties. In 1339 owing to the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor, the Dominicans were exiled from Cologne. Most returned by 1349, but not Suso. It was during this

period of exile that he rediverted his spiritual energies once more and turned his attention to peripatetic preaching and pastoral care, as well as administering to the needs of the many Dominican convents in the area around Constance. His preaching trips may well have been wide-ranging, taking him even as far as the Netherlands, and it is therefore interesting that few of his sermons survive, and some of those that do are of doubtful authenticity. His preaching trips brought him persecution and hardship, even a partially successful attempt to blacken his name by asserting that he was the father of the illegitimate child of a woman he had attempted to advise. Although he was cleared of this charge, he did not return to Constance, but continued in his work elsewhere.

His association with the thriving convent at Töss, near Winterthur in Switzerland is well-known, especially since it gave rise to his friendship with the nun Elsbeth Stigel, at whose instigation and with whose help his *Life* was written. He is also known to have been involved in the group known as the 'Gottesfreunde' or 'Friends of God', which included Tauler and Heinrich von Nördlingen. This group had no formal rule or organisation, involved both laity and those in orders, and was notable for the dissemination of religious writings which it promoted. Suso's involvement in this group is therefore significant when it comes to the question of the dissemination of his works. He died at Ulm on 26th January 1366, and the site of his burial is not known.

His extant works are the previously mentioned *Büchlein der Wahrheit*, the *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit*, (the German forerunner of the *Horologium*), the *Horologium Sapientiae* itself, his *Life*, the *Briefbuch*, (a collection of letters written to Elsbeth Stigel and other

nuns under Suso's guidance, which is extant in a long and a short version, and is concerned with advising those in the religious life), and a few sermons. There are also a few works of debatable authenticity sometimes attributed to him but more likely to have been written by one of his followers.

The *Büchlein der Ewigen Wahrheit* is, as I have said, the German forerunner of the *Horologium Sapientiae* (*The Little Clock of Wisdom* in English, called by its Middle English translator the *Orloge of wisdame*).¹⁴ It is not known when the *Büchlein* was written, but it would have to have been sometime before 1334, when it is considered the *Horologium* was produced. The Latin is not a direct translation of the German, but a more assured re-working and an expansion of the earlier work. It was probably made in order for Suso to submit it to the head of his order, Hugo de Vaucemain, who being a Frenchman, was not likely to read the original, or so at least it is conjectured. It is a long and far from homogenous text, divided into two sections, and followed in many manuscripts by the *Cursus de Aeterna Sapientia*. The German version also contained a third section in which the meditations upon the passion were summarised and which included a number of prayers, but this is lost in the Latin.¹⁵ The first section is a series of meditations on the Passion of Christ, which, in keeping with the spirit of the time, pay what may seem to the modern reader to be excessive attention to the details of Christ's physical suffering, but which also examine the sorrows of Mary and the wider question of suffering in the world. The second section contains chapters on how to die (*De Scientia Utilissima Homini Mortali, quae est Scire Mori*),¹⁶ how to live the spiritual life, how to receive the Sacrament and how to praise God at all times and three further chapters. The *Horologium* is

in the form of a dialogue between Wisdom (Sapientia) and a disciple (Discipulus). The figure of Wisdom is a combination of the Old Testament Wisdom and Christ whilst the Disciple's role varies according to the subject under discussion. The work is a contribution to the contemporary debate about the question of the importance of learning in relation to an understanding of God and one's faith which occurred between those who embraced Scholasticism and those who preferred affective piety. Whereas Scholastics held that learning was essential to an understanding of God, their opponents held that the knowledge of God was love. Suso's rejection of learning in favour of the specifically contemplative life has already been mentioned. In fusing the figure of Wisdom with Christ and making this figure the object of the Disciple's lifelong search and adoration, Suso indicates that the pursuit of God who is love leads to wisdom.

Suso's works were clearly popular in his own lifetime; he himself attempted to produce an authoritative version of them, so concerned was he at the number of textual alterations which were appearing.¹⁷ The *Horologium* itself was immensely popular all over Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As early as 1350, the text work was known in the Netherlands, and there is a French translation (British Library, Ms Harley 4386) dated 1389.¹⁸ Over 200 manuscripts of the Latin version survive in Germany, Switzerland, France, England, Italy, the Vatican City, Poland, Austria, Spain, Belgium, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Holland, what was Yugoslavia and Sweden and there are records of lost manuscripts in Russia and the United States, as well as the afore-mentioned countries.¹⁹ There are translations extant for France, Netherlands, Italy, England, Bohemia (ie what was Czechoslovakia), Sweden, Denmark and Hungary.²⁰ It may be pointed out, however, that

there was a strong tendency to cut down and anthologise the Latin text.

As Armstrong put it:

'Europe apparently received Suso's work as it received many a large eclectic piece of literature, whether secular or religious, by eagerly setting out to reduce it to a more manageable size.'²¹

In addition to this, many vernacular translations were abbreviations and re-workings of a long and complex text, rather than faithful translations of the original.

There is a substantial number of manuscripts (at least 32) extant in England which contain either the *Horologium Sapientiae* in its entirety, chapters extracted from it, or the *Cursus de aeterna Sapientia* (which usually circulates with the *Horologium*, although it is not actually a part of the dialogue). Eight of these are not of English origin, and of these at least six originated in Germany or the Low Countries. There is also one English manuscript held at the Vatican, at least one in America, and a number of lost manuscripts from Syon. In addition, the Latin text *Speculum Spiritualium* which incorporates material from the *Horologium*, is extant in many manuscripts,²² and there are other similar Latin works.

The Middle English translation of the *Horologium*, *þe Seuene Poyntes of Trewe Loue & Euerlastyngre Wisdame*,²³ was made by a chaplain for a woman under his guidance, partly for her benefit and partly for his own spiritual comfort, as he indicates in his preface. It is not a straight-forward translation but rather a re-working of the Latin original into something he feels is more appropriate to his audience:

'Butte for als miche as in þe forsayde boke þere beþ manye maters and long processe towchyngre him þat wrote hit and oþere religiose persones of his degre, þe whiche, as hit semeþ to me, were lytel edificacione to wryte to ȝowe, my dere ladye, & to oþer deuowte persones þat desyrene þis drawyngre owt in englische: þerefore I leve seche materes &

take onelye þat me þinkeþ edifiyng to ʒowe; and
also I folownot þe processe of þat boke in ordere,
but I take þe materes in-sindrye, as þei acordene
to mye purpos.²⁴

The full translation is extant in six manuscripts: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales: Porkington MS 19/Brogyntyn Series II MS 5; Cambrai: Bibliothèque Publique 255; Cambridge: Gonville and Caius College MS 390 (610); Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Douce 114; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 398 and New York, Columbia University Library, MS Plimpton 256. There are two manuscripts of the *Treatise* without the translator's preface: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 111 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 268. The fifth chapter of *The Treatise*, unlike the other chapters which draw together material from disparate parts of the *Horologium*, is a fairly close translation of the *Scire Mori* chapter from the *Horologium Sapientiae*. As such, it was also removed from its context and circulated separately. It is extant in this form in three manuscripts: Cambridge University Library Ff.V.45; British Library, Harley 1706 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 322. With part of the fourth chapter of *The Treatise* it is extant in British Library Additional 37049. British Library Additional 37790 contains the same extract from the fourth chapter, and Cambridge University Library Hh.I.11 contains an extract from the sixth chapter on the Sacrament of the Eucharist. There is also a Caxton edition of the *Treatise*, printed around 1490. These manuscripts will henceforth be referred to primarily by the sigla listed at the beginning of this thesis (p.6).

There are two other translations extant of the *Scire Mori* chapter: one, found in two manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodleian 789 and Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 496)²⁵ is known as *To Kunne Deie*, the other, apparently unique, is that which exists in Lichfield

Cathedral Library, MS Lichfield 16.²⁶ All these manuscripts, with the exception only of GH 496, which is late fourteenth century, have been dated to the fifteenth century. There is also an early sixteenth century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 160 which contains the One Hundred Meditations, a translation of the meditations which occur at the end of the *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit*. All these manuscripts are fully described in Appendix I.

The existence of this selection of manuscript material, supplemented by evidence from other sources, allows a number of questions about the *Horologium* and the *Treatise* to be addressed: the date of the entry of the *Horologium* into England, the date of the production of the *Treatise*, the extent of the circulation of both these texts, together with the extracts from them and other related material, the kinds of ownership that may be determined for them, and finally possible relationships between the manuscripts of the Middle English works, will all be considered in the remainder of this chapter.

Roger Lovatt suggests, in 'Henry Suso and the Medieval Mystical Tradition in England',²⁷ that the Latin text must have been known in England by the last quarter of the fourteenth century.²⁸ Although he examines a wide selection of evidence in an attempt to be more specific about this date, including evidence relating to the date of the *Treatise*, it proves impossible to be any more accurate. The first section of his argument, the section which also considers the date of the *Treatise*, is constructed around the evidence afforded by a will made on 13th April 1393, in which a Bristol merchant, Henry Wyvelescombe, left a copy of 'Orologium Sapiencie' to 'Sir Henry Inet, chaplain.'²⁹ He argues that it is unlikely that a layman would have possessed a Latin text of such complexity at this time. In addition:

'More specifically, there is apparently no other unequivocal instance of an English layman owning a copy of the Latin 'Horologium', although 'The Treatise' circulated quite widely among the laity. Certainly such a disparity between the readership of the Latin and English versions of the same work is a noticeable feature of the circulation of many similar devotional texts.'³⁰

Furthermore, Lovatt argues that the translator suggests in his preface that he took a long time to translate the *Horologium*, and that since the structure of *The Treatise* suggests a profound knowledge and understanding of the *Horologium*, it must have been known to the translator for a considerable length of time before he made his translation. This enables him to assert that the Latin text must have entered England at least a decade before this will was made.

There^{are} a number of assumptions in this particular argument which require examination. It is by no means clear that the text left by Henry Wyvelescombe was the English work, although it is certainly true that it is unusual to see ordinary laymen possessing Latin works such as this in the fourteenth century. The fact that there is no other recorded instance of a layman possessing a copy of the Latin text of this work is no argument for this not being such an instance. It is perhaps slightly more to the point that English and Latin texts of mystical works tend to show a particular kind of distribution, but it is perhaps dangerous to take this to be an invariable rule.

When one examines the translator's preface, Lovatt's reading of how long the translator must have taken in completing his piece may also be contested. Lovatt says:

'In his preface to *The Treatise*, the anonymous translator remarked that he had been familiar with the Latin original for 'sumtyme' before starting work on the translation. At one stage he apparently abandoned the undertaking altogether and even after resuming the enterprise he worked on it sporadically, only 'whanne I have leysere and

tyme' and 'in certayne tymes, whanne myne affeccione falleþ there-to'. Comments of this sort clearly imply that the translation was a lengthy process, and the nature of *The Treatise* itself points to the same conclusion.¹³¹

What the translator actually says is:

'Butte ȝit at þe bigynnyng of þis werke, towchyng me-selfe, soþelye I knowleche myne variaunce in will þere-to: ffor sumtyme for love and likyng þat I have hadde in þe forseide boke Orologium sapiencie, and also for gostlye comfort of ȝowe specialye & oþer deuowte persones þat desyrene hit, I haue be stired to þe translacione þere-of in to englische in manere before-seyde; but þerwiþ consideryng þe multitude of bokes & tretees drawne in englische, þat nowe bene generale cominede, mye wille haþ bene wiþdrawne, dredyng þat werke somewhat as in waste. Neuerlese, for als miche as þe kynde of manne in þis lyfe haþ likyng in chaunge and diuerse þinges, boþe bodilye & gostlye, and summe folke delytene in one & summe in anoþer; and felyng me-selfe not lettete þere-bye fro oþere gostlye exercyses, but rapere confortede: whanne I haue leysere and tyme, I haue take vpon me þat symple werke in certeyne tymes, whanne myne affeccione falleþ þere-to, after þat owre lorde Jhesus wole send me his grace in þis place of grace.'¹³²

This would seem to indicate that the translator felt a certain unwillingness to begin his task, and that once undertaken it was not his sole occupation, but there is no definite indication of the amount of time taken in the preparation of the translation, and given the subjective nature of a term such as 'sumtyme', it would seem dangerous to attempt to hypothesize from such a passage as this. It is certainly more pertinent that *The Treatise* is a finely constructed reworking of the *Horologium* which would have required time, thought and a considerable knowledge of the Latin piece to synthesise, but again, any judgement of how much time such an enterprise would require is inescapably subjective and liable to inaccuracy.

Lovatt does not discuss the title 'Orologium Sapiencie' which is

used in the will, merely remarking that the Middle English work was 'commonly - although not invariably - known as *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*'.³³ The Latin title found in Wyvelescombe's will is certainly commonly used in the rubrication found in manuscripts of the English work, as in:

'These be þe chapters of this tretys of þe seuene poyntes of trewe loue & euerlastynge wisdame, drawn oute of þe boke þat is writen in latyne and callyd Orologium Sapiencie.'³⁴

It is used in the manuscripts containing the *Fifth Chapter* of the *Treatise*, rather than the Middle English title. The Latin manuscripts also all use this or a similar form (some refer to the *Horologium diuine Sapientiae* (British Library Add MS 20029), the *Horologium eterne Sapientiae* (British Library Royal 5.C.iii and Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS 405) or the *Horologium aureum Sapientiae* (Bodleian Library Canon Misc. 533), so this particular form of the title merely adds to the uncertainty about which text was here being referred to.

It would thus seem that it is impossible to reach any conclusion from this particular piece of evidence about the date the Latin text must have reached England, or indeed of the date of the production of the *Treatise*. However to this Lovatt adduces various other pieces of evidence which seem to support his hypothesis that because of this particular will the Latin text must have reached England by 1380 at least:

'In the first place, the two earliest English manuscripts of the *Horologium* can both be attributed, on paleographical grounds at least, to the second half of the fourteenth century.¹ Further~~more~~, as both manuscripts were written in England, they are both at least one stage removed from any imported, continental exemplar. Secondly, it is quite possible to show that texts of the *Horologium* were already quite widely diffused in England by about 1400. A pluralist clerk in the service of Archbishop Arundel could refer to the

book in his will of 1405 in terms which clearly suggest that he had been familiar with the work for some years.¹¹ Quotations from the *Horologium* appear in *The Chastising of God's Children*, which has been persuasively dated by its editors as 'nearer in time to 1382 than 1408' and which was compiled by an anonymous spiritual advisor to a house of nuns in the south-east midlands or London area.¹² The Carthusian writer, Nicholas Love, almost certainly already a member of the Mountgrace Charterhouse in north Yorkshire, was familiar with at least part of the *Horologium* by 1410.¹³ And, if the words of his preface are to be taken at face value, the English translator of the *Horologium* - probably writing in the east midlands - was the chaplain to a noble lady. However, if the work was available in such different milieux by about 1400, then the case is strengthened for believing that it must originally have reached England by 1375-80.¹⁴

i) St. John's College, Cambridge, MS 84 and Vatican Bibl. Apostol., MS Ottob. lat. 73.

ii) *Testamenta Eboracensia*, III, pp.28-31. Also, M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel*, Oxford, 1967, pp.313-8

iii) *The Chastising of God's Children*, ed. J. Bazire and E. Colledge, Oxford, 1957, pp. 11, 37, 41-9.

iv) For details of this argument see E. Zeeman, 'Two Middle English Versions of a Prayer to the Sacrament', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, 194, (1957), 113-21, esp. 118.

The various elements of this argument, some of which are discussed in more detail in Chapter II,¹⁵ together lend some support ^{to} Lovatt's hypothesis that the *Horologium* was known in England by 1375. It is possible, given this evidence, that the Latin text was actually known earlier than 1375, or that it may only have become known towards the end of this period but nonetheless achieved the kind of circulation which Lovatt postulates. After all, the author of *The Chastising*, Nicholas Love and the 'pluralist clerk' could all have become familiar with the *Horologium* after 1400, and, as I have already indicated, Lovatt's dating of *The Treatise* from Wyvelescombe's will is somewhat problematic.

An examination of the manuscripts of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, a

Latin tract that draws on the *Horologium*,³⁷ is equally inconclusive, although the existence of a fourteenth century ms, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Dd.IV.54,³⁸ containing the *Speculum* certainly bears out the hypothesis that, assuming this compendium was of English origin, the *Horologium* must have been known in England before the end of the fourteenth century. Likewise, there is one fourteenth century manuscript containing a Middle English translation from the *Horologium*: Glasgow University Library Hunter 496.³⁹ Therefore whilst it is possible to argue reasonably convincingly that the *Horologium* was known in England certainly at least a decade before the end of the fourteenth century, and quite possibly earlier still, there is no evidence that enables any more definite a conclusion to be reached, and in absence of any further evidence, such speculations are probably best deferred.

None of the other extant evidence allows a more precise dating: no manuscripts of the *Treatise* date to the fourteenth century, and the earliest text which can be shown to rely on the *Treatise* in any way, Love's *Tretys of the higeste and most worthy sacrament of cristes blessed body*, merely allows for a final date of 1410 to be set.⁴⁰ It is clear therefore that it is not possible to date the *Treatise* any more precisely than it is possible to date the entry of the *Horologium* into England: it must pre-date Love's work, which in turn must have been produced by 1410; it may be pre-1393. The safest conclusion to draw is that it was probably produced around 1400, possibly within the final two decades of the fourteenth century.

The probable arrival of the *Horologium* in England during the last quarter of the fourteenth century may have been assisted by a number of factors, which in turn could have affected its circulation within England. Its spread throughout Europe and into England may have been

assisted by its Dominican background or by the 'Gottesfreunde' (as Elizabeth Armstrong suggests)⁴¹ although Lovatt also points out that there are strong links between manuscripts of the *Horologium* and the Carthusians in England,⁴² and there is also of course considerable evidence of the involvement of the Carthusians in the transmission of mystical texts from the Continent to England - they have been connected, for instance, with works by the mystic Ruysbroeck and with the *Mirror of Simple Souls*, by Margaret Porete.⁴³ It is possible to gain some idea of the ownership and circulation of the *Horologium* and its Middle English translations within England by examining a variety of extant material. Firstly, and most obviously, in a number of cases the manuscripts themselves contain information indicating their original ownership, usually in the form of an inscription of some kind. Further evidence of ownership is provided by contemporary wills and inventories, or other such documents, and by monastic library records. It is also possible to hypothesise about the ownership of manuscripts by an examination of their contents, which may allow a particular kind of audience to be envisaged, and in combination with other evidence, such as that provided by dialect, or the presence of particular texts or details within texts and so on, this may lead to quite specific locations being posited for a few manuscripts. I shall only apply the latter kind of approach to the manuscripts containing the various Middle English translations, which are of central interest to this thesis. Both these approaches pose a number of problems which will also be considered.

Information about the ownership of these manuscripts is scanty: of the 23 extant and 3 lost manuscripts of the *Horologium* which were produced in England, 13 (that is, half) are of unknown origin and the

proportion is the same for manuscripts of the *Speculum*, whilst of the 18 manuscripts containing the various English translations, the ownership of only 5 can be definitely established, whilst 3 others have been tentatively assigned to various locations.⁴⁴ Other sources of information such as contemporary monastic library records, wills and inventories are equally problematic. Such evidence as this tends to be piecemeal and inaccessible and to pose a number of problems with interpretation. Extant contemporary monastic library records are both rare and where they do exist, sometimes misleading in the information they seem to convey. They are not, for instance, often interested in detailing manuscripts in either vernacular (ie English or French). Where Latin manuscripts are listed, it is necessary to remember that a manuscript may be cited as containing only one text where in fact a number of works may be found. Similar reservations may be made about the contents of wills. Although Deansley argues that books were sufficiently valuable to be cited in wills as bequests,⁴⁵ Cavanaugh shows that this is very often not the case.⁴⁶ She demonstrates that where wills and inventories may be compared for a particular book-owning individual, inventories are almost always much more comprehensive. They detail ownership not only of expensive devotional books such as primers, which tend to be mentioned in wills as bequests both because of their religious character and because of their monetary value, but also of vernacular books of much less value which are far more rarely mentioned in wills. In addition, citations of books in wills are often vague, referring only to 'all my books', and where they are more specific, they may again be misleading since mss usually contain more than the one text by which they are listed. Thus considering wills alone may produce quite a distorted picture of book ownership

during the later middle ages: Susan Cavanaugh's thesis, which examines many kinds of evidence rather than only wills, amply demonstrates, for instance, that women were an important audience for vernacular literature, and that literacy was far more widespread than is generally assumed. It is also useful to remember that even where individuals were illiterate, this did not mean they were unfamiliar with written works: Margery Kempe had devotional works read to her⁴⁷ and no doubt women with perhaps less extreme but no doubt equally sincere spiritual tendencies also endeavoured to be familiar with religious teachings. In addition to these reservations, perhaps the major problems associated with the evidence provided by wills, inventories and the like are the vast amount of material extant and its relative inaccessibility. Statements such as no lay person is known to have possessed a copy of the *Horologium* (which Lovatt makes, albeit in a highly qualified manner),⁴⁸ must be seen in the light of the fact that half the extant manuscripts of the *Horologium* are of unknown ownership for the period under discussion. It is perhaps more useful to make positive statements based on the evidence at hand, such as, for instance, that there is strong evidence of a Carthusian interest in the piece, rather than assuming that a particular section of society was not interested in this piece because no evidence survives relating to them.

There is an interesting survey of the ownership and circulation of the *Horologium* and the *Treatise* in Lovatt's article on Suso.⁴⁹ By examining contemporary wills and library records, as well as extant manuscripts, he demonstrates conclusively that the *Horologium* in its various forms had what he considers to be a perhaps surprisingly wide circulation. He suggests that it is not surprising to find it associated with the 'spiritual and intellectual élite'⁵⁰ of the

Carthusians,⁵¹ who may have been responsible for its introduction into England, the Bridgites of Syon,⁵² and 'academics' at Eton,⁵³ Oxford and Cambridge,⁵⁴ and it is worth remembering its condemnation of excessive scholarship here. However he considers that it is unexpected that it should have attained a circulation sufficiently widespread to embrace 'various members of the York clergy',⁵⁵ 'the distant collegiate church of Bishop Auckland in County Durham',⁵⁶ the English Austins of Leicester, Elsing Spital and Kirkham Priory,⁵⁷ one of the 'religious houses dissolved by Cardinal Wolsey in the 1520s'⁵⁸ and 'a highly heterogeneous readership in England ranging from an aristocratic French prisoner of war captured at Agincourt and a fashionable London preacher to a Dominican recluse and a poor hermit'.⁵⁹ There is also evidence of Benedictine interest in the *Horologium* in Ms Laud Misc 497, which belonged to Glastonbury, but Lovatt does not mention this. Much of the evidence for his argument is derived from contemporary records of manuscript ownership and if more were known of the ownership of the extant manuscripts of the *Horologium* an even more interesting picture might be drawn.

Evidence for the circulation of the English translations of the *Horologium* is unfortunately scarce; indeed nothing definite is known of the early ownership of the three manuscripts containing translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter independent of the *Treatise*. However, there is further extensive evidence of Carthusian interest in the *Treatise*,⁶⁰ but more interestingly, as Lovatt points out, there is evidence of female and lay male ownership of the work.⁶¹ Manuscripts of the *Treatise* or extracts of it were owned by Elizabeth Vere, Countess of Oxford, Petronilla Wrattisley, a nun at the Dominican foundation of Dartford, in Kent,⁶² Alicia Lego, probably a nun of Ankerwyke, Bucks,⁶³ the

Augustinian nuns of Campsey Priory,⁶⁴ and the nuns of another East Anglian nunnery.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Cicely, the wife of John lord Welles and daughter of Edward IV also owned a copy of the *Treatise*.⁶⁶ Evidence of lay male ownership may only be derived from secondary material such as wills. Lovatt cites '...a Bristol merchant, a Nottinghamshire knight and a royal judge.'⁶⁷ These are Henry Wyvelescombe, whose will is discussed earlier⁶⁸ and Thomas Chaworth of Wiverton (the Nottinghamshire knight) whose will is dated to 1458, and who left 'an Englissh booke called Orilogium Sapienciae' to Richard Byngham (the royal judge).⁶⁹

Lovatt also indicates the importance of considering those works which draw upon the *Horologium* or *Treatise* as evidence of their circulation and popularity.⁷⁰ He concludes that the extraordinary variety of works which draw on Suso in some way, ranging from the *Promptorium Parvulorum* to the *Speculum Spiritualium* and other spiritual commonplace books,⁷¹ suggest that Suso's work in its various forms 'came to be accepted in England as a standard text'.⁷² He notes too that the Caxton edition of the *Treatise* (generally dated to c1491) further widened the readership of the *Treatise*, as well as adducing to its popularity. There is much here to suggest, in fact, that Suso's ideas were both a formative part and a reflection of mainstream theological thought and devotional practice.

It may be argued that the evidence accumulated here is not so much surprising in the picture it draws of the extent of the circulation of the *Horologium* and the *Treatise* as revealing in the way in which it demonstrates how little is known about manuscript circulation: it is possible that such a circulation and range of readership as this was not at all unusual for religious pieces at this period, but that the

evidence either no longer exists or has not been collated to demonstrate such a state of affairs.

Given the comparative lack of evidence for ownership of the *Treatise* in its various forms, the pattern which may be traced for it is nonetheless very interesting. The translation was of course originally made for a female readership, although it is unclear whether this was lay or professed, and here it may be seen that it did indeed achieve circulation in such circles. Bearing in mind the reservations I suggested earlier, one may distinguish between the audience of the *Horologium*, which seems to have consisted of male religious, and the audience of the *Treatise*, which demonstrably extended to both male and female lay people and female religious.

The other kind of evidence of ownership I intend to consider is that provided by the other texts contained in the manuscripts of the Middle English translations of the *Horologium*. The interpretation of such evidence requires considerable care. The process depends upon the assumption that particular texts were combined together with thought for their subject matter and with a specific audience in view. It is in fact most likely that manuscripts were not often produced unsolicited. They might be requested by some rich patron, or put together for the use of a religious house, and in either of these cases, the contents of a manuscript were of obvious interest and importance to the future owner. Someone in the process of constructing the manuscript then, be it patron, compiler or scribe, decided if not the precise texts then at least the kinds of texts to be included in the manuscript.⁷³ The fact that it is often possible to perceive order and unity in the way in which manuscripts are organised, sometimes perhaps in a part of the manuscript rather than the whole, would seem to bear this out, although

there is a danger in attempting to perceive such order in all manuscripts. Given this situation, it ought to be possible to draw some conclusions about the possible original ownership of a manuscript on the basis of the kind of concerns the texts within it display. Such conclusions are however often necessarily vague, particularly where texts are of a fairly general order, and it is only rarely that any very specific conclusion can be drawn.

Of the extant manuscripts containing Middle English translations of the *Horologium*, the ownership of five is known through inscriptions contained within them. Of these manuscripts D114, CCC268, and G and C 390, which belonged respectively to the Carthusians at Beauvale, Alicia Lego, apparently a Benedictine nun, and the Augustinian nuns of Campsey Priory, all contain texts of the *Treatise*, some with and some without the preface but otherwise complete. The remaining two manuscripts, D322 and H1706, which belonged respectively to Petronilla Wrattisley, a nun at Dartford on Kent, and Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, both contain the *Fifth Chapter* of the *Treatise*, the *Scire Mori* chapter. CUL Hh.I.11 belonged to an East Anglian nunnery, possibly Carrow, Campsey or Bruisyard. This leaves twelve manuscripts of which the ownership is not known, and which may therefore benefit from the kind of analysis I have described above, together with the Caxton edition of the *Treatise*, which also poses interesting questions with regards to its circulation.

Before discussing the context in which the *Treatise* was read in the manuscripts which contain the full text, it would seem helpful to establish what kind of work the *Treatise* itself is, and thus to consider the kind of audience to whom it might appeal. It is useful here to consider briefly those manuscripts for whom the audience is known, in order not only to demonstrate how the texts they contain do

indeed seem to relate to their readers, but also to illustrate some of the uncertainties of this process. I shall then discuss the one remaining manuscript containing the *Treatise*, Pl 256, together with the Caxton edition, followed by the various translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter, occurring in CUL Ff.V.45 and Add 37049, (the Fifth Chapter), GH 496 and Bod 789 (*To Kunne Deie*) and Li 16, and the extract from the *Formula Compendiosa* chapter, found in Add 37049 and Add 37790. A few manuscripts can be disregarded in this discussion. Po 19, BP 255, Mu 111 and Ta 398 all contain the full text of the *Treatise* and no other works. Nothing is known about the ownership of any of these manuscripts, except that Po 19 and BP 255 were copied from a manuscript or manuscripts which at some remove had associations with Mount Grace. It could perhaps be argued that the existence of these manuscripts demonstrates that the *Treatise* was seen as a sufficiently important work for it to be copied on its own rather than being used to fill up a manuscript.

The *Treatise* was originally written, according to its translator, for a female audience, retaining the form of a dialogue between the Disciple and Everlasting Wisdom that Suso originally gave to his *Horologium*. The translator, however, substantially rearranged his material, and the *Treatise* considers the spiritual journey undertaken by the Disciple as he becomes aware of his need for a knowledge of and a devotion to God greater than any desire for worldly learning and possessions. This prompts him to desire a special commitment to the pursuit of the love of God. Although the passage in chapter 1 where the Disciple makes this commitment is not actually described as taking religious vows, the image of the Disciple asking to wed Everlasting Wisdom (Jesus) is reminiscent of the similar much-used image of a nun

(or anchorite) 'marrying' Christ; indeed the ceremony in which a female novice became professed drew on the marriage service. There is therefore sufficient ambivalence in this passage to render it applicable to both professed religious and devout layfolk with their differing commitments to the service of God, and this image of wedding God is later (in chapter 7) specifically described as being a personal, internal act of devotion open to all. The *Treatise* considers various typical elements of spiritual development such as the problem of spiritual 'dryness' (the periodical apparent absence of God in one's spiritual life) and the problem of pain ('tribulation'). Everlasting Wisdom puts before the Disciple the ideal of total concentration on God at all times and, once the Disciple is convinced of the rightness of this ideal, confronts him with the image of the dying man. Becoming aware through this experience of the inevitability of his own death and the need to prepare himself for this eventuality, the Disciple is still more convinced of the need to reform his life totally. The centrality of the Sacraments in the life of a devout believer is affirmed, especially the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in which the Disciple sees himself as finally united to the body of his beloved to whom he has been previously 'wedded'. The final chapter focuses on the Disciple's desire to know how to praise God at all times and in and through all things, and ends with a series of practices which Wisdom recommends to all those, male or female, lay or professed, who undertake this special devotion to him/her. The Fifth chapter, the death chapter, can be seen as the pivot about which the whole work moves. It takes the Disciple away from abstract theorising and confronts him with the knowledge that death - and judgement - are inevitable and that living life well is essential to one's ultimate salvation. From this point, now that

Eternal Wisdom has presented to him both the ideal of and the motivation for living well, the Disciple's inquiries are more practically motivated: he is not now so much concerned with theoretical spiritual questions, but with the practical details of how to live his life well and he thus concentrates on the Sacraments and on praising God through prayer at all times. This further explains Wisdom's long list of instructions for the behaviour and devotions of his/her followers which concludes the book. In general, the work concentrates strongly on the private development of one's spirituality - it is not a book about communal living or even a guide to mystical experience - and it stresses that its message is open to both the lay and the professed, although Wisdom's call for celibacy in his/her followers in the final chapter may seem a little prohibitive for some. Its concern is both with the intellectual problems and doubts of those who have made or who wish to make a special commitment to God in their lives and with providing a suitable structure to their daily lives. The text maintains a comparatively moderate tone throughout, despite its emphasis on the theme of the love of Eternal Wisdom/Jesus, which elsewhere provoked the lyric outpourings of such writers as Rolle and his various imitators. Although it is specifically concerned with those who pledge themselves to follow Jesus in his role of Everlasting Wisdom, it is sufficiently general in its advice to be seen as a guide to anyone concerned about their spiritual life.

Such a work would be expected to attract the attention of both the laity and the professed, male or female. It is not therefore surprising to find it owned by female religious and accompanied by other texts of spiritual guidance or encouragement. G&C 390, owned by Alice Lego, contains the translation of the Life and Martyrdom of St Katherine of

Alexandria from the Gilte Legend, and CCC 268, owned by the Augustinian nuns of Campsey Priory, has Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* and a *Treatise on faith*. Such texts as these create a context of devotion to and meditation upon the spiritual life; presumably these two manuscripts were simply useful devotional material for nuns. Comparable to these is D114 which was owned by Beauvale and which contains a series of female Saints Lives: St Elizabeth of Spalbeck, St Christina Mirabilis, St Mary Oignies and St Katherine of Siena. This selection of female saints, the first three of whom were unenclosed women of exceptional personal piety given to extremes of physical asceticism, great devotion to Christ's passion and frequent mystical experiences, provide examples of the religious life in considerable contrast to the more sober and restrained tones of the *Treatise*, the presence of which may be intended to have precisely such a normalising effect. However, the *Treatise* is undoubtedly in favour of personal piety and devotion to 'Wisdom' rather than excessive learning - and these women certainly represent this. Saints' lives such as these, providing images of an intensity of devotion so much greater than that experienced by the ordinary Christian, were not by their own declaration intended to provoke imitation but to inspire and encourage those less blessed with the spirit of fervour. Their accounts of the tribulations suffered by their protagonists were also intended to be salutary, providing a pattern of patience and endurance, all the more emphatic because of the excess which figured just as largely here as in the details of their holiness. After such inspiration as these Lives might be expected to provoke, the *Treatise* provides a more down-to-earth indication of the nature of the spiritual life. It may be noted here that despite the fact this manuscript contains a selection of female saints' lives which might be

expected to appeal to lay women or perhaps anchorites, it was owned by a male Carthusian house; a salutary reminder of the danger of assuming too much from this kind of evidence.

Other texts of the *Treatise* occur in Pl 256 and in Caxton's edition of c1491. Pl 256 consists of two manuscripts bound together, the first containing the *Court of Sapience*, whilst the second has translations of the *De Duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulationis* and Bonaventure's *Lignum Vitae*, and the *Tretise of Love* (all imperfect), as well as the *Treatise*. The two sections of the Plimpton manuscript were combined at some point after they were written, possibly by 1576, and it seems reasonable not to discuss the first text, the *Court of Sapience*, as its presence in the final manuscript could well have been rather fortuitous and was certainly not intended by the scribe of the *Treatise*.⁷⁵ The translation of the *Lignum Vitae* and the *Tretise of Love* are both imperfect and were considered to be one text; this error was corrected by Mother Marie du Bel Amour. The two texts do indeed have similarities, both being affective meditations concerned in differing ways with Christ's Life. After opening with an elaborate allegory of the 'lignum vitae', here difficult to understand since the initial page(s) are lacking, the *Lignum Vitae* proceeds with a meditation upon Christ's Life, strongly scripturally based and focussing almost entirely upon the beginning and ending of Christ's Life on earth. Christ's humility and suffering, His humanity, are offered continually as models to the reader/listener. The *Tretise of Love*, on the other hand, is far more loosely structured, and its focus is Love, as made manifest in Christ's Life and to which He, as well as humanity, is subject. Incidents from His life, and the Life of Mary are used to illustrate this concept. Combined with these two texts, the purpose of which

seems to have been to provide useful material for devout meditation, is a translation of *De Duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulationis*, a text which also occurs in various different translations in manuscripts containing the Middle English versions of the *Scire Mori* chapter as well as in the Caxton edition of the *Treatise*. It concentrates not so much on the kinds of tribulation to be endured by the devout Christian but on the internal spiritual struggle tribulation creates, encouraging the sufferer by stressing the gains brought by patient obedience to the Will of God. This work, with its strict emphasis on submission even in the face of the worst troubles and its teaching that all suffering is the Will of God, is somewhat more extreme in its asceticism than the *Treatise*, emphasising as it does standard Christian teaching about the value of obedience *per se* and the possibility of turning all ill to good with the aid of God. The rather more encouraging *Treatise* provides a useful corrective to this kind of view. This combination of texts suggests a readership deeply concerned with its spiritual state, for whom the *Treatise* would have provided general instruction and encouragement, together with the basic framework for a life devoted to God, the *Uses of Tribulation* further, more specialised instruction and the two meditative pieces material for prayer and reflection. Such a reader or readers may have been lay or professed, male or female: there is nothing sufficiently specific in the manuscript to enable any more precise a conclusion to be drawn. Doyle suggests that this manuscript came from London (presumably on the basis of language), probably from the same neighbourhood as Douce 322 (Bartholomew's Close or nearby) and that it was compiled at the end of the fifteenth century. He postulates that the manuscript was originally owned by professed religious, later passing into the hands of the laity.⁷⁶

Caxton includes in his book the same collection of texts on tribulation as occur in D322 and H1706 (in the latter, twice): the *Treatise of syx masters*, *Nota de Patientia infirmitatis* and the *Treatise of Tribulation* (another translation of *De duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulationis*), together with *The Rule of St Benet*. This combination of texts fits in well with the pattern established by the manuscripts of the *Treatise*. *The Rule of St Benet* is clearly of primary interest to those in the religious orders; the works about tribulation, with their message of patient and willing endurance of all troubles leading to spiritual enrichment and their strong emphasis on private and personal spiritual development, are appropriate to the unenclosed devoted to the religious life as well as to the enclosed. Equally, the *Treatise*, whilst primarily of interest to the professed religious, was sufficiently flexible an instructional text to have been read by a whole spectrum of spiritually-inclined people. Such a combination of texts could have been aimed both at the devout lay person and the professed religious, but appears rather to have been designed specifically for monks and nuns and, according to Doyle, so owned.??

Of the manuscripts containing the various translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter, the majority, like those of the *Treatise*, are of unknown origin, which is particularly frustrating in the case of the manuscripts in which occur the independent translations of this chapter, since there is no other evidence relating to their production. It is however possible to conjecture a certain amount about the ownership of all these manuscripts, and in the case of Add 37049, much has already been said by various scholars on this subject.

CUL MS Ff.V.45, dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, contains the Fifth Chapter of the *Treatise*, and has similarities in

content both with D322 and H1706 (which are of course sister manuscripts), and GH 496, although this latter manuscript contains one of the other translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter. In common with GH 496 it contains the *Mirror of Sinners*, the *Three Arrows*, and part of the *Pore Caitiff*, whilst it shares with D322 and H1706 a group of four *Ars Moriendi* texts: *Death's Warning*, the *Fifth Chapter*, the *Boke of the Crafte of Dying* and the *Tour of alle Toures*. In fact, it and D322 may have employed the same exemplar for this latter section.⁷⁸ The manuscript opens with a fragment of Rolle's *Form of Living* followed by prayers to God and Mary, and closes with more prayers. One may see here the pattern of general instructional and devotional texts combined with works designed to focus one's mind on one's own mortality and its consequences which recurs across the manuscripts containing the *Scire Mori* chapter, and which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter IV. It is impossible to be specific about possible ownership of this manuscript:⁷⁹ it could have been owned by a devout layperson, male or female, or by a group of female religious, to whom the various texts which are translations, the *Mirror of Sinners*, the *Fifth Chapter* and the *Boke of the Crafte of Dying*, would have been more accessible than their Latin counterparts.

Add 37049, dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, is a very different manuscript to CUL Ff.V.45. It contains a large and miscellaneous combination of texts, predominantly religious in character, a number of which are clearly influenced by Rolle.⁸⁰ As well as the *Fifth Chapter* of the *Treatise*, a section of the *Fourth Chapter* is also to be found here. There is general agreement that the manuscript was produced for or by the Carthusians⁸¹ but there has been disagreement over its dialect and hence over the probable Carthusian

house with which it may be associated. Most early scholars considered the manuscript to be in the northern dialect⁸² and have therefore concluded Mountgrace⁸³, or the other Carthusian house in Yorkshire, Kingston-upon-Hull⁸⁴ to be likely locations for it, but McIntosh considers the dialect to be of East Notts and Seymour therefore locates the manuscript to Axholme.⁸⁵ Whatever its geographical provenance, the manuscript is part of the large body of material which demonstrates the interest Suso's works attracted in Carthusian circles.

GH 496, dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century, contains seven works, all in English and most translations of Latin works. The manuscript opens with St Jerome's Psalter, a translation of the *Psalterium Abbreviatum* ascribed to Jerome, followed by the *Mirror of Sinners* (a translation and altered form of the *Speculum Peccatoris*), the *Pore Caitiff*, a long instructional text which draws on many popular works of spiritual guidance, *To Kunne Deie*, here entitled *To Kunne to Diȝe*, a translation of one of Saint Anselm's Meditations and the *Three Arrows of Doomsday*. This selection of texts epitomises the kinds of works found repeatedly in conjunction with the *Scire Mori* chapter; indeed, many of the texts found here are also found in CUL Ff.V.45 in some form or other, a manuscript with which it would seem unlikely that GH 496 has any filial relationship, and similar patterns may also be found in Latin manuscripts. What may be seen here is a combination of standard devotional literature (the psalter), texts intended for instruction in the basic elements of Christian belief (the *Pore Caitiff*) and texts designed to focus the mind on death and the Last Things (the *Mirror of Sinners*, *To Kunne to Diȝe*, the *Three Arrows* and *Saint Anselm's Meditation*). The kind of texts found here - all but one English translations of Latin pieces, and all concerned with a kind of

piety which is fervent but not necessarily confined to professed religious - encourage the conjecture that it may have been owned by a pious layperson, or perhaps by a group of female religious to whom, as with CUL Ff.V.45, texts in the vernacular would have been more accessible than texts in Latin, although Doyle suggests that this manuscript and the manuscript following, Bod 789, were 'probably of metropolitan provenance and ecclesiastical ownership'.⁸⁷

Bod 789 is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, and dialect evidence suggests a southern provenance, probably London.⁸⁸ This manuscript contains texts both in Latin and in English, and follows a similar pattern to GH496, although there is also emphasis on meditation upon Christ's Passion. Instructional/devotional texts include the *Layfolk's Catechism*, *Four things that make God our friend*, the expositions of the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments and the Creed on ff97r-123r, and the second exposition of the Pater Noster on ff150r-152r. The manuscript opens with a meditation on the passion falsely attributed to Bonaventure and there is series of texts on ff139v-150r which form a meditative sequence concerned with Christ's passion, man's sinfulness and his need to think on his final end, whilst on ff152r-156v there is *An ABC of the Passion of Our Lord*. Texts on death and the Last Things include the Latin text of the *Speculum Peccatoris*, *To Kunne Deie* and the *Boke of visitynge of seke men*, together with the meditative sequence previously cited. Bernard's *Formula honeste uitae* is a short rule, apparently aimed at professed religious, stressing asceticism and concluding with a brief section extolling the value of the contemplation of death. The question of possible ownership of this manuscript is an interesting one in view of the combination of texts found in it: there are texts both in Latin and

in English, works of simple instruction such as the *Layfolk's Catechism*, which despite its title was originally intended for the use of the clergy, as was the last piece in the manuscript, the *Boke of visitynge of seke men*, and the even more specialised piece attributed to Bernard. A possible explanation is that the manuscript was owned by a person (or a community) who undertook pastoral care and therefore required texts designed to aid the instruction of the laity in the basics of faith, but for whom also the presence of texts of a more private spiritual nature was welcome.⁸⁹

The extract of the fourth chapter⁹⁰ which is found in Add 37049 and Add 37790 is an outline of the 'principles of goostly liuyunge'⁹¹ especially suitable for those committed to the contemplative life. Wisdom emphasises the need to withdraw from the concerns of the world and to focus totally on God:

"Euery man dwelle by hym-selfe, and no man passe þe dore of his hous vpon þe sabot-daye"; þat is þus moche forto seye: fforto dwelle a man by hym-selfe or in hym-selfe, is to vndirstonde þat hee gadir alle þe variaunte þouȝtes and affeciouns of his herte and haue hem knytte to-gadirs into oon soþfaste and souerayne gode, þat is god; and forto kepe þe sabbate, is to haue þe herte free & vnbounden fro alle fleschly affecione þat myȝt defoyl þe soule, and fro alle worldly cures and besynesses þat myȝhte distracte hit; and so riȝt sweetly in pees of herte as in hauene of scilence, and þe loue and felynge of his maker god'.⁹²

Since, as the disciple points out, this kind of life is hard for any man to either attain or sustain, Wisdom makes clear that this is an ideal the contemplation of which ought to infuse every moment of one's life, and that God's aid can achieve more than anyone expects. Perseverance is to be commended whilst backsliding will receive its due reward in the afterlife and therefore the disciple is enjoined always to

have Wisdom's message in mind. This is summarised in a saying of Arsenius:

"flee, kepe scilence and be in rest - þese",
hee seide , "beþ þe principales of gostly hele".⁹³

This particular passage is clearly aimed at those prepared to make a total commitment to God, mainly the professed religious and those laypeople who had taken specific vows such as celibacy, which is one of the qualities here enjoined by Wisdom. It is a passage clearly concerned with the internal spiritual life, which is expected to take primacy above all else.

Add 37790, the Amherst manuscript, is one of the most important collections of mystical writings in Middle English extant, containing both works of English and continental origin. It has connections with the Carthusian order, having been annotated by James Grenehalgh, a Carthusian at Sheen at the end of the fifteenth century, as well as more tenuously being in some way related to Add 37049, with which it shares the extract from the *Treatise*. In it are to be found the Misyn translations of Rolle's *Emendacio Vitae*, (the *Mending of Life*), and *Incendium Amoris*, (the *Fire of Love*), the short text of Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*, and translations of Margaret Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* and Jan Ruysbroeck's *Treatise of the Perfection of the Sons of God* as well as a number of equally interesting shorter pieces, including several in Latin. In her edition of Julian's *Revelations*, Beer indicates that the manuscript is composed of a number of pamphlets, each of which contains a number of longer texts with shorter works filling up each section. This would place the extract from the *Treatise* in a group with Julian's *Revelations*, the *Treatise of the Perfection of the Sons of God* and a selection of

extracts from Rolle's *Form of Living* and *Ego Dormio*. It seems however quite legitimate to consider this manuscript as a whole given its obvious theme.

The works in this manuscript are all concerned with the contemplative life, concerned, that is, with a life which is centred on the attempt to focus the mind, heart and will upon God at all times and in all things. Such a way of life may be pursued along differing paths and several are presented here, such as Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae*, the *Golden Epistle* attributed to Bernard, the extract from the *Treatise*, the extract from Augustine on Contemplation (ff226r-233v) and the *Via ad contemplacionem*. These texts all attempt to create and maintain in the reader the proper state of mind for this kind of life, although each approaches this end by concentrating upon varying means. The *Golden Epistle*, for example, is particularly concerned with the sinfulness of man and the need for full repentance, whilst Rolle divided his work into twelve chapters each considering some aspect or requirement of this process, such as poverty, patience, prayer, meditation, reading and so on, and laid particular stress on the love of God. The *Via ad contemplacionem*, which is related to a tract in Add 37049 entitled *Of Actyfe lyfe & contemplatyfe declaracion* (ff87v-89v), draws extensively on the *Cloud corpus*⁴ and presents in some ways a more mystical approach, with its threefold way of life culminating in the 'vnatyfe' way⁵ of which the compiler says 'And in this onede is the mariage made betwyx god and þe sawle. the whilke schalle neuer be broken...'.⁶ In the context of such works as these, the presence of the extract from the *Treatise* is perfectly explicable, with its own, far briefer, outline of the desired state of the soul. Other works in the manuscript, such as the *Fire of Love*, the extracts from the *Form of Living* and *Ego*

Dormio, and of course Julian's *Revelations* are all concerned with the nature of the loving relationship between God and man - the overwhelming nature of God's love and the fervent love that this should inspire in return from man. This is yet another aspect of contemplative living; this is the state to which its adherents should aspire, and these texts thus inspire and encourage those who have embarked upon such a course.

The dialect and contents of Hh.1.II, which contains a section of the sixth chapter of the *Treatise*, are analysed by Doyle in his thesis in much the same way as I have attempted to analyse the manuscripts already discussed. He suggests that this manuscript is a deliberate compilation made by a spiritual advisor to an East Anglian nunnery with a special devotion to the Mary (this is born out by the various texts concerned with Our Lady, and especially by the sermon on her Assumption). The texts are a combination of prayers and works of spiritual exhortation and guidance, generally in English, into which the extract from the sixth chapter of the *Treatise* discussing the reception of the Eucharist fits reasonably well.⁹⁷

Mu 160, dated to c1520, stands apart from these other manuscripts, partly owing to the lateness of its composition but also because the translation it contains is not taken from the *Horologium* but is of a Latin text which is in turn a translation made in the Netherlands of the *One Hundred Meditations* which conclude the German *Büchlein der Ewigen Weisheit*, the original of the *Horologium*.⁹⁸ The manuscript is considered to be Carthusian, probably produced at and owned by either Mount Grace or more probably Kingston-upon-Hull.⁹⁹ It opens with a long text, 'half meditative prayer and half chronicle',¹⁰⁰ which concludes with the date 1518. There is a short continuation which may

be dated to 1520, previously considered to be a separate piece. There follows the verse rendering of *Mandeville's Travels* (possibly not originally a part of this manuscript,¹⁰¹ the *Hundred Meditations*, the *Fifteen Articles of the Passion*, and two mystery plays, the *Burial of Christ and his Resurrection*, which conclude the manuscript. The *Hundred Meditations* are a series of simple reflections on the subject of Christ's Passion and death, designed as an aid to prayer. It would seem that in this manuscript they combine with the last three texts to form a series concerned with Christ's Passion and Death, examined from various different points of view. It is interesting to note the existence in England of a text so indirectly related to Suso's original; it is further evidence of the extent to which such works could permeate through medieval religious circles.

The possible origin of the Lichfield manuscript is discussed elsewhere.¹⁰² In dialect it may be located to SGlos/NSomerset/Wiltshire, but there is insufficient evidence to enable a precise location to any of the many religious houses such as Llanthony, Glastonbury, Hinton or Witham in this area. The texts within it are certainly consistent with compilation and ownership by a male religious order. The *Scire Mori* chapter occurs both in Latin and an apparently unique Middle English translation which is very closely related to the Latin text in the manuscript. This is followed by a text of the extremely popular poem the *Fricke of Conscience*, in its southern recension, followed by chapter five of the *Dicta Anselmi* of Alexander of Canterbury, the *De Quatourdecim Beatitudinis*, in Latin, Middle English and French, the two latter texts being unique. The existence of texts in Latin, English and French in this manuscript suggests that both compiler and audience were well-educated (ie male). The works

themselves which cumulatively encourage the need to live well by considering in turn the dangers of dying unprepared (*Scire Mori*), the perils of the world and the pains of heaven and hell (*The Pricke of Conscience*) and the joys of heaven (*De Quatourdecim Beatitudinis*) whilst appealing to any sufficiently devout audience would no doubt have been of value in providing motivation and encouragement for the professed religious. Thus possession by one of the religious houses in the area suggested would seem likely for this manuscript.

Whilst precision with regards to the ownership of these manuscripts is impossible it is likely that most were owned by devout lay people - in some cases possibly women - and the religious. There is sufficient evidence from other sources to allow a few manuscripts to be more precisely placed, but even in these cases, certainty is impossible. These conclusions add a little to the picture drawn earlier in the chapter of the circulation and readership of the *Horologium* and its Middle English translations. There is a possibility of further Carthusian interest and perhaps of female ownership of the works in question. It is unfortunate that more cannot be said: it would be interesting to know how widely these texts did circulate, and whether the *Treatise* and the other Middle English translations really did appeal to the kind of quite wide-ranging audience the available evidence suggests. If nothing else, this is a salutary reminder of the limitations of what is known about the circulation and ownership of manuscripts in the Middle Ages and of the difficulties associated with this subject.

Footnotes: Chapter I

1. J. M. Clark entitles his translation of Suso's life The Life of the Servant (1952, place of publication unknown). The German original which is contained in Bihlmeyer's edition of Suso's Works, Heinrich Seuse, Deutsche Schriften im Auftrag der Württembergischen Kommission für Landgeschichte ed. K. Bihlmeyer, (Stuttgart, 1907; reprinted Frankfurt, 1961), is simply entitled *Leben Seuse*.
2. Pius Künzle, Heinrich Seuses Horologium Sapientiae (Freiberg, 1977) p.1.
3. See for instance: Bihlmeyer (1907, reprinted 1961); H. S. Denifle, Die deutschen Schriften des Seligen Heinrich Seuse aus dem Predigorden, (Munich, 1880); C. Gröber, Der Mystiker Heinrich Seuse (Freiburg, 1941); Künzle, (1977). The latter contains the most up-to-date work on Suso and contains a brief survey of his biographers on pp1-2 of the Introduction. I have also made use of Elizabeth Armstrong's unpublished doctoral dissertation Heinrich Suso in England (Indiana University, 1966) and of James Clark's work, The Great German Mystics, (Oxford, 1949). This work contains a survey of the reception of Suso's work from the Middle Ages to the present day, pp.69-74, as well as a useful bibliography.
4. Künzle, (1977), pp.2-3.
5. Suso's mother's name was actually Sūs or Sūse. Seuse is the modernised German form popularised by Denifle, Suso the Latin form dating back to the fourteenth century. See Clark, (1949), p.71.
6. Künzle, (1977), p.2.
7. See for instance Armstrong, (1966), p.5 and Clark, (1949), p.60.
8. Clark, ((1949) p.55), who accepts this detail of Suso's biography without question, cites an article by Kärcher in its support: Kärcher, L. 'Heinrich Suso aus dem Predigorden. Abhandlung über Ort und Zeit seiner Geburt' Freiburger Diözesanarchiv 3 (1868), pp.194-202.
9. Armstrong, (1966) p.14; Bihlmeyer, (1907), p.88.
10. Clark, (1949), p.57; Künzle, (1977), pp.2-3.
11. Künzle, (1977), p.2 cites Chapter 21 of *Leben Seuses* in Bihlmeyer (1907), p.63.
12. This attitude is expressed both in the *Horologium* and in the *Life*.
13. Clark and Bihlmeyer both favour 1343-4 (Clark, (1949), pp.57-59; Bihlmeyer, (1961), pp.95-100); Künzle, (1977) prefers 1334 pp.5-6.
14. This translation, entitled *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, is edited by Karl Horstmann, 'Orologium Sapientiae' Anglia 10 (1888), pp.323-389; this reference p.325 l.13.
15. There is however an early sixteenth century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms e Museo 160, which contains a Middle English translation of the Meditations, probably made from a Latin translation of the German produced in the Netherlands. See Appendix I, pp.452-454.
16. Henceforth to be referred to as *Scire Mori*.
17. See Armstrong, (1966), p.36 who refers to Chapter 4 of the *Life*.
18. See Armstrong, (1966), p.32.
19. Künzle, (1977), pp.105-200 gives a comprehensive list and description of manuscripts extant in Europe; pp.201-214 lists known lost manuscripts.
20. Künzle, (1977), pp.250-276 describes these translations.
21. Armstrong, (1966), p.36.
22. See Appendix IIb, pp.473-477 for a list of the manuscripts of the *Speculum Spiritualium* and Chapter II, pp.52-54 for a more detailed discussion of this text.

23. *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom* will henceforth be referred to as the *Treatise*. For details of the one edition of this text see footnote 14 above.
24. Horstmann, (1888a), p.325, ll.24-31.
25. P. S. Jolliffe, A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Toronto, 1974) p.125.
26. The three different translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter will be referred to as follows:
 The fifth chapter of *The Treatise: The Fifth Chapter*.
 Bodleian 789 & Glasgow Hunter 496: *To Kunne Deie*.
 Lichfield 16: the Lichfield translation.
27. Roger Lovatt 'Henry Suso and the Medieval Mystical Tradition in England' in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter, 1982), pp.47-62.
28. Lovatt, (1982), pp.47-49.
29. Lovatt, (1982), p.48. He refers to T. P. Wadley, Notes or Abstracts of the Wills contained in the volume entitled The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills, (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1886) pp.35-6 no 6. This has 'To Sir Henry Inet, chaplain, my book called Orogium Sapiencie...' p.36 Wyvelescombe also makes a bequest to Witham. The will was of course originally in Latin. It is also quoted in T. W. Williams' article 'Gloucestershire Medieval Libraries', p.92 (in Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 31-32 (1908-1909), pp.78-195. The citation in this article is incorrect, though).
30. Lovatt, (1982), p.48.
31. Lovat, (1982), p.48.
32. Horstmann, (1888a) p.326, ll.4-8.
33. Lovatt, (1982), p.48.
34. Horstmann, (1888a), p.324, ll.1-3.
35. Lovatt, (1982) p. 49.
36. See Chapter II, pp.57-60 for discussions of the *Chastising* and Nicholas Love.
37. See footnote 22 above.
38. See Appendix IIb, p.475.
39. See Appendix I, p.p.402-404..
40. See Chapter II, p.60 for Love.
41. Armstrong, (1966), pp.31-36.
42. Lovatt, (1982), p.50.
43. See M. Sargent 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings' Journal of Ecclesiastical History 27 (1976), pp.225-240. He discusses the circulation of the *Mirror* pp.238-9 and of Ruysbroek's work pp.227-229.
44. See Appendix I for manuscripts of the *Treatise* and Appendix IIa for manuscripts of the *Horologium Sapientiae*.
45. M. Deansley, 'Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' MLR 15 (1920), pp.349-358.
46. S. Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books privately owned in England, 1300-1450', (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1980).
47. The Book of Margery Kempe, translated by Barry Windeatt, (Harmondsworth, 1985), pp.15-22 discusses the literature to which Margery Kempe probably had access.
48. Lovatt, (1982), p.48
49. Lovatt, (1982), pp.50-54.
50. Lovatt, (1982), p.53.

51. Lovatt, (1982), p.50 and pp.60-61, FN 11. A full list of manuscripts of the *Horologium* or extracts from it, the relevant section of the *Speculum* and the English translations of Suso associated with Carthusian foundations reads: London, Lambeth Palace 436 (the full *Horologium*; this manuscript was given to Witham by John Blacman); Cambridge, St John's College 125 (extracts from the *Horologium*; Hinton); London, British Library, Sloane 2515 (the *Scire Mori* chapter; this manuscript was compiled by John Blacman whilst he was at the London Charterhouse); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.th.d.27 (Coventry; the chapter on the Eucharist); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian MS 549 (an extract from the *Speculum* which opens with the *Scire Mori* chapter and contains the *Formula Compendiosa* chapter as well; this manuscript was written by Stephen Dodesham who was associated with Sheen and Witham); York, York Minster XVI.I.9 (the *Speculum*, although the relevant section was in a second volume now lost; this belonged to Mount Grace); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 114, (the *Treatise*; Beauvale); London, British Library, Additional Ms 37049, (the *Fifth Chapter* followed by an extract from the *Fourth Chapter*; this manuscript may have been connected with Axholme (See Seymour, 'The English Epitome of Mandeville's Travels' *Anglia* 84 (1966), pp.27-8) or Mount Grace); London, British Library Additional Ms 37790, (the same extract from the *Fourth Chapter* as is found in BL Add 37049, to which it is textually related; this manuscript was annotated by the Sheen Carthusian James Grenehalgh although its provenance is generally considered to be Northern); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 160, (the *Hundred Meditations*; this manuscript has been located to Hull or Mount Grace (see D. C. Baker, J. L. Murphy and L. B. Hall, ed. The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian Mss Digby 133 and e Museo 160 EETS OS 283 (Oxford, 1982), pp.lxxxii-lxxxiii). The colophon in Aberystwyth, Porkington 19 and Cambrai, Bibl. Publ. 256 suggests that at some stage Mountgrace possessed a copy of the full *Treatise* which was used as an exemplar for other manuscripts (although not necessarily directly for these two).

52. Lovatt, (1982), pp.50-51; p.61, FN 12.

53. Lovatt, (1982), p.51, p.61, FN 13. John Blacman also had a long association with Eton.

54. Lovatt, (1982), p.51, p.61, FN 14 and FN 15

55. Lovatt, (1982), p.51, p.61, FN 16.

56. Lovatt, (1982), p.51, p.61, FN 17.

57. Lovatt, (1982), p.52, p.61, FN 18.

58. Lovatt, (1982), p.54, p.61, FN 19.

59. Lovatt, (1982), p.52. Unfortunately there are no references to explain this statement.

60. See FN 51 above.

61. Lovatt, (1982), p.52.

62. For details of these two women see I. A. Doyle, 'Books connected with the Vere Family and Barking' Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society N.S. 25 (1955-60), pp.229-243. He discusses Petronilla Wrattisley, to whom Douce 322 was presented, on pp.228-229. Elizabeth Vere owned Harley 1706, the primary subject of Doyle's article. She is discussed on pp.233-238. This manuscript may also have been owned for a while by Barking Abbey, of which Elizabeth Vere was a patron.

63. She owned Gonville and Caius College MS 390. See A. I. Doyle A Survey of the Origin and Circulation of the theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein (Unpublished doctoral

- thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953) Vol. I p.215 and Vol. II Note 49(a), (p.99), and see also Lovatt, (1982), p.52 and p.60 FN 20.
64. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 268. See also Doyle, (1953), Vol. II pp.123-4, where he discusses the identity of 'Elizabeth Wylby' or 'Elisabeth Wyllughby' who made two inscriptions in this ms.
65. Cambridge University Library Hh.I.11, containing an extract of the *Treatise on the Eucharist*. For Doyle's comments on the ownership of this manuscript, see his thesis (1953), Vol. II, Note 47 pp.96-97. He suggests Carrow, Campsey and Bruisyard as possible locations for this ms.
66. See Doyle, (1953), Vol.I p.217; Lovatt, (1982), p.52 and p.60 FN 20. There is a list of manuscripts/books belonging to Cicely on a misbound flyleaf in Ms BL Royal 15.D.11, f211. This manuscript is described in Appendix IIa, p.472.
67. Lovatt, (1982), p.52.
68. See pp.16-20.
69. See Lovatt, (1982), p.60 FN 20.
70. Lovatt, (1982), pp.52-54.
71. See Chapter II for a discussion of the texts drawing on the *Horologium* and the *Treatise*.
72. Lovatt, (1982), p.54.
73. See Doyle, (1953), Vol.I, p.14.
74. Wisdom is feminine in gender in the Latin text (*Sapientia*) but in the English text the combination of the two roles of Wisdom (the Old Testament figure, who is female) and Christ is confusing and I have therefore elected to refer to Wisdom as s/he.
75. However, Doyle, (1953) disagrees with this (Vol.II, Note 49b, pp.100-101).
76. See Doyle, (1953), Vol.I, p.177 (where he first mentions this ms); p.217 (where he suggests the connection with D322) and Vol.II, Note 49b, pp.100-101, where he further discusses the later ownership of the manuscript.
77. See Doyle, (1953), Vol.I, p.217 and Vol.II, Note 61(a) pp.138-139.
78. See Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, Note 50(b) p.103.
79. Doyle, (1953) merely suggest (Vol.I, p.169) that it was probably made for religious readers and originates from SE Midlands, possibly Suffolk/Essex.
80. See H. E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle (London, 1927), pp.54-5, 306-11, 526; F. M. M. Comper, The Life of Richard Rolle (London, 1928) pp.315-318; B. L. Doty, An Edition of British Museum Manuscript 'Additional 37049': A Religious Miscellany (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1963); M. Seymour 'The English Epitome of Mandeville's Travels' Anglia 84 (1966), pp.27-58; J. Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS Add 37049' in Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his Sixtieth Birthday ed. J. Hogg (Salzburg, 1980), pp.241-284; R. Lewis and A. McIntosh, A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Pricke of Conscience (Oxford, 1982), pp.155-156 et al.
81. Allen, (1927), p.307 - cites a text on the foundation of the Carthusians found in it (f22r-v, edited Hogg, (1980), pp.259-262); F. Wormald, 'Some Popular miniatures & their rich relations' in Miscellanea Pro Arte: Festschrift für Hermann Schnitzler, (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp.279-85, specifically, p.279, points out the presence of Carthusian monks in the illustrations (cited Hogg, (1980), p.243)
82. Allen, (1927), p.307, Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.157; Hogg, (1980), p.243; Doyle, (1953) Vol.II, Note X, p.191 (cited Hogg, (1980), p.244).

83. Allen, (1927), p.307
84. Hogg, (1980), p.244-245, commenting upon Doty.
85. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.157; Seymour, (1966), pp.27-28.
86. One may notice the recurrence of particular texts in the mss containing the *Scire Mori* chapter which also occur in the mss of the translations of this chapter. For instance, the *Speculum Peccatoris* occurs in Oxford, Magdalen College 72, Oxford, Bodleian Library University College 4 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 26. The CP version of the *Ars Moriendi* text occurs in Oxford, Merton College 204 and Oxford Magdalen College 72. Oxford, Bodleian Library University College 4 also contains an 'Order for the Visitation of the Sick' (in English). The trait of devotional and spiritual texts accompanying texts about death seems less marked however, in Latin mss than in English.
87. Doyle, (1953), Vol.I, p.219
88. Armstrong, (1966), p.67; See also FN 75 above.
89. See Chapter IV of this thesis. T. Hadyn Williams is currently preparing a critical edition of Bodleian 789 as a PhD thesis at the University of Birmingham.
90. Horstmann, (1888a), p.353, l.30 - p.355, l.37.
91. Horstmann, (1888a), p.353, l.36.
92. Horstmann, (1888a), p.354, ll.12-21.
93. Horstmann, (1888a), p.355, ll.35-37.
94. Jolliffe, (1975), pp.56-57
95. Jolliffe, (1975), p.105
96. Jolliffe, (1975), pp.106-107
97. See Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, Note 47, pp.96-7.
98. See also Wiltrud Wichgraf 'Susos *Horologium Sapientiae* in England nach Mss des 15 Jahrhunderts' in *Archiv* 169 (1936), pp.176-181, who discusses this ms, pp.179-180.
99. Baker, Murphy and Hall, (1982), pp.lxxxii-lxxxiii.
100. Baker, Murphy and Hall, (1982), lxxvi.
101. Baker, Murphy and Hall, (1982), p.lxxix.
102. See 'Manuscript Origin' pp.278-282 below for a discussion of the origin of Lichfield 16.



CHAPTER TWO

Middle English Works drawing on Suso's *Horologium* and Latin Works drawing on Suso and circulating in England

This discussion attempts to indicate the Latin works circulating in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which drew on the *Scire Mori* chapter of Suso's *Horologium*, as well as considering in more depth those English works which use either the *Horologium* or the *Treatise* in some way. The latest work considered is Fisher's *A Spiritual Consolation*,¹ written in 1535. Such an examination helps to elucidate both the way in which Suso's work was received - how it was perceived to fit in to spiritual teaching in the Middle Ages - and the extent to which it permeated medieval literary culture. I have chosen to focus on those English texts which draw specifically on the *Scire Mori* chapter for their subject matter and inspiration, since the way in which they use this material is of particular interest in considering how the *Scire Mori* chapter itself was perceived.

It is noticeable that the *Horologium* rarely circulated in its full form; chapters from it are often extracted and circulated separately, and on a number of occasions such chapters are incorporated into longer tracts. It is with works such as these that I am concerned here. For example, the Latin work *Cordiale Quattour* [sic] *Novissima*, which is extant in many manuscripts and had a wide circulation across Europe,² opens by quoting the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium*.

The tract known as *Speculum Spiritualium* contains a very slightly altered form of the *Scire Mori* chapter as the first and second chapters of the fifth part (out of seven). The *Speculum* quotes from a vast and impressive range of authorities, including Rolle, Hilton, Augustine,

Gregory, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Cassian, Hugh of St Victor, Ambrose etc as well as from the rest of the *Horologium*. It also contains the *De formula compendiosa* chapter of the *Horologium* (Book II Chapter iii; the *Ars Vivendi* section) as the seventh chapter of the fifth part. The first of the two chapters drawing on *Scire Mori* starts 21 lines into the text of the *Horologium* given by Künzle 'Hec scientia videlicet scire mori scientia vtilissima est et cunctis artibus praeferenda...'³ and continues with only a few alterations as far as 'Exitus sui spiritus erit aeternae patriae felix introitus.'⁴ The second chapter, which is entitled 'De lamentatione morientis et quo moriens se totaliter misericordie dei committat Passione quibus christi inter se et diuinum iudicium interponat'⁵ then carries on from the next line 'Heu me miseram...'⁶ until the end of the *Scire Mori* chapter. This text was printed in 1510 in Paris, the cost being covered by a citizen of London. W. Bretton.⁷ Allen discusses the text in the light of its references to Rolle:

'This is a mystical, not a popular work... The author states in his preface that he withholds his name, and that he wishes to provide a compendium for those who cannot afford many books: it is composed with the contemplative specifically in view, but the active will also find it useful. The work is on the whole an excellent example of the English mysticism of the late Middle Ages, which Rolle did so much to build up: it treats the Holy Name at length... It is an extremely systematic work, with many references indicated to the writings of Rolle, Hilton etc... Actually most of the highly mystical passages in the *E.V. [Emendation Vitae]* are cited, at one time or another... Two highly characteristic passages on the Holy Name, and the narrative as to the supernatural temptation are also quoted, with Rolle's name, from the *Encomium Nomine Jesu*.'⁸

It is interesting that the *Scire Mori* chapter should be included in a

work which can be characterised as mystical, since it is far from mystical itself. The *Formula Compendiosa* chapter is more at home in such a context, since it is actually a description of the contemplative life, with a few references to mystical experience.⁹ Perhaps this should be seen as an indication of the widespread belief in the importance of the idea of one's own mortality; it is just as relevant in a discussion of the mystical way of life as in a more down-to-earth spiritual guide such as the *Treatise*. The *Speculum* circulated widely in England, frequently in part rather than in full, and a number of the extant manuscripts have connections with the Carthusians, further corroborating their interest in the piece.¹⁰

Amongst those manuscripts containing the *Speculum* in some form or other, Oxford, Merton College 204 is unique in including a shortened form of the *Scire Mori* chapter as a separate text (ff204v-207r), as well as the version of this chapter which occurs in the *Speculum*. There is no indication in the manuscript that there is any repetition of pieces, and on f207r, the explicit indicates that the origin of the piece was known: 'Explicit extractio medullita libri autentici, qui vocatur orilogium divine sapientie'. The second version of the chapter in this manuscript starts 27 lines into the original with 'Scire namque mori est paratum cor et animam...'¹¹ and does not contain the figure of Wisdom. The disciple's speeches all have introductions differing from those given in the *Horologium*, since the disciple is not retained as a separate figure either, his speeches being attributed to a number of unidentified interlocutors. Otherwise there is some shortening of the text but not much other alteration. It is curious to note that this manuscript should contain this chapter twice in two different forms.

This particular form is clearly related to the Middle English translation to be found in Glasgow, Hunterian Library Ms 496 and Oxford, Bodleian Ms 789, although of course this manuscript is not necessarily the exemplar.¹²

Lovatt also indicates a further occurrence of the *Scire Mori* chapter outside its normal habitat. In his article on Suso in England he says:

'The chapter [Scire Mori] was rapidly separated from its source and distributed independently under many different guises. In several manuscripts it occurs as a self-contained treatise¹.'

1) For example, British Library Lansdowne MS. 385, and several other similar volumes.¹³

This particular Latin manuscript is said by the Lansdowne catalogue to contain five articles (*Sermones dominicales anonymi, tempore aestivali; Libellus de viciis et virtutibus de auctoritatibus sacre Scripture; Remedium contra temptationes spirituales et contra cogitationes fantasticas et immundas; Nota de sacramento altaris and Calendarium cum tabulis ad sciendum locum lune omni die, et ad sciendum quis planata regnat qualibet hora diei, ab anno 1387 ad annum 1465*), none of which appear to have any relation to Suso; upon examination this turned out to be an inaccurate entry.¹⁴ Lansdowne 385 in fact contains the *Scire Mori* chapter immediately after the *Remedium*, clearly marked as a separate text at least in the body of the manuscript, although the flyleaf lists (in a much later hand) only the first three of the texts mentioned above and the *Kalendarium Antiquum*. The occurrence of the *Remedium* and the *Scire Mori* chapter together is also to be found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 497, and, in the second half of British Library, Harley 1706, the *Remedium* is found translated into

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Middle English, although this is not of course the same section of Harley 1706 which contains the *Fifth Chapter* translation of the *Scire Mori*. This manuscript therefore does not contain any new treatise drawing on the *Scire Mori* chapter in any way, as might have been assumed from the catalogue entry, but simply this chapter isolated from the rest of the *Horologium*.

MS Cambridge, St John's College 125¹⁵ is an unique compilation entitled *Veni mecum in adiutorium* which draws upon the *Horologium* as well as a number of other texts. Since Künzle's description of its borrowings from the *Horologium* is in fact inaccurate, it is worth noting that it contains the following chapters in the order here given:

Formula compendiosa vite spiritualia: book II chapter iii (although the manuscript has chapter 'xvi');

De scientia vtilissima homini mortali que est scire mori: book II chapter ii;

Qualiter Christus in Sacramento Eukariste sit deuote recipiendus: book II chapter iv;

Quare divina sapientia suos caros in hoc mundo permittit tam multipliciter tribulari: book I chapter ix;

De cruciatibus infernalibus: book I chapter x;

De gaudiis supercelestibus: book I chapter xi.¹⁶

With the exception of the *Scire Mori* chapter all of these specifically refer to their origins in the *Horologium*, including (usually correct) indications of book and chapter number, which would suggest that this was a compilation made from a full text of the *Horologium*. The manuscript comes from the Carthusian Charterhouse of Hinton.

The only further, and rather tantalising clue to the circulation of

elements of the *Horologium* in this manner is provided by Lovatt. In discussing the extent to which the *Horologium* became assimilated into medieval English religious thought, he says that:

'The author of the *Speculum* was perhaps exceptionally well read but in a number of other devotional treatises, and also in various private spiritual commonplace books, the *Horologium* appears in a very similar context.'¹⁷

There is unfortunately no footnote to indicate what Lovatt may be referring to here; it is clear however that the texts discussed here are hardly a full list of Latin works which circulated in England and which drew upon the *Horologium*.

English vernacular works influenced by the *Horologium* or *Treatise*

English works which draw upon the *Horologium* in some form or other are Hoccleve's poem *Lerne to Dye*¹⁸ and Fisher's prose piece *A Spiritual Consolation*,¹⁹ which are both re-workings of the *Scire Mori* chapter, the mystery play *Wisdom*,²⁰ *The Chastising of God's Children*,²¹ which quotes from the *Horologium* as well as from a variety of other works, and a prayer by Nicholas Love which he appends to his *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*.²² Additionally, a tract known as the *Speculum Devotorum* or *Myrowr to deuot Peple* also drew on the *Horologium*.²³ The first Latin dictionary, *Promptorium Parvulorum* cites the *Horologium* once.²⁴

The Chastising of God's Children, written, as its editors Bazire and Colledge demonstrate, at some point between 1373 and 1408,²⁵ quotes from various sections of the *Horologium* in its text. This date

makes it the earliest English piece to have recourse to the *Horologium*. *The Chastising* quotes from a vast number of tracts, including works by Ruysbroeck, Bonaventure, Augustine, and similar figures, as well as from the *Ancrene Riwe*.²⁶ Since the concern of this work is not with death but with problems associated with the contemplative and mystical life, quotations from the *Scire Mori* chapter are not used at any point, but the presence of such a work at this date indicates that at least in educated (that is monastic, and most probably in this case specifically Carthusian) circles the *Horologium* was known.

There are two other texts derived from *The Chastising* which consequently draw on the *Horologium* at third hand. These are *Disce Mori* (unrelated to the *Speculum* which is also given that name in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. th. e. 8), which occurs in Oxford, Jesus College 39 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 99, and *Ignorancia Sacerdotum* (found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. th. c. 57), which in turn draws upon *Disce Mori*. *Disce Mori* in fact draws upon many sources other than *The Chastising*,²⁷ including 'a conflated version of *Miroir du monde* and *Somme le rof*' as O'Connor pointed out in her work on the *Ars Moriendi*.²⁸ This would explain the similarity between the incipit given for this text:

'Disce Mori etc. Vnwillfully he deyeth that hath
not lernyd to deye; Lerne to deye so thou shalt
best can lyue...'

and that given for the chapter taken from the *Tour of alle toures* which is extant in three manuscripts, London, British Library Harley 1706, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 322 and Cambridge University Library Ff.V.45 (all of which of course contain the *Scire Mori* chapter), which in the Cambridge manuscript begins:

'Ayenst his wille he deyeth þat hath not lerned to deye...'
 since this extract been identified by Raymo as coming from an as yet untraced translation of *Somme le Roi*.²⁹ The *Ars Moriendi* section in *Disce Mori* is therefore clearly derived from a different source from the *Horologium*, and it comes as something of a surprise to discover a long sentence in the *Ars Moriendi* section which at first sight seems to be directly related to *Scire Mori*, and which does not occur in the relevant section of the *Somme*

'Helas, what availleth vs now oure noblesse, power, pride, richesse, feestes, array & boste? Al is now passed sonner þan euere was schadowe, yea certes, sonner þan euere passed rennyng messenger or ship in see, yea, moche sonner þan euere flaugh brid, arowe or quarell in þe eyre, so þat þe place þat þei occupied þere was nocht after considered. Helas, right so passed al oure ioye and lyfe; nowe were we bon and anone were we al pased; al oure lyf was not a litel moment, and anone were we in euerlastyng turment...'³⁰

This is very similar to the section translated in the Lichfield manuscript thus:

'Alas, what profiþtyth nowe to me my pryde, or what hath bostyng or rychesses a-vayled nowe to me? Alle suche þynges beth pas/sid a-vey as hit were a schade, and as a messenger þa swiftly renneth; and as a schippe þat roweþ by a flowyng water, whos curse may nojt be founde aftir hit is passid, neþer may no man see þe pathe of þe trace þerof in þe flode; and as a brid þat fleeth in þe ayre, of whos flyjt may no wey beth aftirward seye, and þut hit betyth þe ayre wyth wyngys and fleeth forþ, but aftirwarde þer is no sygne of eny wey y-founde in þe ayre; ans as an arwe þat is schote in to a place y-markyd, for whan þe arwe is schote þe ayre is departyd þer þorwe, and anone aftir hit closith, so þat þe wey were on þe arwe went is vnknowe. In þe same manere anone as y was bore y beganne to faile...' (Li 16, ll. 118-130)³¹

(Only the opening lines of this section are translated in the fifth

chapter of *The Treatise*). Since the whole of this section is drawn originally from the Biblical Book of Wisdom (5:8-15), it is unclear whether the compiler of *Disce Mori* expanded this section drawing from the *Horologium* or by recognizing the biblical context of the quotation, or whether his source (which may not necessarily have been the *Somme* itself, but some expanded or altered version of it) had an expanded version of this section.³²

The next of these English pieces to draw on *Horologium* is the prayer by Nicholas Love, a Carthusian writer who was a member of the Mountgrace Charterhouse in North Yorkshire. This is discussed by Elizabeth Zeeman (Salter).³³ Love's work, a *Tretys of the hijeste and most worthy sacrament of cristes blessed body* is appended to his translation of *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, the *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*. The same prayer, as Salter points out, following Schleich,³⁴ also occurs in the Middle English reworking of the *Horologium*, *The Treatise*, at the end of chapter six,³⁵ deriving ultimately from book II chapter iv of the *Horologium*,³⁶ and Salter's concern in this article is to compare these two Middle English versions of the prayer to determine whether Love was working from *The Treatise* translation alone or whether he was familiar with the Latin text as well, and to consider the rival merits and techniques of the two translators. She considers that Love must have been familiar with both the Middle English version of the prayer as well as a Latin text of it and also points out that the *Mirroure of the blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* was presented in 1410 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, from which Salter deduces that Love was familiar with both the Latin *Horologium Sapientiae* and its English form by this date.³⁷

Further evidence of the extent to which the *Horologium* was embraced by the Carthusians lies in the tract the *Speculum Devotorum* or the *Myrowr to deuot Peple*. This is a 'devotional paraphrase of the life of Our Lord' in English, partly based on the pseudo-Bonaventureian *Meditation on the Passion*,³⁸ which quotes from the *Horologium*. The text was made early in the fifteenth century probably by a Carthusian for a 'relygyus syster' (CUL Gg.I.6: f6v), possibly at one of the metropolitan nunneries such as Barking or Syon.³⁹ There are two extant manuscripts: one written at Sheen by William Mede (CUL Gg.I.6) and one (a Beeleigh Abbey Foyle manuscript) written in the middle of the fifteenth century for Elizabeth (daughter of the Thomas Chaworth who possessed a copy of the *Treatise*) and wife of John, lord Scrope.⁴⁰

Hoccleve's translation and versification of the *Scire Mori* chapter, *Lerne to Dye*, post-dates Love's use of the *Horologium* by about 10 years. Furnivall, the EETS editor of Hoccleve's minor poems argued that it was composed about 1421 or after.⁴¹ There has been much debate, initiated by Furnivall,⁴² about the probable identity of Hoccleve's exemplar for this work, a debate which has so far produced no very decisive result. In his introduction to Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems, Furnivall says that Hoccleve's 'original' was the manuscript which I have edited, Lichfield 16:

'Tho I've lookt thro the Index *De Morte* (besides others) in Migne's *Patrologia Cursus*, as well as the Brit. Mus. Class Catalog of MSS about Death, I have failed to find the original of Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye*. It was, however, that of a prose version (ab.1430-1440) in the Lichfield Cathedral Ms 16, which I saw years ago...'⁴³

It is not totally clear from this whether Furnivall considered that the Lichfield manuscript was Hoccleve's exemplar, or whether he is

simply indicating that it contains a version of the work upon which Hoccleve was drawing. It has however been assumed by later writers on the subject⁴⁶ that he meant the former, and here both they and he, if this is indeed what he meant, are wrong. Hoccleve's text certainly starts at the same point as the Lichfield text of *Scire Mori*, whereas a number of the other Latin manuscripts start some lines into the chapter,⁴⁵ but there are a number of places where Hoccleve is clearly following an exemplar closer to the original than is the Latin in Lichfield 16. There are in fact a number of occasions where Hoccleve translates words or passages which occur in the standard version of the Latin text (as edited by Künzle)⁴⁶ but which are omitted or corrupt in the Lichfield manuscript. In particular, the following examples are quite conclusive.

In Hoccleve's poem there is the following passage:

'More to thee profyte shal my love
Than chosen gold or the bookes echone
Of Philosophres...' Verse 12, ll.78-80⁴⁷

The Lichfield Latin text reads: 'Tu vacua vacuis relinquis et doctrinae meae intendas, quae tibi magis proderit quam aurum electum, et prae libris ac diuitiis omnium populorum' (f2r). The text that Künzle gives reads '...et prae libris ac diuitiis *omnium philosophorum*'.⁴⁸ Quite clearly the Lichfield Latin has a corrupt reading at this point, whereas the text which Hoccleve was following retained the correct reading. At a later point (Verse 35, ll.239-41) Hoccleve's poem reads:

'My dayes I despente in vanitee;
Noon heede y tooke of hem but leet hem passe
Nothing considerynge hir preciosisitee'⁴⁹

where the Lichfield Latin omits the relevant phrase: 'Pretiositatem vero

eius non attendebam...'.⁵⁰ Similarly, in Verse 88, ll. 610-612, Hoccleve wrote:

'Look vp-on me & thynke on this nyght ay
Whyles thow lyuest o how good & blessid
Art thow Arsenius...'⁵¹

whereas the Lichfield Latin omits the name of Arsenius (f10r). Kunzle gives the original Latin as: 'O quam beatus es Arseni, qui semper hanc horam ante oculos habuisti'.⁵² Here again, the Lichfield Latin would appear to have deviated further from the original text than that upon which Hoccleve drew. Since Hoccleve could not have been the originator of these particular readings, it seems fairly safe to conclude that he was not working from the Lichfield manuscript.⁵³

In 'The Source of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye*'⁵⁴ Benjamin Kurtz considers the question of Hoccleve's exemplar. He notes that Furnivall refers to Ll 16 and draws attention to the mistakes that Furnivall makes in so doing (suggesting that the manuscript attributes *Scire Mori* to Anselm, for instance), but he does not discuss this manuscript any further. He also points out that Hoccleve himself in an earlier poem, 'Dialogue with a Friend',⁵⁵ said that he had read a Latin tract on death which he intended to translate because of the spiritual benefit it was capable of giving, both to himself and to those who would read it. He points out that Hoccleve speaks as though he is familiar only with a short tract rather than the full *Horologium*:

"frinde, that I shall tell as blyve, y-wys:
in latyn have I sene a small tretisiel,
which 'lerne to dye' I-callyd is.
a better restreynte know I none fro vice...'
Verse 30, ll.204-207⁵⁶

He considers that Hoccleve used a text 'substantially identical with that of the undated fifteenth century [1480?] quarto edition of 183

printed, unnumbered leaves, attributed to Conrad Winters' (Brit Mus Cat IA. 4163 - duplicate copy IA 4614).⁵⁷ This considerably post-dates Hoccleve's work and one is tempted to consider that a more thorough examination of the Latin manuscripts of the *Horologium* and of the *Scire Mori* chapter than Kurtz carried out - he only consulted six manuscripts⁵⁸ - might be quite rewarding.

Armstrong speculates about the possibility that Hoccleve was using a Latin version of the *Horologium* close to that in the Indiana University manuscript, Poole 126 which contains extracts (in Latin) from the *Horologium* arranged in four parts, since Hoccleve indicates that he is working from a book or manuscript in four parts:⁵⁹

'The other iij partes whiche in this booke
Of the tretice of deth expressid be,
Touche y nat dar...' ll.918-920⁶⁰

However there is no indication here that these other parts are necessarily from the *Horologium*: the implication could equally be that Hoccleve has in front of him a manuscript which contains a collection of tracts on death. In any case, as I have already noted, Armstrong indicates that the Latin of this particular chapter in Poole 126 begins this chapter 'some 37 lines into the original Latin text'⁶¹ and that the figure of Wisdom is not retained, and together these points would seem to indicate fairly conclusively that Hoccleve was not working from anything close to this particular version of the Latin.

After the verse of *Lerne to Dye*, as a part of the same work, Hoccleve went on to translate in prose the Ninth Lesson for All Hallows Day. This he indicates himself (in Verse 133, ll.925-6), which does not prevent Kurtz from pointing it out in 'The Prose of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye*'.⁶²

In a further article, 'The Relationship of Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye* to its Source'⁶³ Kurtz considers the quality and nature of Hoccleve's translation. The article combines a statistical analysis of the closeness of Hoccleve's poem to its source with a rather more subjective consideration of the omissions and additions which he makes in relation to the *Scire Mori* chapter, establishing that the poem is twice the length of the original chapter. Kurtz considers that Hoccleve's additions to the text are better when he is working upon a didactic passage than in the more emotional sections of the poem, although there are exceptions to this, where passages in the chapter strike a chord with Hoccleve's feelings of remorse about his own past and consequently inspire him to fervent enlargement upon his original. Otherwise, according to Kurtz, Hoccleve's techniques are weak, and his ability as a translator only marginally better than his ability as a versifier. It is fairly clear from Kurtz's article that he considers the merit of Suso's work to be so great that unless Hoccleve had followed it more or less exactly, he could not possibly have produced a version as good as the Latin, and equally clear that his opinion of Hoccleve's ability as a poet is low, as Jerome Mitchell suggests in his summary of Kurtz's ideas.⁶⁴ Mitchell however has little to add to Kurtz's opinions, although he clearly has a higher view of Hoccleve's ability as a poet. Beyond a rather simplistic outline of the obsession with the macabre which this period of the Middle Ages is supposed to have cherished, and into which this poem may be fitted as the only verse *Ars Moriendi* of the fifteenth century, Mitchell does nothing more than underline Kurtz's point about the humanising of the poem which Hoccleve's expressions of personal remorse are supposed to bring about. This hardly strikes me

as the 'corrective view' Lovatt indicates this discussion to be.⁶⁵

However, it seems to me that in general Kurtz's conclusions about Hoccleve's poem are reasonably fair. Whilst the poem is a competent translation of the original, it loses much of its force through repetition, unnecessary expansion and a general air of diffuseness which continually undercuts any sense of pathos which may be reached. Perhaps the reason why it nonetheless retains some force lies in the inherently immediate and universal message that the *Scire Mori* chapter conveys, to which Hoccleve succeeds in adding a certain personal touch, albeit not always a wholly successful one.

John Fisher's *A Spiritual Consolation*, composed for his sister in 1535 when he was imprisoned in the Tower, is a reworking in prose of the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium*. It appears to have been largely overlooked by writers on Suso, possibly because of its date, and seems to have first been noticed in this context by Thomas M. C. Lawler in 'Fruitful Business: Medieval and Renaissance Elements in the Devotional Method of St John Fisher'.⁶⁶ Lawler appears not to commit himself on the question of whether Fisher was working from the *Horologium* or *The Treatise*,⁶⁷ but since his list of the similarities between *The Spirituall Consolation* and its source involves *The Treatise* and not the *Horologium*, it would seem that he considers this to be the source. Besides this list of parallels between Fisher's text and *The Treatise*,⁶⁸ this article includes an indication of how Fisher alters the structure of the piece:

'In Suso's exercise, the Disciple carries on a dialogue with the Dying Man as he laments his plight while Death approaches. Fisher's meditation is a monologue overheard as it were by Elizabeth [his sister], who is equivalent to the Disciple. The tone and technique of dramatization is very

similar, however, for in both meditations the Dying Man's pitiful ejaculations disorder his train of reflection. Fisher accumulates fresh details to fix the scene vividly in the imagination and lingers over some motifs in rhythmical periods of increasing emotional intensity.⁶⁹

The most immediately noticeable aspect of Fisher's treatment of the *Scire Mori* chapter is undoubtedly this change from dialogue to monologue, although arguably the situation is more complicated than Lawler indicates. In Fisher's introduction to the piece, he instructs his sister how she should best use *The Spirituall Consolation* as a meditative exercise. Besides ensuring that she should be alone and with 'the best leasure without any let of other thoughtes or buzinesse'⁷⁰ when she commences the exercise, she should ask for God's grace and:

'...deuise in your mynde as nigh as you can, all the conditions of a man or woman sodaynly taken and rauyshed by death: and thynke wyth your selfe that yee were in the same condition so hastily taken and that incontinent you must needes dye, and your soule depart hence, & leaue your mortall bodie, neuer to returne again for to make any amendes, or to doe any release to your soule after this houre.'⁷¹

The reader is clearly then in the position of the Disciple overhearing the Dying Man's lamentations and drawing profitable instruction from them, but also she is recommended to place herself imaginatively in the position of the Dying Man and experience the agony he is undergoing as if it were the agony of her own death. This dual role, in itself a kind of dialogue, creates an interplay between an emotional and a more ordered, reflective and rational response to death. In the *Scire Mori* chapter itself, the Dying Man recommends several times to the Disciple that he should keep the image of his (the Dying

Man's) agony before his eyes,⁷² and also that he should extend this to an understanding of his own death:

'...þis þinge oonly I-do, þat þou euery daye brynge me inwardly to thy mynde and bisily take entente to my wordes and write hem saddely in thy herte. Of the sorowes and angwishes þat þou seest in me, take hede and thenke vpon þoo þat ben to come in hasty tyme vpon the; haue mynde of my dome, for sicke shalbe thy dome.'⁷³

Fisher's text attempts to combine both these injunctions by involving the reader in a dramatic soliloquy as both the speaker and the spoken-to: the actor and the audience. A further clue to his technique is offered by Lawler in the passage already quoted: 'Fisher accumulates fresh details to fix the scene vividly in the imagination and lingers over some motifs in rhythmical periods of increasing emotional intensity.'⁷⁴

A good example of such a passage is that which opens the meditation:

'Alas, alas, I am vnworthily taken, all sodaynly death hath assayled me, the paynes of his stroake be so sore and greeuous that I may not longe endure them, my last houre I perceiue well is come, I must now leaue thys mortall bodie, I must nowe departe hence oute of this world neuer to returne againe into it. But whether I shall goe, or where I shall become, or what lodgyng I shall haue thys night, or in what company I shal fal, or in what countrey I shall be reciued, or in what maner I shall be entreated, God knoweth for I knowe not. What if I shall be dampned in the perpetuall pryson of hell, where be paynes endelesse and without number. Greeuous it shall be to them that be dampned for euer, for they shall be as men in most extreame paynes of death, euer wishing and desiryng death, and yet neuer shall they dye. It should be nowe vnto mee muche wearie, one yeare continually to lye vpon a bed were it neuer so soft, how weary then shall it be to lye in the most painefull fyre so many thousand of yeares without number?''⁷⁵

This passage is based upon a short passage in the *Scire Mori* chapter towards the end of the last of the Images of Death's speeches:

'But woo is me wrecche! Where trowest thou schalle abyde this ny3hte my spirit? whoo schalle take my wrecchyd soule, and where schalle hit be herbourd atte ny3te in þat vnknown cuntry?'⁷⁶
'Sed heu me miserum. Ubi putas in hac nocte degebit spiritus meus? Quis suscipiet miseram animam meam? Ubi hospitabitur vel pernoctabit? Vel qui erunt, qui eam suscipient in illa regione ignota?'⁷⁷

In Fisher's text, details crystallise around this core which in part are echoes of other points in the *Scire Mori* chapter and in part Fisher's own response to the text. The image in the last sentence of the extract is an interesting illustration of this. It is perhaps suggested by a combination of the list of self-indulgent practices which the Disciple vows to give up in his final speech⁷⁸ and the assertion elsewhere that the pains of purgatory far exceed any pains one can experience on earth⁷⁹ and the combination produces an unusual image which is really quite arresting. The image of lying in bed is one that one would expect to be used to evoke pleasure, but by introducing it with the phrase 'It should be nowe vnto mee muche *wearie*' (my italics) Fisher subverts such a possibility before the image is even begun. Instead, negative associations are brought into play: the overtones of the sin of sloth and the suggestion that an excess of pleasure leads to pain and disenchantment. The introduction then of the image of lying in a bed of fire 'so many thousand of yeares without number' causes this punishment to seem all the more intimately related to a life spent in self-indulgence.

Syntactically, the passage can be split into three: lines 1-6 (the first sentence); lines 6-9 (the second sentence) and lines 9-17 (the

last three sentences). In the first section, it is the shift in grammatical subject which sustains the impetus of the clauses: from the 'I' of the first clause we move to 'death' in the second, and to 'paynes' [of death] in the third, which through its more complex structure, reintroduces 'I' as the subject of a subordinate clause. From this point on 'I' remains the subject of the succeeding three clauses, and of the next section. This passage foreshadows the technique of the next section with this gradual introduction of clauses linked not by any conjunction but by the stressed use of 'I + verb' and by similar grammatical structure. The second section is in fact an excellent example of this technique of building up sentences by the accumulation of short, simple clauses linked by only a minimal use of conjunctions. This undoubtedly deliberate use of parataxis causes a sustained build-up of emotional pressure which reaches its pinnacle in the final clause 'God knoweth for I know not', with its variation in subject and structure and its hint of ambiguity: is this a blasphemous ejaculation or a simple statement? What gives the final section structure, on the other hand, is not the repetition of syntactical patterns as in the second section, but the repetition of particular words (death/death/dye in the second sentence and wearie/yeare/lye in the last, for instance) and the interplay between them which is set up by the variation in syntax. This kind of prose writing, which is certainly more complex than that employed by any of the medieval prose translators of the *Scire Mori* chapter, gives this text a rhythmical coherence and a sense of controlled structure which, by channelling the emotional force of the piece, serves to focus it all the more effectively for the reader.

A comparison of Fisher's and Hoccleve's individual responses to the

Scire Mori chapter is undoubtedly more useful for the light that it casts on Fisher's techniques rather than for anything it might unearth about Hoccleve. Whereas Hoccleve essentially produces a versified translation of this chapter, closely following his exemplar and adding nothing which substantially alters its structure or message, Fisher's piece is a free re-working of the chapter which retains the essential idea of the spectacle method of death but which re-structures the work as a single speech in the first person, using particular sentences from Suso's work as the starting point for its own reflections. Hoccleve's work is a dilution of Suso's; Fisher's a transformation. Both have essentially the same message at their core: the need to prepare for death during one's life, by the way one lives one's life, so as to prevent the possibility of sudden death catching one unawares and bringing about one's ultimate downfall. Perhaps the most significant difference between the two is that *The Spirituall Consolation*, written as it was by a strongly orthodox (and soon to be martyred) Catholic in the uneasy period leading up to the Reformation, is in a sense an attempt at an affirmation and justification of a set of beliefs which were under threat, whereas *To Lerne to Dye* affirms accepted and institutionalised beliefs. In this light some of Fisher's additions and expansions are all the more interesting: it is necessary for him to articulate beliefs which were so much more pervasive in the Middle Ages that it was unnecessary for Suso or his English translator to consider them in any detail. It would therefore be dangerous to label Fisher a medieval writer, despite the fact that he reads so much like one, with his digressions about the corrupt nature of the body, the efficacy of intercession to the Saints, and his emphasis on the need

for good works during one's life. There is a greater subtlety in his approach to these concepts than simply an unquestioning acceptance of them, and this subtlety is demanded by a need convincingly to re-state ideas which were previously unquestioned. For instance, whilst he underlines the need for good works⁴⁰ he also discusses the problem of the motivation behind any such action:

'But my deedes when of their kynde they were good, yet did I linger them by my folly. For eyther I did them for the pleasure of men, or to auoyde the shame of the world, or els my owne affection, or els for dreade of punishment. So that seldome I dyd any good deed in that puritie and streaightnesse that it ought of ryght to haue bene done.'⁴¹

Fisher is not operating from within a fixed and stable system of beliefs; rather he is attempting to re-define boundaries which he perceives to be threatened, but at the same time to do so in the light of such threats. It must, however, be remembered that this text was written by Fisher for his sister, not necessarily for a wider audience, and that therefore the polemical element in what he says ought not be overstressed.

Hoccleve's and Fisher's works are the most indebted to the *Horologium*; there are also a few works which draw to a lesser extent upon it. The mystery play *Wisdom*, also known as *Mind, Will and Understanding*, is extant in two manuscripts. One, known as the Macro manuscript, held by the Folger Shakespeare Library, contains a complete text of the piece; the other, Ms Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 133, has only half the text. The Macro manuscript is considered to be older than Digby, being dated to c.1475, whilst the Digby manuscript has been

dated by its editors to c1490-1500.⁸² Both manuscripts are considered to be copies of the same exemplar, and can be tentatively located by language (East Midlands with East Anglian characteristics in the case of Digby; Eastern in the case of Macro⁸³ and ownership to Bury St Edmonds.⁸⁴ The play is based upon the initial parts of *The Treatise*, as well as drawing upon other medieval mystical works such as the *Scale of Perfection*. It deals with the instruction of Anima, the Soul, by Wisdom. The three 'characters' Mind, Will and Understanding, who are the primary components of Anima, are introduced and the psychology of the Soul and her relationship with God expounded. Then follows the seduction of Mind, Will and Understanding by Lucifer to a sinful life. Wisdom warns them of the inevitability of death, but it is only the sight of Anima, reduced from her purity at the beginning of the play to the appearance of a fiend which persuades the three to repent and turn again to Wisdom.

The initial section of the work, Stanzas 1-10,⁸⁵ are based upon a section of the first chapter of *The Treatise*,⁸⁶ and after this the play appears to deviate from the prose work. Riehle, in an article in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*,⁸⁷ suggests that this work exhibits only a superficial understanding of the works it appears to draw on and the concepts it discusses, and further posits the possibility the author may have drawn on a 'compendium' of extracts from writers such as Hilton and the author of the *Scale of Perfection*.⁸⁸ In the case of the *Treatise*, the closeness of the stanzas derived from it to the corresponding section of the treatise and the length of the relevant extract would seem to suggest that the author was familiar with more than a few isolated quotations. However, the

arguments of the *Treatise* are not used to any extent elsewhere in the work; indeed, at one point, where Wisdom invokes the inevitability of death as a reason for Mind, Will and Understanding to repent and they are not persuaded by such an incentive, it is clear that the argument of the play is directly opposed to that of at least one section of the *Treatise*. It would be dangerous to conclude from this that the author of *Wisdom* was not familiar with the rest of the *Treatise* translation: it would perhaps be more reasonable to suggest that his concerns differed from those of Suso and his English interpreter. Smart⁹⁰ argued that the use of such sources indicates a possible monastic origin for the play, although this seems to be contradicted by Riehle's argument that the sources are not properly understood; other commentators have argued for the Inns of Court or for the piece being a professional play or even a school play.⁹¹ Given the uncertainty here, it is difficult to draw any kind of conclusion about the light this play might shed upon the readership or perception of the *Treatise*.

The first Latin-English dictionary *Promptorium Parvulorum*, was compiled by a Dominican friar of King's Lynn in Norfolk in 1440.⁹² It has one reference to the *Horologium*:

'Amuce: almicium, ij neut [gen.], 2 [decl]
et habetur in 'horologio diuine
sapientie.'⁹²

The editor of *Promptorium Parvulorum*, A. Mayhew, in discussing the sources of this work,⁹³ indicates that the range and variety of references which occur in the Dictionary testify that the Dominicans of Lynn must have either had a large library or access to a wide selection of books. By this date (1440), it is hardly surprising to see that the *Horologium* is well enough known to be cited in such a work as this.

These texts provide an interesting supplement to the evidence of the previous chapter in illustrating the gradual transmission of the *Horologium* and *Treatise* through England. However, as Lovatt's article on the reception of Suso's work in England argues,⁹⁴ the temptation to assume from this evidence that the *Horologium* radically affected the mystical movement in England must be avoided. Lovatt points out that what most of this evidence proves is that the *Horologium* itself was known mainly at second-hand by its readers, and often in shortened forms, in translation, in the form of quotations in other works, and, in the case of the *Treatise*, in a work differing greatly in character and content to the original:

'In other words much of the impact of the *Horologium* on English readers was made at second hand and in incomplete form. In all sorts of different guises parts of the *Horologium* became familiar to those who, like Hoccleve himself, were unlikely to be acquainted with the work in its full, original form. However, this process of penetration and absorption also entailed the dilution and impoverishment of Suso's distinctive message. As their audience widened, so Suso's teachings lost much of their characteristic flavour. At this stage it becomes quite misleading to speak of the reception of the *Horologium* in England as though this was a one-way process. Rather it was in the nature of a dialogue between Suso and his English readers, where Suso's words were tempered by a sense of what it was that his audience wished to hear.'⁹⁵

As Lovatt goes on to say, the use made of particular extracts from the *Horologium* in English works reflects significantly on the nature of medieval spirituality in England: the material which medieval English writers and compilers chose to use is that which confirmed rather than challenged the prevailing mood in English spirituality.⁹⁶ It is all the more interesting, then, that the *Scire Mori* chapter should so often be

extracted from the *Horologium* and circulated separately or in conjunction with other extracts, or incorporated into other works, and that it should be translated three times into Middle English prose, and once, by Hoccleve, into verse.'⁷ The tone and message of this chapter, by Lovatt's argument, were entirely in accord with the 'concern with mortality, the 'vision of death [which] was of course one of the most fundamental features of late medieval piety',⁸ and thus its widespread popularity was only to be expected. Whilst I would not quarrel with Lovatt's conclusions about the nature of the absorption of the *Horologium* into English spiritual thought, I would wish to suggest that his assessment of the *Scire Mori* chapter is in some ways misleading. His characterisation of it as an *Ars Moriendi* text is in many ways inaccurate - as the analysis of the three Middle English prose translations in the following chapter demonstrates - and the context into which it fitted was rather more complex than that suggested by Lovatt, as Chapter IV will demonstrate. As both Fisher and Hoccleve acknowledge, their use of this chapter was determined by its spiritual value during one's life, not at the moment of death, and it is the question of why this should be that will be examined in the ensuing chapters.

Footnotes: Chapter II

1. Fisher's *A Spirituall Consolation* is in John Fisher's English Works ed. J. Mayor, (London, 1876), pp.349-363.
2. Sister Mary Catherine O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi (New York, 1942; repr. 1966), p.4.
3. Pius Künzle, Heinrich Seuses Horologium Sapientiae (Frieburg, 1977), p.527, ll.10-11.
4. Künzle, (1977), p.536, l.5.
5. See Künzle, (1977) p.539, ll.7-9: '...nisi ut te misericordiae Dei solius committas, et passionem meam inter te et iudicium meum interponas...'
6. Künzle, (1977), p.536, l.5.
7. See O'Connor, (1966) p.26 footnote. The printed text is available on microfilm: STC 23030.7 (1841). See also: Oxford, University College d.6 and Peterborough Cathedral D.8.17.
8. H. E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle (London, 1927), pp.405-6.
9. See for example, Horstmann, 'Orologium Sapientiae or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom aus MS Douce 114' Anglia 10 (1888), p.355, l.25-29.
10. The earliest extant manuscript of the *Speculum Spiritualium* appears to be Cambridge University Library Dd.IV.54, which is dated to the second half of the fourteenth century: it contains Book I and II of the *Speculum* reversed in order. In this manuscript the *Speculum* is attributed to 'Henrici de balnea cartusiensis' and in the catalogue of the library at Syon, the work is ascribed to 'dompnus Henricus domus Cartusiensis de Bethleem monachus' (M. Bateson, Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monestary Isleworth (Cambridge, 1898), p.107). It has been suggested the former may be an error for the latter, but whatever the case, the contemporary association of this text with the Carthusians, whether correct or not, is interesting. Other manuscripts of the *Speculum* include Oxford, Merton College 204 which contains parts two to six inclusive, under the title *Speculum vitae humane*; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Ms 450 which contains parts one to four inclusive (and thus does not contain the *Scire Mori* chapter); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. th. e. 8 which contains parts five and six under the title *Speculum Spiritualium*, with *Disce Mori* given as an alternative title, opening with the *Scire Mori* chapter; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Ms 549 which contains the first 12 chapters of the fifth part (thus also starting with the *Scire Mori* chapter) although all the chapters to this part are listed at the beginning of the text and which was written by the Carthusian scribe Stephen Dodesham. (For information about Dodesham, see Aelred of Rievaulx's 'De Institutione Inclusarum': Two English Versions, ed. John Ayto and Alexander Barratt, (London, 1984), pp. xxix-xxxii); London, British Library Royal 7.B.XIV which contains the first four sections of the *Speculum*; Salisbury Cathedral MS 56, which contains six parts of the *Speculum*, the first imperfect, and also separately the *Formula compendiosa* chapter and York Minster xvi.I.9, which contains parts 1-4 of the *Speculum*; parts 5 and 6 were in a second volume no longer extant. Both Dublin, Trinity College 271 and Dublin, Trinity College 272 contain a very long section of the *Speculum* divided into five parts. Precisely how these five parts correspond with the printed version of the

Speculum is unclear, but it would seem that both these manuscripts do include the *Scire Mori* chapter. For further descriptions of these manuscripts see Appendix IIb. The descriptions of the Trinity College mss are drawn from Professor Colker's Catalogue (M. Colker Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts (Aldershot, 1991)); his entries for these two manuscripts do not allow any further conclusions to be drawn about what extracts of the *Speculum* are extant here.

11. Künzle, (1977), p.527, l.15.

12. See E. P. Armstrong, Heinrich Suso in England: An edition of the *Ars Moriendi* from the Seven Points of True Love, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1966) pp.66-73, where she discusses a number of Latin manuscripts which are not directly related to that from which *The Treatise* translation was made, comparing them with the translation extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian Ms 789. Oxford, Merton College 204 and Bloomington, Indiana University, Poole 126 are discussed in some detail and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 549 and Cambridge, St John's College 84 are also mentioned. St John's College 84, however, contains a full text of the *Horologium* with an unabbreviated version of the *Scire Mori* chapter and is consequently not related to the second version in Merton 204 nor is the version of this chapter in Bodleian Ms 549, which is a ms of part of the *Speculum* (see Appendix IIb). Presumably there is some confusion here over the two versions of the *Scire Mori* chapter extant in MS Merton 204. Armstrong refers to Wichgraf, 'Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* in England nach Mss des 15 Jahrhunderts' Archiv 169 (1939) pp.167-181, specifically p.181 as the authority for these statements. What Wichgraf actually indicates is that, in his opinion, Bodleian 549 and Bodleian 789 are derived from the St John's manuscript, as are the two versions of the *Scire Mori* chapter in Merton 204, but that there need not be any direct relationship between them.

13. R. Lovatt, 'Henry Suso and the Medieval Mystical Tradition in England' in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, ed. Marion Glasscoe, (Exeter, 1982) p.56; FN: p.61.

14. A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the Museum... (London, 1819).

15. Künzle, (1977), p.232.

16. See Appendix IIa for a full description of this manuscript.

17. Lovatt, (1982), p.54.

18. Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye* is in Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems ed. F. J. Furnivall and I. Gollancz, revised by Jerome Mitchell and A. I. Doyle, (EETS E.S. Nos. 61 and 73: E.S. 61, 1892, reprinted 1937; E.S. 73 1925 (for 1897); revised reprint in one volume 1970), (henceforth referred to as Furnivall, (1970)), p.178-215.

19. See above FN 1.

20. *Wisdom* is in The Macro Plays ed. M. Eccles (London, 1969) pp.114-152 where it is edited from the Macro manuscript; and in The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian Mss Digby 133 and E Museo 160, ed. D. C. Baker, J. L. Murphy and L. B. Hall, London, (1982), pp.116-140, where it is edited from the Digby ms.

21. The Chastising of God's Children and the Treatise of the Perfection of the Sons of God ed. J. Bazire and E. Colledge, (Oxford, 1957).

22. Mirroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ ed. L. F. Powell, (Oxford, 1908).

23. This text is discussed by Doyle, (1953) Vol.I, pp.159-161, is edited by J. Hogg, 'The Speculum Devotorum of an Anonymous Carthusian of Sheen, edited from the manuscripts Cambridge University Library Gg.I.6 and Foyle, with and Introduction and Glossary' in Analecta Cartusiana, 12-13 (1973-1974), pp.1-322.

24. Promptorium Parvulorum ed. A. L. Mayhew, (London, 1908).

25. Bazire and Colledge, (1957) pp.34-37.

26. Bazire and Colledge, (1957) pp. 43-44.

27. See Wells and Hartung Vol.VII, pp.2263-4, and Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in Collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus, Part II, ed. Henry O. Coxe, (Oxford, 1852). The entry for Oxford, Jesus College 39 reads:

'Disce Mori, a theological work of practical divinity after the manner of Wicliff's *Poor Caitiff*, comprised in ninety chapters; with a metrical prologue and table of chapters prefixed.

The prol. begins:

To you my best beloved sustre [Alice]
Whiche that for Christs love have hoole forsake
The worlde the flesch & the feendes malice
This tretice by me compiled I take
Hertely besechynge you for vertue sake,
Ofte & with glad herte therinne to looke,
Though Disce Mori called be the booke.'

The work beg. 'Disce Mori etc. Vnwillfully he deyeth that hath not lernyd to deye; Lerne to deye so thou shalt best can lyue...'

Ends: '...the corone due to this vertu of vertues, perseuerance, the which God graunte us; Amen.'

It treats of the love of God, the ghostly sins and virtues, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the cardinal virtues, the works of mercy etc.

Hampole and Walter Hilton are quoted at ff 295 & 309: another copy in ms is in the Bodleian Library Laud MS 99.

On the margin at the end of the volume AW [the cypher of Anthony Wood] m.d.clixix.'

28. '...a *Disce Mori*, appearing in two Bodleian manuscripts, Laud Misc. 99 and Jesus Coll. 39, has proved to be a translation, not directly of the *Somme* [*Somme le Roi*, composed in 1279], but of an earlier work, a 'Mireour du Monde' on which the *Somme* is presumably based. In the *Mireour* and the *Disce Mori* the death chapter gets further emphasis by serving as an introduction. In this change of position may lie the reason for the title *Disce Mori*' O'Connor, (1966), p.18, fn.

29. See Wells and Hartung Vol.VII, p.2260.

30. N. A. Chadwick, An Edition of 'Disce Mori': Introduction and Seven Deadly Sins (Unpublished dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1966), pp.5-6 (p.6, ll.12-20 of ms).

31. Künzle, (1977), p.529, l.21 - p.530, l.4. The Latin of Li 16 is corrupt at this point, hence the translation does not correspond exactly to the Latin text given here by Künzle.

32. The *Mirror of Sinners* (see Chapter IV, pp.138-141) also quotes briefly from this passage in Wisdom: 'What schal it thanne profite to þe al thy boost of kunnyng, þe pompe of þe poeple, the vanytee of the worlde, and al the dignytee of worldly couetise?' K. Horstmann Yorkshire Writers Vol.II (London, 1896), pp.439-440.

33. Elizabeth Zeeman (Salter) 'Two Middle English Versions of a Prayer to the Sacrament' Archiv 194 (1957) pp.113-21. There are two

- manuscripts which contain Love's translation of the Prayer to the Sacrament detached from the *Myroure*. Cambridge University Library Ii.IV.9 contains the Prayer to the Sacrament as well as, preceding it, the *Narracio de Sancte Edwardo* which forms part of Love's treatise on the Sacrament. British Library Harley 4011 contains (on f2v) the Prayer to the Sacrament alone. There are of course many manuscripts containing the full text of Love's *Myroure* (See Salter, Nicholas Love's 'Myroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', *Analecta Cartusiana* 10 (1974), pp.1-10. In addition to this British Library Arundel 197 has what may be another translation of this particular prayer: ff47v-48 To the Sacramente... (See Ayto and Barratt, (1984), p. xxvii)
34. G. Schleich 'Über die Entstehungszeit und den Verfasser der Mittelenglischen Bearbeitung von Susos Horologium' *Archiv* 157 (1930) pp.26-34.
35. Horstmann, (1888a), p.378, 11.1-23.
36. Künzle, (1977), p.571, 1.27 - p.572, 1.20.
37. Salter, (1957), p.113 also points out in a footnote that two manuscripts (Cambrai Bibl. Publ. 255 and National Library of Wales Porkington 19/Brogynryn Series II Ms 5) of *The Treatise* have the same colophon:
- 'Scriptum finaliter in Monte gracie ultimo die mensis maii anno domini m^o cccc^o xix^o'
- She says: 'Whatever the exact meaning of 'scriptum' - 'copied' or 'translated' - this is clear evidence that the English rendering [of the *Horologium*] was well-known at Mountgrace during Love's lifetime there.' (p.113)
38. Doyle, (1953), Vol I, p.159.
39. Doyle, (1953), Vol I, p.161.
40. Doyle, (1953), Vol I, p.161.
41. Furnivall, (1970), pp. xxii-xxiv.
42. Furnivall, (1970), pp. xlv-xlvi.
43. Furnivall, (1970), p.xlv.
44. See for example: Armstrong, (1967), p.41, FN.18; W. Wichgraf, 'Susos *Horologium Sapientiae* in England nach Handschriften des 15 Jahrhunderts' *Anglia* 53, N.F.41 (1929), pp.123-133; 269-287; 345-373, this reference, p.287; Benjamin P Kurtz 'The Source of Occleve's "Lerne to Dye"' *MLN*, 38, (1923), pp.337-340, this reference, p.337ff; Künzle (1977): p.273.
45. See FN 12 above. For further details of Merton 204, see pp.54-55 of this Chapter and Appendix IIa, pp.468-9, 474. This and Poole 126 would appear to be the only extant mss which contain an abbreviated version of the Latin text. Both *To Kunne Deie* and the *Fifth Chapter* do not translate the beginning of the *Scire Mori* chapter; in the case of *To Kunne Deie* probably because of the exemplar used although in the case of the *Treatise* translation, this would seem to be a deliberate choice by the translator. (For a further discussion of the three translations, see Chapter III, pp.85-87).
46. Künzle, (1977): the *Scire Mori* chapter is pp.526-540.
47. Furnivall, (1970), p.181.
48. Künzle, (1977), p.527, 1.29: my italics.
49. Furnivall, (1970), p.187.
50. Künzle, (1977), p.530, f4v in Lichfield 16.
51. Furnivall, (1970), p.201.
52. Künzle, (1977), p.535, 11.29-30.

53. Further examples of places where the Lichtfield translation and Hoccleve's poem are clearly following different exempla are given below:

i) 'Thow vndirstandist me nat as the wyse' Verse 25; l.171 p.184 where the Latin reads: 'Nec verba tua sonant imprudentiam', (for 'Nec verba mea sonant imprudentiam') Künzle, (1977) p.529, l.11; Li 16 f3v.

ii) 'Or as a brid which in the eir þat fleeth
No preef fownde is of the cours of his flight;
No man espie can it ne it seeth,
Sauf with his wynges the wynd softe & light
He betith and cuttith their by the might
Of swich stiryng & foorth he fleeth his way;
And tookne aftir þat no man see ther may.'

(Verse 30; ll.204-210; Furnivall, (1970), pp.185-186).

where the Lichtfield ms omits part of the relevant passage in the Latin, indicated by the square brackets:

'Aut sicut avis, quae transvolat in aere, nullum invenitur argumentum itineris [illius sed tantum sonus alarum verberans levem ventum, et scindens per vim itineris] aerem commotis alis transvolabit, et post haec nullum signum invenitur itineris illius.' (Künzle, (1977) p.529, l.25 - p.530, l.3; Li 16 f4r).

iii) 'ffreend,' quod the disciple': (Verse 67, l.467, Furnivall, (1970), p.195), where the Latin omits 'Amice' and reads: 'Discipulus autem rursus dixit ad eum: "dilecte.." ' (Künzle, (1977) p.533, l.26; Li 16, f8r).

iv) 'þat not oonly dye it shal nat thee gaste': (Verse 86, l.597, Furnivall, (1970) p.200), where the Latin reads: 'ut non solum mori [non] timeas' (Künzle, (1977) p.535, l.21; Li 16 f10r).

v) 'In hidles in awayt as a Leoun

He hath leyn...' (Verse 43, ll.645-6; Furnivall, (1970), p.202.)

where the Latin reads: 'insidiatur factus mihi est, sicut lux [?] in abscondito' (for 'leo in abscondito'), (Künzle, (1977) p.536, l.14; Li 16 f11r).

vi) Furnivall, (1970), p.205 quotes Latin in the margin: 'Miseremini mei, miseremini mei saltem vos amici mei, [vbi est nunc amicorum meorum adiutorium?]' where Lichtfield omits the phrase in square brackets: (Künzle, (1977) p.537, l.14; Li 16 f12r).

x) 'By youre desires inordinat', (Verse 103, l.715, Furnivall, (1970), p.205), where Lichtfield reads: 'per quorum inordinatum aspectum [for 'affectum'] (Künzle, (1977) p.537, l.16; Li 16 f12r).

54. Kurtz, (1923), pp.337-340.

55. 'Dialogue with a Friend': Furnivall, (1970), pp.110-139. See pp.117-8, ll.204-245.

56. Furnivall, (1970), p.177.

57. Kurtz, (1923) p.340.

58. The six which Kurtz does examine are all from London: British Library, Arundel 512; British Library, Add. 18318; British Library, Royal 5.c.iii; British Library, Add. 15105; British Library, Sloane 982; British Library, Add. 20029.

59. Armstrong, (1967), pp.68-72.

60. Furnivall, (1970), p.212, ll.918-920.

61. Armstrong, (1966), p.70.

62. Kurtz 'The Prose of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye*' *MLN*, 39 (1924), pp.56-57.

63. Kurtz 'The Relationship of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye* to its Source' *PMLA* 40 (1925), pp.252-75.

64. Jerome Mitchell, Thomas Hoccleve. A Study in Early Fifteenth Century

English Poetic (Urbana, Chicago, London, 1968) pp.40-43.

65. Lovatt, (1982), p.60 FN 1.

66. Thomas M. C. Lawler 'Fruitful Business: Medieval and Renaissance Elements in the Devotional Method of St John Fisher' Medievalia and Humanistica NS 4 (1973), pp.145-159.

67. Lawler, (1973) pp.146-7.

68. The parallels which Lawler lists are as follows:

1. 'To stimulate fervent devotion, withdraw the mind from outward business and imagine a man 'suddenly' ravished by death (*Works*, p.351, 1.21-p. 352-1.7; *Seven Poyntes*, p.358, 1.20-31)

2. The Dying Man wonders where his soul will 'lodge this night' in the 'unknown country' of death (*Works*, p. 352, 1.21-25; *Seven Poyntes*, p. 362, 1.43-45).

3. He doubts the sincerity of his forced deathbed repentance (*Works*, p.353, 1.28-p.354, 1.5; *Seven Poyntes*, p.360, 1.29-32)

4. Neither friends nor riches can persuade death to 'spare' him time for repentance (*Works*, p.354, 1.18-26; *Seven Poyntes*, p. 358, 1.45-p. 359, 1.6)

5. The Dying Man 'cloathed' himself in earthly rather than spiritual riches, and did not spend 'one hour or day' properly in holy works. He counsels the living to study his plight and use their time 'fruitfully' (*Works*, p.354, 1.26-p.355, 1.22; *Seven Poyntes*, p.359, 1. 23-p.360, 1.3)

6. The Dying Man's five senses deteriorate (*Works* p.356, 1.4-7, 24-26; *Seven Poyntes*, p.363 1.4-6), and he decries his past sensual indulgences like fine 'cloathing' and 'soft bedding' (*Works* p.358, 1.28-32; *Seven Poyntes* p. 364 1.13-16)

7. Now the Dying Man imagines himself before the seat of judgement where he will have to 'answer' for not 'expending one day' in 'pleasing service' to God. (*Works*, p.359, 1.6-12, 31-36; *Seven Poyntes*, p.360, 1.35-43).

8. Everyman must keep 'before the eyes' the danger of an unprepared death since his final hour is 'uncertain' (*Works*, p.360, 1.28-p.361, 1.1-3; *Seven Poyntes*, p.364, 1.20-24, p.365, 1.14-15). At the last moment there is no hope except the 'mercy of God' (*Works*, p.360, 1.25; *Seven Poyntes*, p.364, 1.30).

9. The sinner cannot count on the prayers of his friends, since they will seek their own 'profit'. He must imagine that his soul is already in purgatory, crying to him as his own 'best beloved friend.' This is the essential device of the spectacle method of dying well. (*Works*, p.360, 1.1-7 and p.362, 1.24-31; *Seven Poyntes*, p.361, 1.25-34).' p147-148.

(*Works*: The English Works of John Fisher, ed. J. Mayor, (London, 1953)

Seven Poyntes: 'Orologium Sapientiae or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom', ed K. Horstmann, Anglia 10 (1888), pp.357-365).

69. Lawler, (1973). p.147.

70. Mayor, (1876), p.352.

71. Mayor, (1876), p.351.

72. Places in *The Treatise* where Dying Man recommends meditation on his own fate to the onlooker(s) include p.359 ll 48 - p360 l. 4; p.361 ll 7-13; p.362 ll 24-36.

73. Horstmann, (1888a), p.362, 1.32-36.

74. Lawler, (1973), p.147.

75. Mayor, (1876), p.352, ll.16-35.
76. Horstmann, (1888a), p.362, ll.42-45.
77. Künzle, (1977), p.536, ll.6-9. See also 'But nowe alas, who is me awrecche! Alas, whare trowist þou þat my spiryzt schal a-bide þis nyzt? Ho schal undirfang my wrecchyd soule? Whare schal ȝeo sbyde & whare schal ȝeo rest þis nyzt, and what beþ þey þat schuld receife hire in þilke regioun þat is unknowe to me?' Li 16, ll.355-359.
- 'But wo to me wrecche! Whar gessist þou mi spirit schall lyue in þis nyzt? Who schal receyue mi careful soule? Where schal it be herborwid eþer where schal it dwelle þis nyzt? Eþer hwo schulen þei be þat schulen receyue it in þat vnknownen cuntre' *To Kunne Deie* ll.265-270.
78. 'Wherfore now (I) do away fro me þe softnesse of beddyngge, þe precyosite of clothinge, and slout(h)e of slepe me lettyngge.' Horstmann, (1888a), p.356 ll. 14-16.
- 'Tolle, tolle nunc a me lectisterniorum mollitiem, vestium pretiositatem, torporum somni me impediendum.' Künzle, (1977) p.538 ll.14-15.
79. 'loo þe leste peyne of þis purgatorye þat we mowen felen passith alle-maner Iwe(l)s of þat temporelle worlde; þe bitternesse of peyne þat we mow felen in an houre semith as grete as alle the sorowe of þe passyngge worlde in an hundreth ȝeere.' Horstmann, (1888a), p.363 ll.35-39.
- 'En minor afflictio purgatorii huius, quod patimur, superat supplicium quodcumque illius mundi temporalis. Unicae horae istius, quam experimur, poenalitatis acerbitas centum annos in se putatur habere saeculi transeuntis miserias.' Künzle, (1977), p.537 ll.20-24.
80. Mayor, (1876), p.354, l.26 - p.355, l.22.
81. Mayor, (1876), p.359, ll.25-31.
82. For the Digby ms see Baker, Murphy and Hall, (1982), p.lxv; for the Macro ms: Eccles, (1969), p.xxvii, xxx.
83. For the Digby ms see Baker, Murphy and Hall (1982), pp.lxviii-lxx; for the Macro ms see Eccles, (1969), pp.xxx-xxxii.
84. Baker, Murphy and Hall (1982), pp.x-xv discuss the early ownership of this ms; for the Macro ms see Eccles, (1969), pp.xxvii-xxviii, p.xxiv, FN 1.
85. Baker, Murphy and Hall (1982), pp.116-119; Eccles, (1969), pp.114-117.
86. Horstmann, (1888a), p.329, l.16 - p.331, l.5.
87. W. Riehle, 'English Mysticism and the Morality Play: Wisdom who is Christ' in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, ed. Marion Glasscoe, (Exeter, 1980), pp.202-215.
88. Riehle, (1980) p.209.
89. W. K. Smart, Some English and Latin Sources and Parallels for the Morality of Wisdom who is Christ, (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1912), p.86.
90. Baker, Murphy and Hall, (1982), p.lxxi summarise these arguments.
91. 'Iste sunt autores ex quorum libris collecta sunt vocabula huius libelli, per fratrem predicatorem reclusum lenne [Lynn] anno domini m^o cccc^o xl^o...' (Mayhew, 1908), p.2 col.1. He goes on to list the principle works on which he draws, which does not of course include the *Horologium*, since this only provides one reference.
92. An 'amuce' is 'an article of costume of the religious orders, lined with grey fur' Mayhew, (1908), p.555.
- This citation includes in square brackets Mayhew's clarification of the compiler's indications of gender and declension of the word in question.

93. Mayhew, (1908), pp.xvii - xxvi.
94. Lovatt, (1982), pp.54-59.
95. Lovatt, (1982), p.55.
96. Lovatt, (1982), pp.55-56.
97. Lovatt, (1982), p.56.
98. Lovatt, (1982), p.56.

CHAPTER THREE

The Scire Mori Chapter in Translation

'...few men think of death 'till they are in its jaws. However gigantic and terrible an object this may appear when it approaches them, they are nevertheless incapable of seeing it at any distance: nay, tho' they have been ever so much frightened and alarmed when they have apprehended themselves in danger of dying, they are no sooner cleared from this apprehension than even the fears of it are erased from their minds. But alas! he who escapes from death is not pardoned, he is only reprieved, and reprieved to a short day.' Book 5, Chapter 7, *Tom Jones*, Henry Fielding.

The *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium* is, as its full title suggests, ('De Scientia Utilissima Homini Mortali, quae est Scire Mori') concerned with the knowledge of how to die. There are, as I have previously indicated, three Middle English translations of this chapter, one in Lichfield 16, *To Kunne Deie* (in two manuscripts), and the fifth chapter of the *Treatise*. This chapter will concentrate on an examination of these three texts in order to determine what they have to say about preparation for death. It will be necessary to discuss how the translators respond to the Latin text, but it is important to point out that, since the particular texts from which they worked are not known, it is not possible to tell in detail in what ways they chose to deviate from their exemplars. Lichfield 16 contains both Latin and English texts of the chapter and it may be demonstrated that the English is a translation of a text very close to the Latin in the manuscript, possibly of the text used as an exemplar for the Latin.¹ It is therefore possible in this case to determine with a reasonable degree of certainty where the translator was responding to differences in his exemplar, and where alterations occur as a result of his

response to the text. *To Kunne Deie* presents a similar picture: it is known that this translation was made from a version of the Latin text similar to that in Oxford, Merton College 204, but not actually from the text in this manuscript - possibly the text in Indiana University Poole 126 is closer.² In the case of the *Treatise*, the exemplar is not known, considerably limiting what may be concluded about this text.

The Lichfield translation is the most complete of these three, including the first few paragraphs of the chapter, which are omitted by the other two translations, and the figures of speech the *Fifth Chapter* omits. It was made from an exemplar which apparently contained a higher proportion of errors in comparison with the exemplars used by the other translators, so there are a number of places in the Lichfield translation where the text differs from the other translations as a result of these errors.³ The translator is generally faithful to his text: beyond expanding phrases he never adds material and almost all omissions may be accounted for by the state of the Latin exemplar. A number of apparent mistranslations also result from the exemplar, but on occasions the translation falters a little.⁴ The text is also perhaps more verbose than the other two.

To Kunne Deie, following its exemplar, omits the introductory section and thus the figures of Wisdom and the Disciple.⁵ The Young Man is therefore presented directly to the reader (who is directly addressed in the opening paragraph) as an object for meditation. The Disciple's speeches are introduced by various vague expressions⁶ which somewhat affects the coherence of the text. The closing section of the text (in the original, attributed to Wisdom) is again addressed to the reader.⁷ Otherwise, this is a very literal and usually accurate translation,⁸ with only occasional expansions to explain terminology,

and no significant additions to the text.

The *Fifth Chapter* translation⁹ starts slightly earlier in the text than *To Kunne Deie*.¹⁰ The omission of the beginning of the *Scire Mori* chapter in this translation was undoubtedly a decision of the translator: he incorporates the first paragraph of this chapter in Chapter 1 of the *Treatise*.¹¹ This translation omits many of the more complex figures of speech as well as other portions of the text¹² but these do not affect the underlying structure of the piece. In other respects the text is generally accurate, expanding occasionally but again adding no significant material to the text.

Of the three translations, the Lichfield text is undoubtedly the fullest, and I shall quote primarily from it here, referring to the two other translations and the Latin text as edited by Künzle where Li 16 requires clarification.

The *Scire Mori* chapter uses the dialogue between the Disciple and Wisdom as a framework for the Disciple's confrontation with the figure of the Dying Man. In the Lichfield translation, it is the Disciple's request for knowledge that initiates the experience. Wisdom's response is significant and unequivocal:

'Sone, desire þou noȝt to vnderstonde hyȝe þynges, but drede þou God...y schal teche þe first þe bygynnyng of hol-sum lore, þe weche bygynneth in þe drede of God, þe weche is þe bygynnyng of whysdom. And y schal sey hit to þe by ordure: first y schal teche how þou schuldest deye, and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue, & after þat, how þou schuldest resceyue me by sacrament, and, at þe last, how þou schuldest praysy me bysyli with a clene mynde.' Li 16, ll.11-12; 14-19.¹³

The injunction to 'drede...God' rather than to seek wisdom is wholly compatible with Suso's rejection of scholasticism, and here is significant in that it suggests that the function of this chapter is

not ultimately to engender fear of death, but to contribute, as Wisdom indicates, to a process of learning a practical rather than intellectual spiritual 'whysdom'. This process, divided into the four sections mentioned, is outlined in this particular chapter and the three ensuing.¹⁴ The process of learning how to die, then, is the first step in a progress which ideally derives from a fear (awe) of God and results in love and devotion (as witnessed by the reception of the Sacrament and the continual praise of Him). It is not an end in itself, but a part of spiritual life. The importance of this framework will become more obvious in the following chapter, which discusses the manuscript context in which the *Scire Mori* translations are found.

The two other translations omit this introductory section. In the *Treatise*, the chapter opens with the Disciple's question which follows Wisdom's speech quoted above, in which the Disciple queries the worth of learning how to die.¹⁵ Wisdom's reply thus provides the introductory reasoning for the subject of the chapter in this translation, and also in *To Kunne Deie*, which opens some lines into this paragraph.¹⁶ Here, the value of learning to die is expounded more fully. Wisdom distinguishes between a knowledge of mortality, which all people possess, and knowing how to die, which involves a state of preparedness; a readiness to accept death gladly and willingly whenever it should come:

'The konnyng & knowliche for to deye is to haue aredy in al tymes bothe þe herte & þe soule þynkyng on þe last ende, þat whan-euere hit be þat deth come, þat deth may fynde hym aredy, & þat he may resceife þe soule wipoute eny taryyng, as þoȝ he abode & desiryd þe comyng to him of eny frend þat he loued specialy.' Li 16, ll.34-39.

The idea that death itself should not provoke fear, that it should be greeted as a loved friend by those who have properly prepared for

death, is one which occurs elsewhere in the text as part of a process of contrasting good and bad ways of dying. Whether it succeeds in counteracting the fear that is demonstrated by the Young Man as his response to sudden and unprepared-for death will be considered later. Wisdom continues by describing in contrast to this what happens to those who do not know how to die. The link between one's way of life and one's death is immediately made explicit: those who live sinful lives die badly and go to Hell:

'They [those who do not prepare for death] spendyth mucche of here tyme in ydil spechis & iapys & rybawdrye, & in oþer such unþriftynes, and þerfore, anone whan death cometh, forbycause he fyndyth hem unredy, he raueschyth þe soule fro þe body ful wrecched & ledeth hire to helle.' Li 16, ll.43-46.

This suggests that the concern of this chapter is not so much with the actual moment of death and the rituals surrounding it, upon which the *Ars Moriendi* texts proper focus, as with the time leading up to death in which one may prepare for death: with life.

Wisdom continues by introducing the 'sensible and felyng ensaumple' (Li 16, p.3, ll.2-3) which the disciple will experience in order to enable him to learn most efficaciously about death. Here occurs a further interesting description of the function of learning about death:

'...þe mysterye of þys doctrine...schal hugely profiþt as to þe bygynnyng of helthe, and also it schal make þe profiþt as to a stabil fundament of al vfilrtuys.' Li 16, l.53, ll.54-55'⁷

Learning about death is again seen as the first step in the process of attaining spiritual health and additionally, it should provide a stable foundation for virtue. The basis for such a statement is the Biblical text 'Memorare novissima tua et in eternum non peccabis'⁸ often quoted in medieval texts about death, dying and sinfulness but to which Suso

does not directly refer. It again suggests that the real concern of this text is the way in which a specific perception of death profoundly affects one's attitude towards life. Perhaps one can also see a touch of irony here in the suggestion that a knowledge of death contributes to one's health; that it is spiritual health is not of course actually said.

The Disciple now encounters in his imagination the 'feyre 3onge man sodeynly y-take with deth' (Li 16, ll.61-62), or, in the case of *To Kunne Deie*, it is the reader who is presented with the image of the Young Man upon which to meditate. It is through the Young Man's lamentations and the interaction between him and the Disciple that the concerns suggested in the introductory portion of the chapter are fully developed, to be finally made explicit after the death of the Young Man by the Disciple's response to the experience he has undergone and Wisdom's closing speech. This process is less straightforward in *To Kunne Deie*, where the Disciple's speeches are attributed to possible bystanders watching the Young Man die. The development of the Disciple's response is lost, although the momentum of the Young Man's grief is not and is what principally gives structure to this translation.

This analysis of the Young Man's speeches falls into several sections. It is clear from Wisdom's preliminary comments about dying well and dying badly that crucial to an understanding of the nature of an individual's death is a knowledge of how that person lived. The Young Man is clearly an example of one who lived badly, and an analysis of his lamentations yields a picture of the kind of life he led and which consequently one should not lead. Additionally, the Young Man exhorts his audience (the Disciple and the readers of the text) to

learn from his example and listen to his advice, warning them what they should avoid doing in order not to die like him. Furthermore, he draws a picture of the life one ought to lead, through a contrast of what his behaviour was and what it should have been, and through further exhortation of his audience at the request of the Disciple. In the last of his speeches, his death and sentence after death are contrasted with the death and afterlife of one who lived well. All these areas will now be considered, as well as Suso's conception of Purgatory.¹⁹

It must not be overlooked that the Disciple's vision of the Young Man involves an interaction between the two, not merely a series of speeches by the latter. The Young Man's opening speech bewails his fate generally, lamenting that he should have been born, should have wasted his life and is now to die unprepared and be taken to hell (Li 16, ll.64-90). He even pleads that he may not die, prompting the Disciple's rather unsympathetic reminder that all men must submit to death whenever it comes to them: death is moved by no man's plight (Li 16, ll.91-101).²⁰ From this exchange onwards the roles of the interlocutors change: in this, his first speech, the Young Man laments his fate with apparent blindness so that the Disciple attempts to advise him, with little sign of an emotional response to the Young Man's situation; whereas throughout the rest of the text the Young Man takes the lead, analysing his own situation and warning the Disciple to learn from it, whilst the Disciple's attempts at advice (including this one) are exposed as problematic by the Young Man, until the point when the Disciple, increasingly emotional as the chapter progresses,²¹ seems to accept that he needs to learn from him and asks his advice. The Disciple's speech before the Young Man's death concerning the

unwillingness of many to accept the Young Man's teaching is the only one to be accepted unequivocally by the Young Man; by this stage, the Disciple, as well as having become emotionally involved in the Young Man's fate, has begun to understand his arguments, and his final speech confirms that he has understood and accepted his teaching.

Like the Disciple and Wisdom, the Young Man is not the kind of three-dimensional figure one encounters in modern literature: his characteristics are determined by his function in the text. He is young (thirty years old)²² fair and strong.²³ He is not so much evil as improvident. His sins are indicated but only by generalisations, and are representatives of the various kinds of evil into which any ordinary person might be expected to fall.

'Also I weply & wepe þynkyng how y haue lyued, how y haue y-erryd, & how y knewe noȝt þe weye of trewthe. I þynke also þat lyȝt of ryȝtfulnys schone noȝt on me & þe sonne of vndirstindyng spring noȝt on me. I am feynted & wery y-mad, goyng in þe wey of wyckydnes and of lost of myn owen soule, for y haue go ful harde weyes by-cause y knewe noȝt þe weye of God. Alas, what profiȝtyth nowe to me my pryde, or what hath bostyng or rychesses avayled nowe to me?' Li 16, ll.113-120.²⁴

His greatest fault was to defer his repentance and the amendment of his life so that now he is unprepared for death and unable to repent truly because of the fear he is suffering.

'Alas, þerfore now wo is <me>, for as long tyme as y wolde noȝt a-mende my life, <al þe menetyme y taryyd my helthe> of my soule! Alas, þis taryyng of amendyng of my lyfe was ouerelong! Why was I so negligent of my soule? Gode purpose wiþoute bygynnyng, gode wille wiþoute dede-doyng and gode byhestys wiþoute worchyng hauyd destroyed me.' Li 16, ll.196-201.²⁵

His function is to stir the Disciple into a realisation of his own

danger, and in turn to affect the reader to question his/her own situation.²⁶ A portrayal of extreme evil would be potentially alienating in such a situation: the Young Man acts as a mirror in which the Disciple and the reader can see reflected their own sinfulness and improvidence, and their own potential fate should they fail to repent, and such a mirror must therefore offer the possibility of any of a multitude of reflections according to who chooses to look. There are in the text echoes of the widespread *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead*. The *Legend* exists in many variations throughout Europe but the basic narrative is simple: three young men, frequently on a ride through a forest or taking part in a hunt, encounter three dead men, who warn them in words which attained a proverbial status to learn from beholding them: 'What you are, so once were we: what we are, so you shall be'.²⁷ The Young Man's warning to the Disciple to learn from his example is couched in very similar terms.

'And þynke þo þat ryȝt as my dome is nowe, in þe same manere schal be þy dome. Thys daye ys my dome & þyn schal be to-morwe' Li 16, ll. 342-344.

Indeed, the idea of coming face-to-face with death, or with oneself as one would be dead, is one that recurs throughout Western European 'death' literature as a popular *memento mori* theme.²⁸ It is used as an exhortation to repentance so as to avoid damnation, in the same way that the Young Man's sufferings are held up as an example to the Disciple/reader.

Although the Young Man's sins tend to be generalised, certain themes recur, especially that of the danger of possessing riches. The Young Man in his opening speech describes himself as having 'al prosperite at his owen desire' (Li 16, ll.72-73), and this trait (not

after all strictly a sin) is one to which he frequently returns, often in combination with the sin of pride. Significantly, ll.119-120 employ the phrase 'bostyng of riches', suggesting that part of the Young Man's problem may lie in excessive pride in his possessions. The text abounds in comparisons between earthly and spiritual riches,²⁹ emphasising the value of the latter over the former:

'I had leuere now & more ioye hyt schuld be to me
þat y myȝt haue so schort a space whare on y
myȝt deuoztly sey by mysilf o short orison, as is
þe 'Aue Maria', þan to haue þousandys of poundys
of golde and siluer.' Li 16, ll.218-220.

This concern with the effect of riches upon one's salvation has a clear biblical parallel: that of the Rich Young Man, whom Christ commanded to relinquish his goods to the poor and follow him, (Mt 19:16-22), and who prompted Christ's saying: 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven'(Mt 19:24). This incident is not referred to in the texts, although it seems safe to conclude that such teaching was the basis for a portrayal of riches as spiritually damaging. The danger of the possession of riches was also a marked preoccupation of exempla concerned with provoking repentance and contrition,³⁰ and it is therefore unsurprising to find it here in a text likewise concerned with the conversion of its audience's lives. The interplay between the possession of spiritual and worldly riches is particularly striking in the final section of the Young Man's third speech (Li 16, ll. 240-260), and here are to be found two significant biblical allusions. The Young Man describes how he has asked his friends for assistance - for a share of their spiritual goods - and has been refused. He laments his lack of spiritual wealth:

'A gloriouse God, ful hyȝely acceptibile þe lest
workys satisfactoun schule be nowe to me, þat

desire to be refreschyd wyþ þe crowmys þat falleþ
fro lordys bordes, & no man ʒeuyth hem to me.' L1
16, ll.252-54.

This draws on the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus: the rich man refused the beggar Lazarus crumbs from his table and was damned whilst Lazarus was saved. Here it is crumbs of spiritual comfort that the Young Man requests - he is refused these by the spiritually rich, as the rich man was refused help from Lazarus when, in torment in hell, he saw Lazarus sitting among the elect and demanded some comfort from him (Lk 16:19-31).³¹ The parable continues with the rich man requesting that his brothers should be warned about their likely fate if they continue to behave as he did: he is refused his request with the comment that they have had sufficient warning from the prophets: even someone rising from the dead would not change their ways. Perhaps echoes of this would serve as a further incentive for the readers of this text to pay heed to the Young Man's words. This further suggests the nature of the problem of riches for the Young Man: covetousness, which prevented him from using his riches for good through alms-giving. He continues to enjoin his audience to pursue the acquisition of spiritual rather than worldly wealth:

'And þerfore, whiles ʒe haue myȝt and strengþe &
couenable tyme in erthe abydyng, gadere ʒe
togadere into ʒoure barnys heuynly tresures, þat,
whan þe deyeþ, þey maye receyfe ʒow into
euerelastyng tabernaclis, & þat ʒe be noȝt forsake
lere of gode dedys...' L1 16, ll. 255-259.

This draws upon the parable of the rich man who determined to build bigger barns in which to store his grain, comforting himself with thoughts of an easy life ahead, only for God to say to him that he would die that night and his riches would be useless, thus warning of the need to eschew the love of the accumulation of worldly riches in

favour of spiritual gain (Lk 12:16-21; see also Mt 12:19-21 where Christ recommends the same thing as the Young Man). Such an injunction to material poverty and spiritual wealth is unsurprising in a text such as the *Horologium* which is concerned (amongst other things) with expounding the virtues of the religious life: poverty was of course one of the vows associated with such a life. It is interesting however that a similar stress is not placed upon chastity. The Young Man laments his lack of chastity in the lists of sins he committed during his life (Li 16, 1.141), but otherwise chastity receives no great attention.

In addition to his exposition of the problems of too great an attachment to riches, there is one other significant danger which the Young Man warns the Disciple to avoid: that of concerning oneself too greatly with the affairs of one's friends, rather than saving one's own soul: such a concern could lead to one's downfall (Li 16, 11.229-231). Friendship is portrayed as distracting and dangerous during life and unreliable after it. The Disciple's speech concerning those who do not follow the Young Man's advice on living and dying well highlights the role of those friends who comfort a sick man with promises of health, when in reality death is fast approaching. This prevents the sick man from preparing himself properly for death and leads (a little unfairly one feels) to his damnation. 'And in þis manere wise' says the Disciple, 'þey þat beth frendys to þe body beth made enemyes to þe soule' (Li 16, 11.301-302). Such a passage perhaps illustrates the need for the later *Ars Moriendi* texts which instructed the friends and relatives of those sick and dying how they should behave towards the person in their care, as well as assisting the dying person him/herself. Indeed the

Tractatus artis bene moriendi, translated as the *Boke of the Crafte of Dying*, actually includes the instruction that the priest should be sent for before the doctor, and contains a discussion aimed at those caring for the sick to encourage them to consider the good of the sick person's soul.³² In a passage reminiscent of *Everyman*, which of course considerably post-dates this text, the Young Man describes asking his friends for assistance in his extreme need, and being refused by all of them.

'I haue go to al my frendys and y haue sowzt hem euerychone upon wham y had ful gret hope and triste, and y be-souzt hem of here spiritual almys & of habundance of here gode werkys, as for to helpe me in myn nede & for emendacion of my trespasse. And of hem y was clene refusyd, ffor þey seid to me þus: 'We wolle ȝife þe no þyng of oure godys, last we lac þerof whan we haue nede.'
Li 16, ll.240-246.

This passage reflects the belief that it was possible to donate good deeds (suffrages) to souls suffering in Purgatory to mitigate their punishment, although here of course the Young Man is not actually dead. This belief was discussed in detail by Thomas Aquinas,³³ specifically in relation to actions done by the living for the dead, and in the popular Middle English poem the *Fricke of Conscience*,³⁴ which will be discussed in the next chapter. In his vision of Purgatory, too, the souls the Young Man sees in torment lament their assiduous attention to the needs of their friends: they too find themselves betrayed by such actions.³⁵ Furthermore, the Young Man introduces the same theme into his description of the meditation the Disciple should practise in order to ensure he dies well: the soul in this episode has also been abandoned to its pain by its friends.³⁶ This cumulatively suggests the dangers of relying upon friendship to provide one with assistance after one's death: such assistance may not be forthcoming and even if it were

to materialise, it is of considerably less worth than good deeds done by oneself:

'And, þerfore, I knowe now forsoth þat gode warde & kepyng of myn hert and al of myn whyttys schulde more haue profiyꝛted to me for to haue þe magnitude of heuenly ȝyftys, if y had fulfillyd hit wel & iustely be þe space of an houre, more þan schuld now penance & knelyng y-do by eny oþer creature for me, þoꝝ eny frende of myn wolde contynwe and fulfulle hit by þe space of þritty ȝeres.' Ll 16, ll.231-237; Künzle, p.533, ll.4-8.

(Thirty years is of course the age of the Young Man. The Lichfield translation is not wholly accurate at this point, but represents the sense of the Latin reasonably well). These few lines are the key to understanding at least one part of the Young Man's aversion to trusting in friendship: one should accumulate one's own good deeds rather than relying upon other's to provide them, since good deeds done by oneself are of infinitely more worth than anything that may be provided by the prayer and penance of one's friends - even if such friends are faithful. The Young Man's condemnation of friendship is based upon a view of life which places the saving of one's own soul at the heart of one's actions and thus friendship which leads to sin or to improvidence must be discouraged.³⁷

The majority of the other sins mentioned by the Young Man are not discussed in quite such detail. As well as too great an attachment to worldly riches and too great a reliance on friendship, pride, indulgences of the flesh, 'idle speaking', and carelessness of the future of one's soul are all mentioned as dangers to avoid. In response to the Disciple's comments about those who refuse to save themselves, the Young Man describes the state of mind of those who lived as he did, with no regard to their future life.

'And if þou wolt knowe þe cause of þe perel þerof [of sudden and unprepared-for death] þat is so

comune to þe most party of þe pepul, take þou gode hede & y schal sey þe why hit is. Unordynate desire of worschip, & gret wast & superfluite of þe body, & oueremuch loue of eorthly godys, & oueregrete bysines of syngular lustys blyndeth þe hertes of mucche pepul, & bryngeth hem to þis peril þat y am on at þis tyme.' Li 16, ll. 325-330.

This translates:

'Et si vis scire causam tanti et tam communis periculi: ecce honoris appetitus inordinatus, corporis cura superflua, amor terrenus et sollicitudo nimia quaestus rei familiaris excaecunt multitudinis corda diversa, et ad haec perducunt discrimina.' Künzle, (1977), p.535, ll.13-16.

Here outlined are the sins of pride ('honoris appetitus inordinatus'), too great an attention to things of the body (ie such sins as gluttony, lust and sloth), too great a desire for profit in business matters ('sollicitudo nimia quaestus rei familiaris'), that is, covetousness, and love of the world. The suggestion is that it is an over-indulgence in normal feelings and desires that is to be avoided ('honoris appetitus inordinatus, corporis cura superflua, amor terrenus et sollicitudo nimia quaestus rei familiaris'). This again focuses the text upon the ordinary experiences and temptations of life, warning against the dangers of being seduced by worldly values.

So far those elements of the Young Man's argument which relate predominantly to the behaviour the Disciple ought to avoid have been examined, but the descriptions of sinful behaviour are frequently accompanied by suggestions of what should constitute behaviour pleasing to God. Some of this advice has already been explored: the need to gain spiritual alms rather than accumulate worldly riches, for example, and the need to place the salvation of one's own soul before the demands of one's friends. In much the same way that most of the Young Man's lamentations about his sinfulness are generalised, his comments

about the virtues he should have practised are often quite vague, possibly because the following chapter in the *Horologium* is on how to live well:

'Alas, al my dayes beth a-passid: þrytty yeres of my age beth a-scapyd and y-lost and y-spende in wrechidnes, an so negligently forȝete, þat y knowe noȝt þat y haue spende in al my lif tyme on daye in þe wille of God & in excersise of gode virtues, so commendably & profyȝtly as y myȝt and shuld haue do.' Li 16, ll.206-210.³⁸

There are however, a number of areas in which the Young Man does give specific advice. The Disciple suggests to him that repentance of his sins will ensure his salvation even at this stage (Li 16, ll.173-180), but the Young Man rejects this on the grounds that death-bed repentance may be motivated more by fear than by sorrow for one's sins. Instead, he praises penance carried out during one's life:

'O glorious God, ful blessid is penance and ful sykyr is repentance þat is take on tyme, but he þat puttyth him silf late to penance, he schal be late in doȝt & vncertayne wheȝer he haue fulfullyd hit truly or feynnyngly.' Li 16, ll.193-196.

Elsewhere in the text there is a tendency to describe life as a period of penance to be spent doing good in order to ensure the future of one's soul (Li 16, ll.168-172). Indeed, the Disciple implores God to punish him for his sins in this life rather than in the next (Li 16, ll.466-470). The idea that tribulation in this world mitigates one's punishment in the next is a commonplace in medieval spiritual writing. It is perhaps related to the early idea, expressed by writers such as Gregory the Great, that purgatorial punishments could actually be experienced on earth by guilty souls.³⁹ Together such comments suggest that the function of life is to make reparation for the sins one inevitably commits. Sinfulness is inescapable and the most one can

do is attempt to ward off the consequences of one's sinful nature by continual vigilance and by penance. Hence when the Disciple asks the Young Man to tell him how to avoid dying badly, it is the need for repentance during one's life, whilst one has the opportunity to confess, receive absolution and carry out one's penance, that is recommended:

'The best conseele & hyȝest wisdom & most forsyȝt þat may be þer-on is þat þou dispose þysilf, whilys þou art hole & strong of body, <by trew contricion>, by pure & hole confession, & by worþy satisfaccoun. And cast þou away fro þe al uȝous þynges þat beth lettyng & drawyng þe abakward fro euerelastyng helth, and so kepe þe bysily þysilf at al tymes, as þoȝ þou schuldst passe oute fro þis world þis same day wiþin þe space of an howre, or tomorwe, or, at þe ferþyst, wiþin þe woke.' Li 16, ll.266-273.

This describes the need for a radical change in one's mental outlook: an awareness of sinfulness and the need to repent; a serious and comprehensive examination of conscience followed by confession and 'satisfaccoun' (reparation for one's sins); the removal of all evil from one's life and a continual consciousness not so much of one's mortality as of the uncertainty of when death will come. Such a state of mind, a state, that is, of continual preparedness, is of course frequently recommended in the Gospels, in such parables as the Thief in the Night (Mt 24:42-44) and the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Mt 25:1-13). There are oblique references to similar biblical passages in the text.⁴⁴ These parables have been interpreted to refer to the Second Coming of Christ but may equally well be applied to the arrival of death.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the development of the sacrament of confession, but a brief indication of some of the changes that took place with regards to the form and frequency of confession between the seventh and tenth centuries are undoubtedly useful in understanding the stress placed on the various elements of this

sacrament here. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 formalised the necessity for all Christians to make a private confession once a year. The early Church had a quite different conception of penance in which penitents renounced their sins and did penance publically, but could only do so once;⁴¹ this gradually gave way to the form confirmed by Lateran IV. This resulted in the need to educate both clergy and laity about the various kinds of sin and how to examine one's conscience, as the importance of ignorance of what constituted sin and hence of the intention behind any action were explored in relation to what constituted sinful behaviour. This text by its consideration of sinfulness in part reflects this concern. The Young Man's injunctions concerning confession would suggest that at the point when this text was written (1334) the need to expound the importance of confession (and, it would seem, especially the importance of doing one's penance promptly) had not receded: indeed, many of those manuscripts in which the Middle English translations occur also reflect this concern through the presence of other texts as well as this one.⁴² The larger question of which emotions this text commends as appropriate for contrition is discussed below (pp.103-106) in relation to the role of fear in this text.

The passage quoted above continues by recommending that the Disciple should meditate upon the prospect of his soul doing penance in purgatory for his sins and to imagine himself granted one year on earth 'in helpyng of þy silf' (L1 16, ll.276-7; full passage, ll.273-285). There are many exempla in which souls return from Purgatory to ask aid of their friends to help them escape their suffering;⁴³ here, in a unusual twist to this theme, the Disciple is recommended to consider his own soul in pain and to do penance to aid himself. Such a vision

is clearly calculated to inspire the Disciple with sufficient fear of the pains the soul is portrayed as experiencing so that he feels the need for fervent penance and to be constantly on the guard against sin. The Young Man also offers the picture of himself at the point of death as a suitable subject for meditation:⁴⁴

'And haue þou hyzely me on þy mynde: þynke bysyly on my wordes & wryȝte hem wysely on þyn herte. And haue þou hyzely me on þyn herte. And whan þou hast by gode avisement y-seyȝe my sorwys & angwischys, byholde þou & þynke þou what schal come to þe on haste. And þynke þou þat ryȝt as my dome is nowe, in þe same manere schal be þy dome. Thys daye ys my dome & þyn schal be to-morwe. By-holde þou on me & haue þou on mynde þys nyȝt whare on þou seest me sooffre al þis sorwe!" Li 16, ll.338-345.

Here the Young Man invites his audience to picture him dying and to place themselves in a similar position. Such a meditation, by bringing home the perils of unprepared-for sudden death, ought to bring about the same kind of reaction as meditating upon Purgatory: a desire to repent in order to avoid retribution for one's sins. This brings into focus the whole question of what thoughts and emotions might legitimately motivate the desire to confess and receive absolution. What prompts the Disciple's request for advice from the Young Man is the fear that the vision of the Young Man in a state of terror at his impending death and possible damnation has created in him: he wishes to alter his life to avoid such a fate. Furthermore the Young Man himself uses fear as the most powerful tool at his disposal to enforce his message of the need to repent and avoid dying badly. The various methods he suggests by which one may foster an awareness of the need for repentance and the avoidance of sin are all based upon fear: the process of meditating upon the Young Man in the state of misery and fear with which he as a sinful and heedless person is portrayed as

meeting death, or upon one's own soul in Purgatory suffering for one's sins both rely for their effectiveness upon the terror they provoke. Similarly, the Young Man's descriptions of his own painful death and his vision of Purgatory are hardly calculated to reassure his audience. The Disciple's response to the Young Man's death is permeated with fear (Li 16, ll.425-426; 429-434; 445-447 etc): a fear of the dangers of sudden death and consequently the possibility of damnation. He is therefore led to promise to amend his life as the Young Man advises. In this text, then, fear is used ultimately to provoke the desire to repent - contrition - and to live well in order to die well and avoid damnation. This fear is predominantly the fear of pain; pain experienced both during and after death. There is some mention of the loss of God as an element of this pain, as opposed to the pain caused by physical torment, but the love of God as a reason to avoid damnation is not invoked.

The use of fear as a spiritual tool is problematic and was recognised as such in the Middle Ages. In her book on lyric poetry in the Middle Ages,⁴⁵ Woolf has a most illuminating discussion of the role of fear in death poetry which may also be used to shed light upon this text. She points out that within Christian thought two kinds of fear were distinguished:

'...the one, *timor servilis*, by which a man would refrain from evil actions through fear of punishment in hell, the other, *timor filialis* or *castus* by which a man, already loving God, might fear through sin to lose Him. The second is compatible with love of God in this world, the first is not. This distinction was maintained in the Middle Ages... What, however, distinguishes the medieval treatment of servile fear from that of the Fathers is the place that it finds, not in theological treatises, but in the work of mystical and affective writers. In this it is often made the beginning of the soul's return to God: St Bernard, followed by many others, such as St

Catherine of Siena, describes how the sinful soul's path to divine union leads from servile fear through cupidity to love.'**

It is obvious from this that the kind of fear which a consideration of the pains of death, Purgatory and Hell provokes is *timor servilis* - servile fear - a fear which Woolf points out is unacceptable as a primary motivating force in Christianity, based as it is upon self-love rather than love of God. This fear is seen by Woolf to be justified only if it is a part of a process of turning towards God which eventuates in love of Him. Opinion amongst theologians in the Middle Ages over the role of servile fear in contrition was divided between those who saw only an overwhelming love of God as an acceptable motive for repentance and those who accepted fear as at least an initial element of the complex of emotions resulting in contrition, providing this fear led eventually to a love of God.⁴⁷ Ideally, then, not only is meditation upon death not an end in itself, neither is the process of repentance that it engenders through the use of servile fear the desired end result: ultimately one must learn to love God and be motivated through this love and not through fear to eschew sin and live well. This text at least does not hesitate to use images of suffering and pain as part of its argument to avoid sinfulness: Suso presumably was one of those who accepted at least the limited usefulness of fear in this context, and his Middle English translators appear to accept this element of his text unhesitatingly. However it may be remembered that in the opening paragraphs of the *Scire Mori* chapter learning how to die is seen as only the first step towards God: learning how to live, how to receive the Sacrament of Communion and how to praise God at all times follow. This suggests that for Suso, who was after all an affective mystic devoted to the love of Jesus, the

fear that is invoked in this chapter is expected to give way to a devotion to God based on more positive feelings. Furthermore, when one places this chapter within the context of the whole of the *Horologium*, it might even be possible to argue that the Disciple has a sufficiently developed relationship with God for him to be motivated by love as well as fear, despite the fact that the love of God is not invoked substantially here. However, the existence of this chapter in translation in isolation from the rest of the *Horologium*, and in versions which omit Wisdom's opening comment complicates matters. What is not known is whether the translators of the two versions of this chapter which exist independent of the rest of the *Horologium* considered the message of this chapter as self-sufficient, or whether they too saw the process described in it as only the beginning of the journey back to God from sin; a journey prompted by an awareness of the significance of man's mortality and his possible fate after the grave. The *Fifth Chapter*, on the other hand, in its original position within the *Treatise* was clearly placed within the context of a spiritual journey towards God which involved a far wider complex of emotions and devotions than are here suggested, although it too circulated outside this context. In such circumstances the manuscript context within which the versions of this chapter are found - perhaps accompanied by texts which support Woolf's argument, or perhaps by texts which enforce a preoccupation with fear, pain and punishment - offers a suggestion of the way in which this question was perceived by those who read the text, if not necessarily by those who prepared it. This will be considered in detail in the next chapter.

In response to the Young Man's arguments urging the need for repentance and the continual awareness of the possibility of death, the Disciple makes the important point that despite the power of the Young Man's words many people still refuse to consider the possibility of sudden death and (as I have discussed above), sick people are not always sufficiently well-informed by those around them to prepare for their end. According to the Young Man, those people who refuse to act upon his advice will be damned: such wilfully negligent behaviour alienates them completely from the possibility of God's mercy:

'Therfor þey schul crye after grace & mercy whan þey beth y-cawȝt in þe gryne of deþ, & whan sodeyne departynges falleþ on hem, & whan tempest of deyng comyþ unawhare upon hem, & whan tribulacoun & angwys hath sette ceesyng on lime. And þan schal þey no mercy haue bycause þey hatyd wisdom & dispisid to huyre my conseile.' Li 16, ll.309-314.

Such unpleasant descriptions of death are reserved for those who die 'vndisposid'. This is clearly in keeping with Wisdom's distinction in the introductory section between those who die undisposed and therefore badly, and who will be damned, and those who prepare themselves for death and thus die well and are saved. The Young Man in fact continues by outlining the fate of those who do die well, contrasting it with his own death (Li 16, ll.345-424). He is of course a representative of those who die undisposed, despite being informed of their possible fate: he scorned to listen to the advice of those around him (Li 16, ll.164-167). His death is a potent reminder then to his audience of the seriousness of his advice.

Two contrasting attitudes towards death and two ways of dying are presented in the text. There are those who, like the Young Man, ignore

the advice they were given and refuse to amend their lives to take account of the threat of sudden death and possible damnation. For these, the advent of death is a fearful and horrible experience, and the portrayal of the way the Young Man finally dies illustrates what death means to them. For those who do live well, however, the thought and experience of death is quite different, and offer the Disciple/reader a model of what may be achieved. The Young Man suggests that a recognition of the proper worth of the world in comparison to the value of heavenly life leads to a desire for death:

'...but þer beth fewe men y-founde þat beth profy3tly disposyd to deth, by-cause of malice of here tyme þat þey haue lyuyd, & for defawte of spiritual loue for contynuanche of wyckydnes of þe worlde beyng alwey enclynyng into euyl, þat beth nowe in such deuocioun of hert & in wille of forsakyng of her synnes þat coueyteth to deye for desire of euere-lasting lyfe, & þat desireþ wiþ al here ynnest affeccon to be wiþ Crist...' Li 16, ll.315-321.

By following the Young Man's advice, the Disciple can achieve a similar state of mind, not only not fearing death, but embracing it as 'and ende of þy labour' (Li 16, l.337). For such people who achieve a state of mind like this (surely not many!) the experience of death, or at least of what comes after death, is a happy one:

'And ful blessid is he þat God schalt fynde wakyng whan he comyth and knockyth at þe 3ate, and ful glad schal he be whan oure lord schal fynde a-redy in þat howre, & ful blessidly schal he dey, þo3 þa he be hyzely turmentyd wiþ ouerhyze bitternyse of deth. And what <owre þat hit be þat> suche a man or woman be take wiþ deth, he schal be sette on reste: he schal be trewly y-purifyed & y-bro3t to þe sy3t of þe loye of God. & he schal be kepte of angelys, & he schal be lad of heuynly cytesence, & vndirfangge of al þe felowschype of heuyn. Blessid schal his entryng be whan his soule schal come to þylke heuynly courte!" Li 16, ll.346-354.

Although Künzle⁴⁸ does not cite any source for this passage, it bears

considerable resemblance to certain liturgical prayers in the burial rites in the Sarum Manuale⁴⁹ concerned with the fate of the soul after death. These contain a series of petitions aimed at securing the safe passage of the soul to God and through these petitions describe the ideal future of man after death as well as the dangers which threaten him. Typically, after pleas for forgiveness and for help against the powers of darkness, angelic guidance is requested to conduct the soul to a place of rest there to await the coming of Christ on the Last Day. The resurrection of the body at the Last Judgement and its elevation to Paradise to sit at God's right hand form the usual concluding petitions. A number of these ideas are present in this passage. The expression 'in refrigerio erit', translated in L1 16 as 'he schal be sette on reste', and in *To Kunne Deie* as 'he schal be in refreischinge' (L260), is closely related to the requests for 'refrigerium' for the soul, although in this text, it would seem clear that the soul is envisaged as journeying directly to God, not as experiencing a period of rest beforehand: the quality of 'refrigerium' is attributed to Heaven itself. Likewise, the descriptions of the entry into Heaven, guided by the angels and welcomed by the saints, employs very similar terminology to parallel passages in the liturgical prayers. One antiphon in particular, said when the body is carried out of the church for burial after the *Requiem* Mass and still in use in the Catholic Church today illustrates this point well: 'In paradisum deductant te angeli; in suum conuentum suscipiant te martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Ierusalem'.⁵⁰ The description of the beatific vision in this passage is not found in these prayers however. The term 'y-purified' (purgabitur) here is extremely interesting. Le Goff indicates that in the discussions which developed the idea of Purgatory there was some

debate over who would be subject to the purifying fire mentioned in 1Cor3 10-15, some authorities maintaining that even Christ experienced it.⁵¹ Here it would seem that Suso considers even the righteous who are to enter Heaven will experience purification beforehand. It seems likely that the similarity between this passage and such prayers would have been recognised by the Medieval audience of this text, and the appropriateness of the allusion acknowledged. Furthermore, in Book One of the *Horologium* there is a chapter in which Suso discusses the Joys of Heaven.⁵² Here, he envisages the elect peopling a beautiful celestial city, the heavenly Jerusalem, and it is to this that one ought most probably envisage those souls that live and die well ascending.

Such a triumphant procession is perhaps one of the most positive inducements the text offers to die well, and contrasts greatly with the Young Man's death which follows. Throughout the text his fear of death in his undisposed state has been emphasised: for him it is not something to be welcomed or embraced. He dreads meeting God and the court of Heaven and being judged for his sins (L1 16, ll.386-389; ll.391-393): there will be no such triumphal entry for him. The judgement to which the Young Man refers would seem to be the individual judgement of the soul which was deemed to take place after death in order to determine the fate of the Soul until the Last Judgement; the judgement he fears is imminent:

'O gloriouse God, ful dredful is þe sȳt of þe þat
art most ryȳtfullȳst iuge, þe weche sȳt is nowē
present to me by drede & sone schal hit come
sodeynly by dede doynge.' L1 16 ll.391-393.

The concept of an individual judgement immediately after death was developed in response to the development of the doctrine of

Purgatory:⁵³ the Last Judgement is final and irreversible and does not allow for the presence of a third option other than salvation or damnation, such as that provided by Purgatory, which allows for a kind of deferred salvation. From the Young Man's words it would seem that even this judgement is to be feared, although the Last Judgement, as the ultimate expression of the fate of the souls of men, was the usual focus for fear in literature about sin and death.

The experience of death is physically painful for the Young Man, involving the gradual loss of his bodily functions:

'By-hold myn hondys bygynneth to veldy & croky a-downward; my face wexith wanne; my syjt bygynneth to dasewy, & myn y3en draweth donward into myn hede & turnyth upsodon. Alas now, who is me! For now alle þe bitter peynes of deþ compasith me al abo3te, & now by-gynneth þei to straungely my febyl herte...' Li 16, ll.372-377.

Lists of symptoms such as this were commonplace in literature about old age, sickness and death.⁵⁴ Here, they assist in the visualisation of the death-scene and contribute to the atmosphere of desolation and terror. The popular medieval idea that demons were present at one's death-bed to torment and tempt one (Julian of Norwich reports them as a part of her *Revelations*, and they are discussed in the *Ars Moriendi*) is also a part of the Young Man's experience (Li 16, ll.382-386). The Young Man's final moments are enlivened by a vision of Purgatory and the torments of the souls therein, as a prelude to his occupation of this place until further notice. His final words are an exhortation to the Disciple always to remember what he has experienced, and thus he dies.

As it is portrayed, the Young Man's death and the torment to which he is to be subject are terrifying and comfortless to those already unsettled by the earlier discussions of sinfulness, as the

Disciple's reaction indicates. They serve as an illustration of why his words should be heeded and provide further motivation for change.

There is a certain amount of contradiction in the text over the Young Man's ultimate fate. He clearly expects himself to be damned through his negligence in preparing for his future:

'O þou day, to-morwe! to-morwe! ful long hast þou taryed, and in tristyng of tomorwe þou hast draw me into helle!' Li 16, ll.201-202.

Furthermore, he describes those who do not follow his advice and who do what he did as being liable to damnation (Li 16, ll.309-314; ll.323-325) but then, when he is on the point of death, he says that he is to be led to Purgatory not to Hell:

'& now y turne þe syȝt of my mynde to purgatorie wheder y schal be lad, & þennys schal y noȝt come into tyme y haue payed & ȝeld aȝene þe lest verthyng þat y am dew to paye.' (Li 16, ll.394-397.

This 'last farthing' is biblical in origin, coming from the version of the Sermon on the Mount given in Matthew where Christ discusses the appropriate punishment for particular sins (Mt 5:26).⁵⁵ Such an expression would suggest a view of purgatorial punishment as taking the place of 'satisfaction' (ie reparation for one's sins) which should have been carried out on earth: the Young Man has a debt to pay for his heedlessness which is to be abstracted from him through pain in Purgatory.

This change in the Young Man's fate is interesting. On the one hand, the portrayal of Purgatory is hardly likely to encourage anyone to wish to be sent there, although, in fact, the accepted teaching was that nearly everyone would spend at least some time there atoning for their unrepented venial sins;⁵⁶ on the other it is hardly consistent to suggest that the behaviour of the Young Man and those like him is

damnable and yet for the Young Man to be then offered the hope of eventual salvation through the pains of Purgatory. There are three possible reasons for the Young Man's eventual fate: that his sins were not so serious as to demand damnation (although he seems to think they are); that despite his protestations concerning the danger of deathbed repentance (Li 16, ll.181-196), he is sincere in his sorrow for his sinful life and thus obtains God's mercy, or that Purgatory itself rather than Hell is seen as a sufficient punishment for such figures as the Young Man and a sufficient deterrent to the Disciple/reader. Although it is difficult to determine which or any of these could be the underlying reason for this change (if reason there must be), the choice of Purgatory as the Young Man's fate after death is not without its power. The effectiveness of Purgatory as an inducement for conversion from sinfulness lies partly in its closeness to Hell (in terms of the pains suffered there) and partly in its closeness to Heaven (in that, unlike Hell, it offers the hope of the eventual entry into Heaven). By entering Purgatory, the Young Man both suffers the kinds of pains he would have done in Hell, thus underlining the seriousness of his sinfulness, and demonstrates the possibility of receiving the grace of God's mercy: he reminds one neither to trust in one's goodness or ^{to} despair in one's sinfulness.

The sentence of Purgatory is by no means portrayed as a light one: the pains suffered in it are more terrible than any mortal could describe (Li 16, ll.470-472). The souls unfortunate enough to inhabit it are subject to a combination of extreme physical pain and mental anguish. The pain is provided by fire,⁵⁷ although other descriptions of Purgatory focus upon a wide range of torments including both fire and ice, usually accompanied by various unpleasant instruments of torture

often wielded by devils; poisonous frogs, worms, snakes, lizards etc; noxious smells, and so on. Such texts tend to be representations of popular belief, in the sense that whilst many exempla and works such as St Patrick's Purgatory⁵⁸ involved descriptions of such torments, theological writers considered that the pain of Purgatory consisted of fire since 1 Cor 3:10-15, on which the doctrine of Purgatory is substantially based, talks of being tried by fire.⁵⁹ Fire as a trial after death is a common theme in writers from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas, and whether this fire was real or metaphorical was the subject of much debate.⁶⁰ In relation to the nature of purgatorial pains, then, the descriptions in this text are quite moderate, although there is some mention of physical torment (Li 16, ll.397-405; ll.415-419) and the devils do make an appearance, waiting to torment the Young Man as his soul leaves his body (Li 16, ll.382-386).⁶¹ In the Latin text, these are described thus:

'En cruentae bestiae, larvales daemonum facies,
nigri Aethiopes innumnerabiles circumdant me...'
(Künzle, (1977) p.536, ll.26-27) ie ('Lo,
bloodthirsty beasts, ghostly or masked faces of
demons, innumerable black Ethiopians encircle
me...')

The *To Kunne* translation is quite accurate here: 'Lo, blodi beestis, viseride facis of feendes, blake ethiopiens vnnoumberable cumpassen me...' (ll.288-289), but both the *Fifth Chapter* and the Lichfield translation are not straightforward in their translations of 'nigri Aethiopes'. The *Fifth Chapter* attempts some representation of the phrase, at least retaining both the adjectives 'black' and 'innumerable':

'Loo þe crwel beestes, þe horrible faces of
develes and blake forshapen þinges withoute
nombre haven environed me...' (Armstrong, (1966),
p.96, ll.4-6)

whilst the Lichfield translation produces something even further from

the original, although the Latin in the manuscript is accurate at this point:

'Alas now horrible bestys & þe dredful facys of
deuelys & fendys wipoute noumbre þat beth
disfygured goth abouȝt me on euery side...' (L1 16,
ll.282-284).

It is intriguing, although unprofitable, to speculate whether the producer of the Lichfield text understood his exemplar and translated as he did through a fear it might be either misleading or incomprehensible to his audience, whether such a translation actually indicates what he understood the phrase to represent (ie that North Africans were considered to be disfigured fiends) or whether he simply did not understand the Latin text. The fact that both the *Fifth Chapter* and the Lichfield translation introduce the concept of misshapeness ('forshapen' and 'disfygured') suggests that the second of these is a possibility. The relevant entries for the nouns 'Ethiope' and 'Ethiopien' in the MED suggest a reasonably wide circulation of these words: many of the references listed are to biblical translations and psalters, and authors such as Chaucer, Lydgate, Trevisa and Capgrave are also mentioned. Although most of these involve some reference to colour, none have any mention of Hell or Purgatory, and only one suggests ugliness.⁶² Such terminology might therefore seem unusual to an English translator of this text, although, of course, there is no way of knowing what popular associations these words had. That Purgatory should be inhabited by 'nigri Aethiopes' is not in fact unusual: Künzle lists various previous occurrences of such an expression, including a reference to a vision of Arsenius, a favorite ^u_A writer of Suso.⁶³ A slightly different usage of colour is found in the black/white imagery in a narrative in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*

outlined by Le Goff.⁶⁴ This is a vision of the afterworld in which a bridge separates the elect and the damned. When the protagonist tries to cross the bridge, black creatures attempt to pull him down, whilst white men lift him up. This is interpreted allegorically by the visionary as representing the battle between his vices and his virtues, but elsewhere, the inhabitants of Hell are represented as black,⁶⁵ perhaps as a result of a combination of such imagery as this.

It is interesting to note that the description of the mental anguish of those in Purgatory focuses upon the abandonment of the souls by those who might be expected to offer support: those friends whom the souls helped in life and who now refuse to help the souls escape its torment (Li 16, ll.406-413, although this is not a good translation of this passage; see also above p.97). Purgatory itself, at least in the Lichfield translation, is a place of selfishness and consequently loneliness:

'Her is no creature þat scheweth eny triste to me,
& here is none þat putteth forth eny honde to
helpe me in my disese. Euery man kepeþ his owne
gode for him silf & forsaketh me, stondyng a-lone
in myn angwysschys.' Li 16, ll.282-285.

However, this is an ambiguous passage, and the two other translations suggest that this lamentation could refer to the abandonment of the soul by its friends on earth. The *Fifth Chapter* reads:

'...for I am forsaken of þis world. Þer nis none
þat scheweþ kyndenes or þat wol putte [his hond
to helpe me nedy. Everychone seken her owne
profite and han forsaken me and laft me in þis
vengeable brennyng flawmes alle desolate.'
Armstrong (1966), p.90. ll.7-11.⁶⁶

Whichever interpretation is correct, the passage serves to underline the bitter regret and anguish of the soul which sees itself betrayed and alone. Since one of the significant elements in the development of the

doctrine of Purgatory was the relationship it affirmed between the dead and the living, who were able to affect the fate of the souls suffering in purgatory through prayers, masses and alms-giving, such a passage as this may seem a little surprising. There are however many exempla which describe people experiencing visitations from the souls of dead friends now suffering in Purgatory for their sins, who beg for assistance. Amongst other things, these exempla suggest that perhaps the practise of praying for the dead was not so assiduously carried out as it should have been.

The ultimate torment for those in Purgatory is, however, the absence of 'þe blessyd syȝt of þe face <of gode &> of <his> godhede' (L1 16, p. 16, ll.419-421). Curiously, Armstrong punctuates this passage to suggest these words are spoken by the Young Man, rather than by the lamenting souls he sees in his vision of Purgatory. The concept of the beatific vision was developed, according to Le Goff, during the thirteenth century⁶⁷ and consequently does not figure in many of the early texts relating to places of purgation or Purgatory itself, once such a place was conceived. Where the absence of the beatific vision is mentioned by the texts Le Goff examines it is not regarded as a severe torment, except by Stephen of Bourbon, and it is consequently interesting for it to be employed in this way here.⁶⁸

The final aspect of the description of Purgatory worthy of comment is the representation of time. There seems to be some attempt to relate temporal time and purgatorial time, which is not unusual in texts about Purgatory.⁶⁹ The first such instance occurs when the Young Man recommends the Disciple meditate upon a vision of his soul

in Purgatory suffering for his sins as a means to ensure he does do penance for his sins on earth (Li 16, ll.273-285). Here it is suggested that the ten years of pain in Purgatory relate to one year's penance on earth, an equation reminiscent of the relationships drawn elsewhere in the text between the relative values of time spent in good and time spent in evil. However, the pains of Purgatory infinitely surpass those suffered on earth, as the souls the Young Man sees in his vision of Purgatory lament:

'The cruelnes of suffrance of þys peyne on howre þat we nowe suffereth is more greuous þan alle þe peynes þat beth on erth wold be to eny man þoz he lay and suffred hem echone to-gederys an hundred 3erys.' Li 16, ll.415-419.⁷⁰

The experience of an hour's pain in Purgatory is equivalent to one hundred years torture on earth. This relationship between temporal and purgatorial time seems to be employed for the sake of emphasis - to stress the value of penance on earth and the terrors of pain in Purgatory - rather than in order to construct some kind of realistic time-structure for the after-life: Suso is certainly not one of those who indulged in what Le Goff called 'vulgar arithmetical time-keeping'.⁷¹

In Suso's portrayal of Purgatory may be seen a mixture of 'popular' beliefs and ideas which were discussed and clarified by scholars, from Augustine in the fourth century to Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth, who were concerned with deciding what happened to the soul after death. There is in fact not a single element in Suso's descriptions of Purgatory which does not have some parallel elsewhere. The combination of ideas this text contains suggests that by the early fourteenth century, when Suso was writing, ideas about Purgatory were

sufficiently widespread, at least within educated monastic circles, for a writer to amalgamate many diverse themes of equally diverse origins. It also bears witness to the fact that Purgatory as a deterrent against sin was perceived by this time as as powerful a weapon as Hell had been previously.

The Disciple's final speech illustrates to what extent he has been affected by the vision he has experienced. He is deeply frightened by what he has seen, to the extent that he is unsure whether what he has just experienced was vision or reality (Li 16, 11.430-434). However, after this initial fear, his reaction is one of gratitude: he recognises the value of the lesson he has been taught and determines to gain from it. What he determines to do shows how fully he has assimilated the teaching of the Young Man: he will repent (Li 16, 1.435), cease to defer his penance (Li 16, 1.444) and amend his life by giving up those self-indulgent practises which hold him back from God (Li 16, 11.447-451). Moreover, he appears to have achieved the state that the Young Man described of rejecting the world and desiring only heaven (Li 16, 11.440-443). It is his fear of the pains of Purgatory which motivate him and bring about his determination to live well so that he may die well (Li 16, 11.451-453). Despite his various confident assertions he is nonetheless still fearful, dreading the possibility of sudden death (Li 16, 11.475-477), and pleading with God that he may suffer his penance on earth and not in Purgatory (Li 16, 11.466-470). This section attempts to condense into a short space both the initial reaction of the Disciple - that of fear - and his determination to repent, and the idealised state of mind he is supposed to achieve. It acts as a further incentive to the reader to respond to the Young Man's advice,

presenting him/her with a convenient summary of what reaction is to be expected as a result of an interactive reading of the text, and what actions may be taken to both alleviate this reaction and enable one to live and die well.

Wisdom's final speech is of reassurance to the Disciple. As well as recapitulating many of the points already made concerning repentance, the need to be constantly aware of the possibility of sudden death and so on, s/he makes one final new and important point:

'And whan þou schalt come to þys houre of deyyng,
if þou hast mynde þat þou hast y-do contrarye
ajens Goddys comaundementys, þan committe þou þi
silf only to þe mercy of God, and putte þou his
passioun betwene þe & his dome, & triste þou to
be yholpe þorw his mercy.' Li 16, ll.480-484.

This is illustrative of the tone of the whole passage, which seeks to ensure that the Disciple's experience is a positive one, despite the element of fear which it involved. Such advice occurs at this point rather than in the Young Man's speech because it is necessary for the Disciple first to learn the dangers of not preparing for death, trusting in the possibility of last minute repentance and appeals to God. The advice given here by Wisdom in no way allows for a more lax attitude to preparation for death: the Young Man has already warned of the fate of those who ignore his words, and Wisdom also enjoins the Disciple to lead his life in a state of constant awareness of the possibility of sudden death (Li 16, ll.519-522). Rather, in order to prevent the possibility of despair in the face of an awareness of sinfulness at the moment of death, Wisdom emphasises the power of God's love and mercy. Coupled with a sincere attempt to live life well, this trust in God completes the picture of how to die well with which the Disciple is presented in this chapter.

In *To Kunne Deie* these last two speeches are presented rather differently. Rather than the Disciple being moved to repent and amend his life, it is one of the Young Man's friends who reacts thus. This section of the speech effectively functions in much the same way as the Disciple's speech, in illustrating how powerful an example the Young Man's death is supposed to be. However, the treatment of Wisdom's speech is more problematic. In both manuscripts, these two speeches are punctuated so as to suggest that the two scribes regarded them as being combined. However, Bod 789 makes it clear that the first section of the text is directly addressed to the reader (*To Kunne Deie*, 1.14), and it would seem likely that this final section is similarly directed, especially since what was the break between the two speeches is marked by an address to 'you, mooste dereworþe freend' (*To Kunne Deie*, 1.353). If such an hypothesis is correct, that is, if this translation is framed by direct addresses to the reader made by some unspecified narrator, this is arguably quite a powerful structure, enabling the reader to experience a more direct relationship with the Young Man. The reader's role comes closer to that of the Disciple, in a similar way to that proposed by Fisher to readers of his *Spiritual Consolation*.⁷²

The concept of learning how to die which is taught by this chapter is not the same as that with which the later *Ars Moriendi* texts are concerned. These focus upon the actual deathbed and how the dying person and those around him/her should cope with his/her imminent death; this text, on the other hand, uses the example of a dying person to focus on how life may be used as a full and sure preparation for death. Crucial to the argument of this text is that how one responds to the moment of death is intimately linked to how

one has lived one's life: a good life results in a good death, a bad life in a bad death. There is in the text an implicit link between sudden death and dying badly. Sudden death, *mors repentina*, was regarded with great fear in the Middle Ages: Ariès⁷³ contrasts it with the concept of 'tamed death' which he postulates existed in the early Middle Ages and suggests it was seen as 'ignominious and shameful'.⁷⁴ Sermon exempla concerned with penance would suggest that this fear was, at least in the minds of the clergy, associated with the lack of opportunity to repent before death,⁷⁵ and this is certainly the attitude displayed in this text (L1 16, ll.109-113).

In her consideration of medieval death lyrics Woolf is also concerned with the question of fearing death,⁷⁶ pointing out that it may seem that a Christian ought not to do so, given that Christ conquered both physical death and the spiritual death of the soul by His own death and Resurrection. However, because death was seen as a punishment for sin and not a 'natural' part of life, writers from Augustine onwards accept that it has a disturbing quality for those unprepared to meet it: the sinful, in fact. The natural tendency, then, was not to think about death and thus to avoid the fear that accompanied it. Woolf concludes⁷⁷ that by persuading the reader to consider his or her own mortality despite this reluctance to do so, the death lyric (with which she is primarily concerned) may bring about virtue and lessen one's attachment to worldly vanities:

'But this examination of the details of death can not only frighten the meditator into virtue, but also persuade him into a lesser estimation of the objects of his cupidity, for self-aggrandizement and reliance upon material splendour and prosperity seem insecurely based when measured against the eventual squalor and decay of the body in the grave.'⁷⁸

This is of course precisely what this text aims to do: even those temptations which Woolf here lists are those mentioned in this text (Li 16, ll.327-330 etc), although it is not the physical decay of the body which is used as the means of causing repentance.

What this text seeks to teach is that ideally death, when one is properly prepared to meet it, should not be feared: one ought to look forward to it as a release from the evils of life and as the entry to an eternal life of bliss. Death, whether sudden or expected, is only feared if it is approached without preparation: if one is prepared through living a life of good deeds, constantly aware of the possibility of death, then it can never be the unwelcome guest it is for the Young Man. Learning how to die then, is here defined as learning how to live. A fear of unprepared death impels the Disciple to promise to alter his way of life; his concern is not with the actual moment of death and the rituals that might surround that moment, but with the kind of life which leads up to that moment. Thus the ensuing chapters in the *Horologium* are concerned with the proper way to live.

This chapter, then, is ultimately focused away from death. Death is the starting point from which to learn about how to live; it is not to be concentrated on for itself but for the spiritual benefit it can provoke during one's life. It is seen as a transitional point, through which one has to pass and for which life is the preparation and Heaven, perhaps via Purgatory, or Hell possible rewards. From the example of the Disciple and the Dying Man one may learn that an awareness of mortality should lead to positive action to live a good christian life, and not to a constant preoccupation with decay and the pains beyond death in Hell or Purgatory that are generally taken to characterise

macabre literature. Indeed, the text is as much concerned with creating a specific attitude towards one's mortality as towards one's death. To be continually aware of one's mortality causes the continual examination of one's behaviour in the light of eternal values rather than transitory and worldly ones. What this text seeks to foster is an awareness of the profound consequences of one's actions: decisions which may seem to make one's life easier and more enjoyable but are nonetheless sinful may lead to a far from enjoyable afterlife. That it is through a contemplation of the pains to be inflicted for sinfulness, for making the wrong decisions, that this is conveyed is one problematic area for the 'modern reader'. It is not difficult to argue that a description of the possible happiness to be gained by following God's will through love would provide an equal inducement to reform one's life as a description of pain leading to fear might. However, the medieval conception of the place of fear in the development of a relationship with God allowed for a different construction of things. Fear was seen to be capable of providing the initial motivating force in the development of such a relationship, but was by no means considered acceptable as the only emotion behind service of God. Whether such motives were always behind those medieval writers who appear to have been attempting to arouse fear in their audiences is questionable. Suso, however, who is perhaps best known in his role as a mystic championing the love of Jesus, may perhaps be given the benefit of the doubt.

Footnotes: Chapter III

1. There are a number of readings in the English text which translate phrases occurring in *Scire Mori* chapter as edited by Künzle, Heinrich Seuses *Horologium Sapientiae* (Freiburg, 1977), pp.526-540, but which are omitted in this particular manuscript version, suggesting that the translator was working from a slightly better text than that in L1 16. These omissions are sufficiently minor to suggest that the text from which the translator worked and the text in L1 16 could be very close. Six such readings are listed below: (square brackets indicate the words omitted from the Latin text in the ms):

i) L1 16, 11.82-84: & nowe schal no riches, neþer resoun, neþer kynrede, neþer frendes deli<uere þe> fro my hondes...

Künzle, (1977), p. 528, 11.24-25: Nec opes nec ratio nec cognati aut amici iam te liberare valebunt [de manu mea]

ii) L1 16, 11.99-100: Trowest þou þat deth schuld only spare þe, & be aferde to entre in þy feyned tabernacle?

Künzle, (1977), p.529, 11.7-9: An putabas, quod tibi soli mors parcere [deberet] et tabernaculum tuum fictile ingredi non auderet?

iii) L1 16, 1.181: To þes wordys þe symylitude aforsayde ansueryd..

Künzle, (1977), p.531, 1.19: Ad haec similitudo [praedicta] respondit...

iv) L1 16, 1.261: Than ansueryd þe discipule asone seying þus: 'Dere frend...'

Künzle, (1977), p.533, 1.26: Discipulus autem rursus dixit ad eum: '[Amici] dilecte...'

v) L1 16, 11.459-461: But now y knowe what y schal do: I þynke þat y wolle noȝt suffre my soule þat y loue so wel...

Künzle, (1977), p.538, 11. 21-22: Scio nunc quid faciam; quia dilectam animam [meam] non sic perire permittam...

vi) L1 16, 11.510-512: & beholde þou how gret multitude of broþeres & systors, & of oþer of þy knowliche haue passyd in a fewe ȝerys...

Künzle, (1977), p.539, 11.29-30: Quanta fratrum & sociorum ac ceterorum [tibi] notorum multitudo in tam paucis annis te adhuc iuvenum praecesserunt...

The last two examples involve the omission of personal pronouns which the translator could easily have restored simply in the interests of making sense rather than through having had access to an earlier text which included them, and the inclusion of 'frend' apparently translating 'amici' in example (iv) could be explained similarly, especially since the similitude has already been addressed as 'frend' by the disciple. However, the other three examples do seem to uphold the probability that the translator was working from a different ms, especially since each is an exact translation of the relevant phrase, rather than an addition which is close in meaning (as indeed is true of the others).

Whilst this would suggest that the translator was not working from the Latin text in L1 16, it leaves open the question of what relation exists between the Latin and Middle English texts in the ms. There are a number of possibilities here. The translation may have been produced and the Latin and English transmitted together for some years before L1 16 was compiled, but in that case one would expect a wider divergence between the two texts, mistakes in the English which imply transmission and linguistic evidence suggesting an earlier date, none of which seem to be obvious. Alternatively, the translation may

have been produced close (in time) to this manuscript, possibly even for it. The translator may have been someone preparing the text for the scribe or the scribe himself working from his exemplar rather than the Latin text in the manuscript. It is not possible to be certain, but the small number of differences between the Latin and the English suggest that this translation was produced close to the production of L1 16, possibly even for it. This is supported by the fact that there are no other extant manuscripts containing Latin and Middle English texts of extracts from the *Horologium*.

2. W. Wichgraf, 'Susos *Horologium Sapientiae* in England: nach Handschriften des 15 Jahrhunderts', *Anglia* 53 (1929), pp.369-70 was the first to discuss Oxford, Merton College 204 and Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789. See also E. P. Armstrong, Heinrich Suso in England: an edition of the *Ars Moriendi* from the *Seven Points of True Love* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1966), pp.66-72, who extended the argument to include Indiana University Poole 126. Merton 204 is in fact too late to be the exemplar for this translation, being dated to 1440 (Armstrong, (1966) p.67) whilst Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496 is dated to the late fourteenth century. Additionally, Merton 204 omits a section of the text ('Quanta fratrum et sociorum ac ceterorum tibi notorum multitudo in tam paucis annis te adhuc iuvenem praecesserunt...' Künzle, (1977), p.539, ll.29-30) which is translated in *To Kunne Deie* ll.378-380. The argument in favour of Indiana University MS Poole 126 as the exemplar is given by Armstrong, (1966), pp.69-73.

3. There are many examples of this. (I shall here refer primarily to the Armstrong edition of the Fifth chapter of the *Treatise*, which is more recent than the Horstmann edition of 1888 ('*Orologium Sapientiae* or *The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom aus Ms Douce 114*', *Anglia* 10 (1888), pp.323-389) and from Ta 398, which is generally agreed (Armstrong, (1966) p.59; Doyle, *A Survey of the Origin and Circulation of theological writings in English in the fourteenth and fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953), Vol.I p.215; Wichgraf, 'Susos *Horologium Sapientiae* in England nach Handschriften des 15 Jahrhunderts', *Anglia* 53, (1929), p.126) to be a better text than that used by Horstmann. However, her edition is not without error. Although she cites three editions of the *Horologium* in her bibliography there are a number of instances where she has retained readings in Tanner 398 which are not supported by the Latin text, rather than emending her text. On a number of such occasions the other manuscripts appear to be more accurate than Ta 398 eg p.75, l.5 'soverayne medycyn and gift of God' (translating 'donum Dei permaximum' Künzle, (1977), p.527, l.14), where all the other mss she consulted omit 'medycyn'; p.79, l.10-11: 'Wost þu not þat þe dome of deþ is ȝeven to alle men...', (translating 'Nescis quia aequum est iudicium mortis' Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.2-3), where Ms Corpus Christi College 268, Ms Columbia Plimpton 256, Ms Bodleian Douce 114, Ms Bodleian e Museo 111, Ms Add 37049 and Ms Gonville and Caius 390 all read 'evene'. Other such examples also exist).

1) L1 16, ll.49-51: '...þe weche schal profiȝty more to þe þan eny puryd gold, & more þan powndes & al riches þat men hauyþ on eorthe.'

Where Künzle, (1977), p.527, ll.28-29, has '...quae tibi magis proderit quam aurum electum et prae libris omnium philosophorum', the Latin in L1 16 reads: '...quae tibi magis proderit quam aurum electum et prae libris ac diuitiis omnium populorum.' *To Kunne Deie* does not

translate this section. The *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.76, 11.9-12) has '...þe schal profite þe more þan choys gold and þan þe bokes of alle philisofers þat han ben.' (Horstmann, (1888a), p.358, 11.18-19 reads 'þe whiche...', as do all other manuscripts except Ta).

i) Li 16, 1.80: 'I beholde on euery side and my conseylers fayleþ wipoute help.'

Where Künzle, (1977), p.528, 11.11-12 has 'Circumspicio ad omnem plagam et defecit consiliator et adiutor', the Latin in Li 16 reads '...consolator sine adiutorio.' *To Kunne Deie* 11.36-37 reads 'I loke a bouthe to euery coste, & counfortour and helper failiþ.' The *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.78, 11.10-12) has 'I loke on euery side, and I fynd noun counseler ne counfortour'. (Horstmann, (1888a), p.358, 11.43-44).

iii) Li 16, 1.103: '...for þy wordes sowneth...'

Where Künzle, (1977), p.529, 1.11 has 'Nec verba mea...', Li 16 reads 'Nec verba tua...' *To Kunne Deie* 1.56 has 'Myne wordis sownen...', whilst the *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.80, 11.5-6) reads 'Vor my wordes sownen foly...' (Horstmann, (1888a), p.359, 1.17, 'Nor...').

iv) Li 16, 11.113-114: 'Also I weyly & wepe þynkyng how y haue lyued...'

See Künzle, (1977), p.529, 1.18. Between '...pertransierunt.' and 'Qualiter vixi' Li 16 adds: 'Doleo similiter & deploro cogitando...'. *To Kunne Deie* 1.64 has no corresponding passage; *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.81, 11.2-3; Horstmann, (1888a), p.359, 1.25) also has no such passage.

v) Li 16, 11.s 141-142, does not translate Künzle, (1977), p.530, 11.16-17: 'Pretiositatem vero eius non attendebam', as this is omitted in the Latin of the manuscript. *To Kunne Deie* 11.82-83 has 'I chargide not þe grete preciouste of tyme...' and the *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.82, 1.3) reads 'I toke no fors of þe grete worþines of tyme...' (Horstmann, (1888a), p.359, 11.36-37).

vi) Li 16, 11.272-273: '...þe space of an howre, or to-morwe, or at þe ferþyst, wipin þe woke.'

Künzle, (1977), p.534, 11.2-3 reads '...ac si hodie in huius diei spatio vel cras vel ad longius in hac septimania...' where Li 16 reads instead of 'in huius diei' 'in unius hore'. *To Kunne Deie* 11.189-190 has '...in þe space of o dai, or tomorwe, eþer at þe lengeste in þis woke.' and the *Fifth Chapter*, (Armstrong, (1966), p.89, 11.11-12): '...þis day or tomorowe or at þe utterest withinne þis seven nyght.' (Horstmann, (1888a), p.361, 11.24-25).

vii) Li 16, 11.344-345: 'Byholde þou on me & haue þou mynde on þys nyzt whare on þou seest me sooffre al þis sorwe!'

Künzle, (1977), p.535, 11.27-28 has 'Respice in me, et memento noctis huius quo advixeris.' where Li 16 reads 'Respice in me, et memento noctis huius in qua me tanta aspicias tolerare.' In *To Kunne Deie* 11.253-254 this is 'Loke on me and haue mynde on þis nyzt as longe as þou lyuest' whereas the *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.94, 1.12 and Horstmann, (1888a), p.362, 1.36) omits this passage.

viii) Li 16, 11.345-6: 'O blessid þou art, whateuere þou be...'

In Künzle, (1977), p.535, 11.29-30 the text reads 'O quam beatus es Arseni, qui semper...' where Li 16 omits 'Arseni'. The two manuscripts containing *To Kunne Deie* have different readings: GH 496 omits 'Arsenius'; Bod 789 has 'How blesid art þou arcen...' (1.255). The manuscripts containing the *Fifth Chapter* are similarly confused: Armstrong, (1966), p.94, 11.13-14 using Ta 398 has 'O how blessid art þu, Arsenye þat ever...'. She indicates that Douce 114 (the manuscript

which Horstmann used) and Add 37049 omit this name, whilst Ff.V.45 substitutes 'Disciple'.

ix) Li 16, ll.367-368: '& hath fulfillyd me with bitter^unys as lyȝt fulfulleth a derk place...'

Künzle, (1977), p.537, l.14 reads '...sicut leo in abscondito, replevit et in ebriavit me amaritudine...' while Li 16 substitutes 'lux' for 'leo'. *To Kunne Deie* reads (ll.274-275) '...as a lioun in a hid place; he haȝ filled me and maad me drunken wiȝ bitternesse.' The *Fifth Chapter* omits this section (Armstrong, (1966), p.95).

x) Li 16 l.349: 'Now is þe swete y-come...'

Künzle, (1977), p.536, l.32 reads 'En sudor mortis adest...': Li 16 omits 'mortis'. *To Kunne Deie* omits this section (l.294): the *Fifth Chapter* (Armstrong, (1966), p.96, l.15) reads 'Loo, deȝ swote perisshing...'. (Horstmann, (1888a), p.363, l.17).

xii) Li 16, l.408 '...by whas vnordynat syȝt...'

Künzle (1977), p.537, l.16 reads '...per quorum inordinatum affectum' whilst Li 16 replaces 'affectum' with 'aspectum'. *To Kunne Deie* reads (l.310) '...bi whos vnskilful affeccion...' and the *Fifth Chapter* has (Armstrong, (1966), p.98, ll.1-2) '...by whos inordinate [affeccion]' (Horstmann, (1888a), p.368, ll.33-34).

This is not an exhaustive list of such instances by any means. In the absence of the exemplars for *To Kunne Deie* and the *Fifth Chapter* it is difficult to carry out a similar examination of these texts in order to establish how far they might be influenced by similar problems. In the case of omissions of sections of text from either translation it is impossible to say whether these were prompted by the exemplar or the translator's view of his text.

4. See for example:

i) 'O þou day, to-morwe! to-morwe! ful long hast þou taryed, and in tristyng of to-morwe þou hast draw me into helle!' Li 16 ll.201-202, translating Künzle, (1977), p.532, ll.7-8: 'O cras, cras, quam longam restem, fecisti et in baratrum mortis me procrastinando pertraxisti!'

ii) '...I knowe now forsoth þat gode warde & kepyng of myn hert and al of myn whyttys schulde more haue profiyȝtyd to me for to haue þe magnitude of heuently ȝyftys, if I had fulfillyd hit wel & iustely be þe space of an houre, more þan schuld now penance & knelyng y-do by eny oþer creature for me, þoȝ eny frende of myn wolde contynwe and fulfille hit by þe space of þritty ȝeres.' Li 16 ll.232-237, where Künzle, (1977), p.533, ll.4-8 'Vere nunc cognovi quod ad magnitudinem praemiorum caelestium plus mihi contulisset sollicita custodia cordis mei et omnium sensuum meorum cum anime puritate, quam hac neglecta vel per affectum inordinatum infecta, triginta anni, quibus quivis alius per prostrationes suas apud Deum mihi praemia obtinere niteretur.' (There are a few small differences in the Lichfield Latin to the text given here). Arguably this is a deliberate alteration by the translator to emphasise the point the text is making; equally, he may have found the structure of the Latin confusing and produced this translation accordingly.

iii) 'God wold þat y had deyed in suche manere & so passed fro þis world, þat þilke fuyre of purgatorie schuld haue found no cause on me, whar þorw y myȝt haue scapyd þis peynys after complete satisfioun þat y had do lyuyng in eorthe for my synnys.' Li 16 ll.456-459, where Künzle, (1977), p.538, ll.18-20 reads 'O si sic mortuus fuisset, vel si iam decederem, quantam in me ignis ille materiam invenisset, propter peccatorum multitudinem et incompletam satisfactionem.'

5. *To Kunne Deie* actually begins about 25 lines into the Latin: 'Scire

namque mori...' Künzle (1977), p.527, l.10.

6. i) 'But to þis man þat so miche dredid in veyne þe deef, a man miȝt answere and seie...' (*To Kunne Deie*, ll.46-47)

For: 'Discipulus haec audiens, conversus ad eum dixit' (Künzle, (1977), p.529, l.1)

ii) 'But in hap an vnprofitable counfortour seiþ...' *To Kunne Deie* l.114

For: 'Respondens autem discipulus dixit' (Künzle, (1977), p.531, l.13)

iii) 'Þanne sum freend of his seide to him...' *To Kunne Deie* l.179

For: 'Discipulus autem rursus dixit ad eum' (Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.26)

iv) 'His freende answeride to þese þingis' *To Kunne Deie* l.202

For: 'Ad haec discipulus respondit' (Künzle, (1977), p.534, l.15).

v) 'At þis siȝt anoþer freend of his greetli weilide and alle his boonys quakeden for drede...' *To Kunne Deie* ll.321-322.

For: 'Ad hanc visionem discipulus valde ingemuit, et prae timore contremuerunt omnia ossa eius. Conversusque cum lacrimis ad dominum dixit...' (Künzle, (1977), p.537, ll.27-29).1

7. For further discussion of this, see pp.90-121 of this chapter.

8. See for example:

i) '...I bete my hondes to gidre and send oute rorynge and þellyng...' *To Kunne Deie* ll.34-35, where Li 16 ll.78-79 reads '...y wrynge myn hondys to-gadere for sorwe, & I weyle and wepe...' (Künzle, (1977) p.528, l.20).

ii) 'I loke a-boute to euery coste...' *To Kunne Deie* ll.36, where Li 16 reads 'I beholde on euery side...'. Künzle, (1977), p.528, ll.21-22 'Circumspicio ad omnem plagam...'

iii) '...and as a schip þat haþ passid ouer þe flowynge water, of whiche is not to fynde a step whanne it is passid...' *To Kunne Deie* ll.69-71, where Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.23-25 reads '...et tamquam navis, quae pertransit fluctuantem aquam, cuius cum praeterierit non est vestigium invenire...'

iv) 'þe lordschipe of deef oppressid me...' *To Kunne Deie* ll.130-131, where Künzle, (1977), p.531, l.28 reads 'Mortis imperium me premit...'

v) 'for whi þis it is wherof alle myn entrailis ben woundid..' *To Kunne Deie* ll.150-151, where Künzle, (1977), p.532 ll.17-18 reads 'Hoc est ergo unde vulnerantur omnia interiora mea.'

9. As edited by Armstrong, (1966), pp.74-107.

10. 'Sed quaeso...' Künzle, (1977), p.527, l.8.

11. Horstmann, (1888a), p.328, ll.12-18.

12. Examples of omissions of figures of speech from the *Fifth Chapter* include: Armstrong, (1966), p.78, l.8 (between 'me' and 'now') omits Künzle, (1977), p.528, ll.18-20 ('Comprehendisti...mortis'); Armstrong, (1966), p.81, l.6 (between 'soule' and 'alas') omits Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.19-21 ('Lassatus...ignoravi'); Armstrong, (1966), p.8, l.7 (between 'shadow' and 'and') omits Künzle, (1977), p.529, l.23 - p.530, l.8 ('et tamquam...diffusus est.');

Armstrong, (1966), p.95, l.11 (after 'chaungid') omits Künzle, (1977), p.536, ll.13-15 ('Conclusit...meam'). However, most omissions are not of figures of speech: Armstrong, (1966), p.78, l.6 (between 'delices' and 'o') omits Künzle, (1977), p.528, ll.14-16 ('Horribilis...prosperis');

Armstrong, (1966), p.79, l.6 (after 'deef') omits Künzle, (1977), p.528, l.28 ('o impietas et indignatio miseranda');

Armstrong, (1966), p.79, l.12 - p.80, l.3 omits various phrases from the corresponding section in Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.3-9; Armstrong, (1966),

p.82, between 1112-13 'comparison' and 'alas') omits Künzle, (1977), p.530, 11.22-25 ('Heu me...dissimulavi'); Armstrong, (1966), p.83, between lls 11-12 ('me' and 'O') omits Künzle, (1977), p.531, 11.4-5 'Heu grata iuventus, qualiter te perdidit'; Armstrong, (1966), p.85, 1.14 (at end of paragraph) omits Künzle, (1977), p.531, 11.28-29 ('Mortis...mors?'); Armstrong, (1966), p.86, 1.6 (after 'help') omits Künzle, (1977), p.532, 11.4-11 ('O longa...anima mea') (here Armstrong incorrectly omits the 'triginta anni' from her text); Armstrong, (1966), p.87, 11.10-11 (between 'lost' and 'Soþil') omits Künzle, (1977), p.532, 1.25 - p.533, 1.3 ('Quam mali...iuvare neglexi'); Armstrong, (1966), p.88, between 11.3-4 ('blisse' and 'O þee') omits Künzle, (1977), p.533, 11.8-21 ('Audite...illi dabat'); Armstrong, (1966), p.92, 1.10 (between 'anguysch' and 'þei') omits Künzle, (1977), p.534, 1.34 - p.535, 1.1 ('et interitus...angustia'); Armstrong, (1966), p.94, 1.13 (between 'dome' and 'O how') omits Künzle, (1977), p.535, 11.27-28 ('Mihl...advixeris'); Armstrong, (1966), p.94, 1.13 - p.95, 1.3 omits various phrases from the corresponding passage in Künzle, (1977), p.535, 1.31 - p.536, 1.5 ('Felix...introitus'); Armstrong, (1966), p.95, 1.7 (between 'contre' and 'O how') omits Künzle, (1977), p.536, 1.8 ('Vel qui...ignota'); Armstrong, (1966), p.95, 1.8 (between 'sowles' and 'Therefore' omits Künzle, (1977), p.536, 11.10-11 ('Vel quis...velit'); Armstrong, (1966), p.96, 1.1 (between 'in' and 'the') omits Künzle, (1977), p.536, 11.20-23 ('Ah me...colligere'); Armstrong, (1966), p.98, 1.3 (between 'so' and 'loo') omits Künzle, (1977), p.537, 11.18-20 ('Laboravimus...providimus'); Armstrong, (1966), p.99, 1.14 (between 'dye' and 'and') omits Künzle, (1977), p.538, 11.11-12 ('differre...volo'); Armstrong, (1966), p.100, 11.1-2 (between 'lettyng' and 'O') omits Künzle, (1977), p.538, 11.15-24 ('En tantum...inveniat'); Armstrong, (1966), p.101, 11.9-10 (between 'mon' and 'Wherefore') omits Künzle, (1977), p.539, 11.12-15 ('Si annis...praetorita'); Armstrong, (1966), p.102, 1.14 (between 'deede' and 'aske') omits Künzle, (1977), p.539, 11.31-32 ('Hos...transisse'); Armstrong, (1966), p.103, 1.9 (between 'is' and 'and') omits Künzle, (1977), p.540, 1.7 ('Ecce in ianuis est'). This is not an exhaustive list of such omissions: a number are problematic and may involve the corruption of the translator's exemplar. Whether those listed here are due to the translator or his exemplar it is not possible to say.

13. Künzle, (1977), p.526, 1.23 - p.527, 1.4.

14. In the *Treatise*, this order is of course altered, and the *Ars Vivendi* chapter precedes the *Scire Mori* chapter. Interestingly, this order is reversed in BL Add 37049, which contains the *Fifth Chapter* and an extract of the Fourth. Perhaps this indicates a familiarity with the *Horologium* independent of the *Treatise*. This familiarity is also suggested by the rubrication in BL Add 37049 to the two chapters, where the *Horologium* is referred to as 'þe boke þat is cald horologium diuine sapientie' in the introduction to the *Fifth Chapter* (f39r) and similarly 'horologio diuine sapiencie' in the introduction to the *Formula* (f43v). This form of the title is found in manuscripts containing the Latin work, but not in any extant manuscript containing the *Treatise* other than this. Whilst this evidence is interesting it is certainly not conclusive and this suggestion can remain only a suggestion.

15. Armstrong, (1966), p.74, 11.4-7; Künzle, (1977), p.527, 11.8-9.

16. Künzle, (1977), p.527, 1.15.

17. *To Kunne Deie* omits this section, since the figures of Wisdom and the Disciple do not figure in the text. Instead, the Dying Man is presented directly to the reader for his/her contemplation. This is of course the same method as that employed by Fisher in his *Spiritual Consolation*. See also Chapter II, pp.66-72.

18. Ecclesiasticus 7:36: 'In everything you do, remember your end, and you will never sin' (All biblical quotations taken from *The Jerusalem Bible*).

19. This will involve the use of Le Goff's analysis of the development of the doctrine of Purgatory: Jacques Le Goff, *Le Naissance du Purgatoire*, (Paris, 1981), translated by Arthur Goldhammer as *The Birth of Purgatory* (London, 1984). Le Goff stresses particularly strongly in his work the need to recognise that the development of this doctrine was by no means straightforward or predictable, and that various ideas and themes employed by early writers concerned with exploring the idea of some kind of purgation after death were often rejected by those interested in formalising teachings about Purgatory after its final birth as a place and its acceptance in to Church doctrine. What is to be found in Suso's text is an interesting mixture of both 'popular' and doctrinal views of Purgatory, alongside various concepts which Le Goff suggests should not be current at this stage.

20. This passage, with its list of those whom Death encounters and refuses to spare is reminiscent of the *Dance of Death* with its lists of the various estates being summoned by the inexorable figure of Death and responding in a manner appropriate to their perceived positions.

21. In the Disciple's first speech to the Young Man he simply says that death comes to all men, responding to the substance of the Young Man's first speech, rather than its tone of lamentation: 'Frend, hit semyth to me þat þy wordys sowneth noȝt into whysdome...' (Li 16, 11.91-92). In the second speech he is more sympathetic and encouraging: death comes to all but God does not wish to lose any soul, so repent and you will escape damnation. (Li 16, 11.173-180). In the third speech, he addresses the Young Man as 'dere frende', saying 'y see wel þy sorwe þat is ouere-passyng cruelle in angwys, and þerfore y haue here compassion & rewthe þerof in myn herte...' (Li 16, 11.261-263). Here, he asks for advice to help him avoid the fate the Young Man has received. In his fourth speech, the Disciple speaks of the problems of those who will not follow the Young Man's advice (Li 16, 11.286-308) and finally his words are accepted without criticism by the Young Man. After the Young Man's death, the Disciple is greatly affected: '...he byganne to weyle hyȝely, & al his body shoke for drede...' (Li 16, 11.425-426). The emotion generated is clearly fear, and the propriety of this emotion in this context is discussed below, pp.103-106.

22. Li 16, 1.206. The choice of thirty as the age of the Young Man may conceivably have been prompted by the age of Christ when he began His ministry, which was also thirty, but more likely is meant to signify nothing more than the prime of life.

23. See for instance: Li 16, 1.61; Li 16, 11.71-73 'Thi presence is ful dredful to him þat is ȝonge of age, & myȝty in strengthe, & hath al prosperite at his owen desire'; Li 16, 1.138.

24. See also: '...y ȝafe my silfe to vanitees & coueytise of worldly lustys, & so y lad my life in to ydelnes & vanite of þe world...' Li 16, 11.140-142; Li 16, 11.206-212; Li 16, 11.225-230 etc.

25. See also: Li 16, 11.151-157, especially 11.155-157: 'Whi haue y þus y-besyd my silfe on uanitees, and why lernyd y noȝt to deye in al my lyfe tyme?'

26. There are many occasions on which the Young Man appeals directly to all who may be observing him. See for example Li 16, 11.157-162; 11.238-240; 11.254-260. A reflection of the power of this appeal lies in the use Hoccleve and Fisher made of this text: both found the text a great remedy to sin or spiritual slackness. Hoccleve, in his poem

'Dialogue with a Friend' (Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems ed. F Furnivall (London, revised reprint, 1970), p.117) says of this chapter that 'a better restraynte know I none fro vice...'. Fisher recommends meditation in his work as good for souls that are 'dull and vnlustie without devotion, neyther disposed to prayer, nor to any other good worke...' (The English Works of John Fisher ed. J Mayor (London, 1876), p.131, ll.7-9).

27. For a discussion of the Legend, see for instance Philippa Tristram, Figures of Life and Death in the Middle Ages (London, 1976), pp.162-167; T. S. R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages (London, 1972), pp.104-6, which suggests the origin of the Legend and reproduces a medieval wallpainting illustrating it (p.105).

28. See for example J. Huizinga The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), pp.140-141, Tristram, (1976), pp.160-73 especially *et al* the Legend, the Dance of Death and innumerable poems in which the living are enjoined by the dead to learn from them are all evidence of this preoccupation, which, incidently, persisted for some considerable time after the Middle Ages.

29. Ll 16, ll.146-148 although this is an inaccurate translation: *Fifth Chapter*, Armstrong, (1966) p.82, ll.10-12 and *To Kunne Deie* ll.89-90 are more accurate. See Künzle, (1977), p.530, ll.20-22. Both the Lichfield text and *To Kunne Deie* translate 'comparare' as 'to buy' which is perhaps not the best possible choice of verb here. The *Fifth Chapter* has 'have gotene' (Armstrong, (1966), p.82, l.11) which avoids the rather questionable overtones of the acquisition of spiritual gains as a financial process.

30. See Belinda Blunt, The Penitential Exempla in Worcester Cathedral Manuscript F.172 (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Birmingham, 1988), p.97.

31. This is a text Le Goff, (1984), pp.42-43 and elsewhere, cites in association with the development of the doctrine of Purgatory.

32. *The Book of the Craft of Dying* is edited by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers Vol II, (London, 1896), pp.406-420. For the passage discussing the need for spiritual medicine rather than bodily for the dying, see pp.416-417. This chapter, the fifth (pp.415-418) deals also with the question of how those around a sick person should behave. For a commentary on this section of the *Book of the Craft of Dying*, see N. L. Beatty, The Craft of Dying (New Haven and London, 1970), pp.26-27.

33. See Le Goff, (1984), pp.274-277.

34. See Pricke of Conscience ed. R. Morris (Berlin, 1863), Part IV, ll.3566-3703. Parts of this section reappear in a poem on Purgatory found in Add 37049, for which see Chapter IV, pp.183-184.

35. 'So þe sowles weymentyng for sorowe of her peynes crien everichone and seyen in þese woordes: '*Miseremini mei, miseremini mei. Saltem vos amici mei*. Haveþ mercy on me, haveþ mercy on me, at þe lest 3e þat ben my frendes. Where is now þe help of my frendes? Where ben now þe good behestes of oure kynnesfolke and oþer by whos inordinate [affecioun] we tok no fors of our silf and so encresed we þis peyne to owre silf?' *Fifth Chapter*, Armstrong, (1966), p.97, l.13 - p.98, l.2. Ll 16 (ll.405-409 etc) is problematic at this point. The quotation in Latin is Job 19:21.

36. See below p.122ff.

37. Le Goff, (1984) mentions one Stephen of Bourbon (writing between c.1250-1261), whose discussion of Purgatory involves similar comments about the behaviour of friends (p.312). Stephen also suggests that souls in purgatory cry out to their friends in the same words of Job

as the souls the Young Man sees cry out ('Miseremini mei...; (see above FN 31). Other parallels between these texts include Stephen's emphasis on the absence of God's presence from Purgatory being the source of its unpleasantness, and his attempts at establishing an equivalence between time in purgatory and time on earth (see below pp.117-118).

38. See also Li 16, ll.160-162: 'Spēde ȝe ȝoure þouȝte in goddys seruyce & occupie ȝe ȝoure tyme in holy dedys, last ȝe suffre þat þat y do, if ȝe do as y dede': this is in contrast to a lamentation on the subject of how he wasted his time, and is addressed directly to those watching.

39. Le Goff, (1984), p.91; pp.93-94.

40. See Li 16, ll.346-7, Künzle, (1977), p.535, ll.30-31 which draws on Lk 12:36 and Li 16, ll.521-522, Künzle, (1977), p.540, l.7, which draws on Mt 24:33.

41. See B. Blunt, (1988), pp.26-28, where she discusses this briefly, drawing on T. N. Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (New Jersey, 1977).

42. Manuscripts which also refer to confession, the Seven Deadly Sins etc include Mss London, British Library, Douce 322 and Harley 1706 together with Oxford, Bodleian Ms 789. Other mss are concerned in a less direct way with the need to repent (see for example Glasgow, Hunter Library Ms 496).

43. Le Goff, (1984), frequently refers to the use of *exempla* in the dissemination of the doctrine of Purgatory. See in particular pp.297 - 324, where many *exempla* are discussed which use this motif of a dead soul in torment returning in a vision to ask the living for assistance.

44. Besides the passage quoted here, there are many occasions on which the Young Man exhorts the Disciple to learn from his example. See FN 26 above.

45. Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1968).

46. Woolf, (1968). pp.72-73.

47. See Blunt (1988), pp.34-37. She also mentions a text which does accept the role of the fear of punishment as legitimate *per se* - but this seems to be an unusual attitude.

48. Künzle, (1977), p.535, l.30 - p.536, l.5.

49. See Manuale ad vsum per celebris ecclesie sarisburiensis, ed. A. Jeffrey Collins, Henry Bradshaw Society Vol. XCI, (Chichester, 1960 for 1958). The ceremonies which contain such prayers are the *Commendatio Animarum*, pp.118-124, the *Vigile Mortuorum*, pp.132-142, the *Missa pro Defunctis*, pp.144-152 and the *Inhumatio Defuncti*, pp.152-162. For full details of these prayers and the petitions they contain, see Chapter V, which also details further liturgical borrowings in the *Scire Mori* chapter.

50. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.124; p.155. The same prayer is to be found in the St Andrew's Daily Missal of the Roman Catholic Church, (Bruges, 1958), which contains the pre-Vatican II form of the Burial Service, p.1056, although the text differs slightly:

'In paradysum deducant te Angeli: in tuo adventu suscipiant te Martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Jerusalem. Chorus Angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam paupere aeternum habeas requium.' It is also mentioned by Ariès, The Hour of Our Death translated by Helen Weaver, (Aylesbury, 1983), pp.247-8, although not in this context.

51. See Le Goff, (1984), p.59, discussing Ambrose: 'He seems to have held that there are three kinds of fire. For the righteous, who are like pure silver, the fire is refreshing, like a cooling dew (the same idea

lies behind the pearl as the symbol of Christ - the pearl is the union of heat and cold). For the wicked, the apostate, and the sacrilegious, who are like lead, the fire is punishment and torment. And for those sinners who are like a mixture of silver and lead, the fire is a purifying instrument, whose painful consequences will last only as long as their sins are heavy...'. See also St Eligius (p.101), Alcuin (p.103) etc. All these writers base their arguments upon 1 Cor 3: 11-15, which states that all men's work shall be tried by fire.

52. See Künzle, (1977), pp.460-466: 'De gaudiis supercaelestibus'.

53. Le Goff, (1984), pp.210-211.

54. R. Woolf, (1968), pp.78-82 discusses the development of lists of the Signs of Death. She says they are based upon lists which occurred in physicians manuals, the original example being found in the Prognosticon of Hippocrates, which described the physical signs of approaching death. In the Middle Ages these lists became detached from their original context and were appropriated for moral/didactic purposes. The earliest extant copy in England is in the twelfth century Worcester fragments.

55. See Le Goff, (1984), p.145, where Saint Bernard also employs this expression.

56. Le Goff, (1984), pp.283-284 gives the text of a letter sent in 1254 by Pope Innocent IV to Cardinal Eudes of Châteauroux, who was engaged in negotiations between the Roman and Greek churches, which contains the first pontifical definition of Purgatory. This contains the assertion that the fire of purgatory will purge 'slight and minor sins' which have been overlooked. Such slight and minor sins could hardly have been avoided by many.

57. The description of the souls tossing in the fires of Purgatory like sparks (L1 16, ll.399-405) is also found in other texts describing the pains of Purgatory/Hell. See Le Goff, (1984), p.114 (The Vision of Drythelm); p.190 (The Vision of Tnugdall); p.195 (St Patrick's Purgatory).

58. Le Goff, (1984), p.195-6 summarises these tortures; p.197 he discusses the development of the theme of coldness which is gradually omitted from such texts.

59. See for instance Augustine's exegesis of this passage, quoted by Le Goff, (1984), pp.71-72, 76-78.

60. Le Goff, (1984) demonstrates that this was the subject of debate for many writers on purgatorial punishments/Purgatory. See for instance p.53ff where he examines early conceptions of purgatorial punishments; pp.98-99 where Julian of Toledo argues the case for the actual experience of pain after death; p.245 where he discusses William of Auvergne's ideas etc.

61. Although demons tormenting souls are an essential element of popular texts describing Purgatory, there were debates amongst scholars as to whether demons were permitted to do this. See for instance Le Goff, (1984), pp.251-2 where Bonaventure asserts that demons were not allowed to torment the souls in Purgatory and p.262 where Albertus Magnus, unsure of whether demons could torment souls, nonetheless felt sure they stood by and watched the souls in pain.

62. See Lydgate's Fall of Princes ed. H. Bergen Part III, (Washington, 1923), p.1001: 'An Ethiopien broun & horrible of siht'.

63. Künzle, (1977), p.521, footnote to ll.14-15.

64. Le Goff, (1984), pp.94-95.

65. See also Le Goff, (1984), pp.116 (The Vision of Wettl); pp.118-121 (The Vision of Charles the Fat), p.183 (Guibert of Nogent's account of his mother's vision of Purgatory) all of which specifically describe

demons as black.

66. Künzle, (1977), p.534, ll.12-14; *To Kunne Deie*, ll.199-201.

67. Le Goff, (1984), p.309.

68. See Le Goff, (1984), p.257, where he discusses Albertus Magnus who was 'of the opinion that the souls in Purgatory do not suffer from infernal punishments, because they have the benefit of the light of faith and the light of grace; what they lack for the time being is the beatific vision'. See also p.273 (where St Thomas Aquinas agrees with this) and p.309, where Le Goff discusses an exemplum of Caesarius of Heisterbach. Although the lack of the beatific vision means that the souls have not been admitted to bliss in heaven and are consequently suffering a sense of lack, it is not here portrayed as a terrible torment.

69. See Le Goff, (1984), pp.290-295.

70. See Le Goff, (1984), p.68, who refers to Augustine's words: 'Although some will be saved by fire, this fire will be more terrible than anything a man can suffer on earth'.

71. Le Goff, (1984), p.274.

72. See Chapter II, pp.66-72 for the discussion of Fisher.

73. Ariès, (1983), pp.10-13.

74. Ariès, (1983), p.10.

75. Blunt, (1988), p.103-104.

76. Woolf, (1968), pp.73-74.

77. Woolf, (1968), pp.74-75.

78. Woolf, (1968), p.75.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Manuscript Context of the Three Middle English Translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium*: Death in Late Medieval

Spirituality

'For what thyng is in eny mannes wit þat sonner
meeuyth a man to mekenesse, to kepyng of hym-self
fro vanytee, to voydyng of vnriȝtwisnesse, & to
perfeccioun of holynesse, than doth the
consideracioun of a mannes corrupcioun and his
freelte, of his deedlynesse and of the dreedful
day of his death?'

The Mirror of Sinners ed. Horstmann (1896),
pp.438-439.

The *Scire Mori* chapter in its three Middle English translations is extant in seven manuscripts, excluding those in which it figures as a part of the *Treatise*. These manuscripts offer the possibility of obtaining some insight into the nature of the spiritual framework in which this text was located in the Middle Ages, for an examination of the texts which occur alongside *Scire Mori* in them enables a picture to be drawn of the interests and preoccupations of those who compiled and read them. Such an argument relies upon the assumption (already discussed),¹ that the contents of manuscripts were not combined purely at random. If one accepts this, there are nonetheless reservations which must be made. It is important to avoid over-emphasising the possible relationships between the texts in these manuscripts, both where texts do appear to be closely related, such as in Lichfield 16, and where the combination is clearly more eclectic, as in Add 37049, and more importantly, the position of the *Scire Mori* chapter must not be exaggerated so that it appears to be the focus of the whole manuscript, despite the fact that it is of course the focus of this discussion. Such cautionary notes aside, the concern of this chapter is

to explore what role the *Scire Mori* translations played in medieval spirituality: how, for instance, the concept of servile fear discussed in the previous chapter² was envisaged in other texts occurring with the *Scire Mori* translations, and to what extent this text and those which accompany it bear out the picture of a morbid and macabre fascination with death and decay in the later Middle Ages which Huizinga so famously postulated.³

I shall firstly examine the two manuscripts in which *To Kunne Deie* occurs (Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 789), then the four manuscripts of the *Fifth Chapter* (Cambridge University Library Ff.V.45, Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 322 and London, British Library Harley 1706, which are all related, and London, British Library Additional 37049, which is not) and finally Lichfield Cathedral 16, which of course contains its own unique translation of this chapter.

We turn first then to GH 496, which contains *St Jerome's Psalter*, *The Mirror of Sinners*, the *Pore Caitiff*, *To Kunne Deie*, *The Three Arrows that Christ shall shoot on Domesday* and *St Anselm's Meditation*.⁴ The combination of *The Mirror of Sinners*, *The Three Arrows* and *St Anselm's Meditation* is a common one: these texts occur together in seven manuscripts,⁵ suggesting a perceived similarity or continuity in theme and tone across the three.

St Jerome's Psalter is an abbreviated form of the full psalter, containing a few verses of each psalm and designed for devotional use. Whilst such texts were originally owned by professed religious, as literacy increased during the fourteenthⁿ and fifteenth centuries, pious

lay people also chose to possess copies of the psalter in order to participate in the daily order of the Church. The presence here of the psalter, a text used in standard devotional practice, suggests that the accompanying texts can also be seen in a similar light, as meditative works which concentrate the mind upon matters of spiritual importance and contribute to the power of the process of prayer.

The *Mirror of Sinners*, the second text in this manuscript, is repeated in a number of other manuscripts under consideration here, as well as being found in some of the manuscripts containing the Latin text of the *Scire Mori* chapter,⁶ and it would thus seem important to consider it in some detail. It takes as its theme the idea that one should always remember the Last Things (Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell) and thus desist from sinning: 'Wolde god þat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden and purueleden for the laste thynges'.⁷ The argument is centred upon biblical quotations, which are used as the basis from which continually to repeat and amplify this theme. The focus is not exclusively upon man's mortality as the motivating factor behind change; the text considers also the brevity and unpleasantness of life, the sinfulness and corruption of man and the longevity and unpleasantness of the pains of Hell. These ideas are presented as being inextricably interlinked:

'But alas, alas! for al to fewe han this vertew,
fful fewe þeer been þat sauouren þis heelful
sentence: fful fewe there been þat setten bifore
þe eiȝen of here mynde þe knowynge of here owen
infirmyte, here bodily corrupcion, þe mynde of
here synnes, þe day of here deeth, and þe horrible
peynes of helle.'⁸

From this and other texts⁹ it would seem that if an awareness of one's mortality were not already inextricably entwined with an awareness of

one's sinfulness, then such works were certainly interested in attempting to create such a link. By this means one's natural fear of death would also affect one's perception of sinfulness; sin, indeed, is often described as spiritual death. Likewise one may see here the association of physical and spiritual corruption, the one mirroring the other. A similar idea expressed in these texts is that the process of living is a process of physical decay,¹⁰ and this decay is often represented as an outward sign of spiritual decay, although these ideas are not always clearly differentiated. This link strengthens rhetoric arguing for a disgust with the desires of the flesh, by underlining the worthlessness of the body and indicating the spiritual damage such actions may cause. The strongest expression of this may in fact be found in Fisher's *A Spirituall Consolation*, where there is a long passage dwelling on bodily corruption, of which the following quotation is sufficient to indicate the general tone:

'Corruption was thy biginnyng in the wombe of thy mother, and corruption is thy continuance. All thyng that euer thou receyuest, were it neuer so precyous, thou turnest into corruption, and naught came from thee at any tyme but corruption, and now to corruption thy self returnest.'¹¹

The *Mirror* is a text which relies much upon provoking fear and guilt to achieve its objective of bringing about repentance and right living; there is nothing to suggest one should desist from sin because to sin is to go against the Love of God; rather to sin is to go against the Law of God. It is nonetheless important to bear in mind that however negative these elements of the text may seem to be, they are always directed towards bringing about repentance: pain and suffering, corruption and death are never discussed purely as ends in themselves

but are always integrated within this framework of the need to repent. This is reminiscent of Woolf's argument¹² that fear is a transitional emotion introduced into works such as these in order to effect change in the reader rather than cause a kind of spiritual paralysis in which action is suspended. The following passage demonstrates this well, with its interplay between 'the consideracioun of mannes corrupcioun' and the emphasis on how this should be used to 'distruyeth vice and planteth vertewes':

'For what thyng is in eny mannes wit þat sonner meeuyth a man to mekenesse, to kepyng of hym-self fro vanytee, to voydyng of vnriȝtwisnesse, & to perfeccioun of holynesse, than doth the consideracioun of a mannes corrupcioun and hys freelte, of his deedlynesse, and of the dreedful day of his deeth? For whan a man bigynneth to wex seek & his seeknesse groweth, þe conscience dreedith, þe herte quaketh, the heed stoupeth, the wyttes waasten, his strengthe failleth, the visage wexeth paale, the tunge engleymeth, the teeth stynkyn, the speche wexeth thynne, the breeth gooth away, the body croketh, the flesch widerith, and alle the beaute is turned in to filthe and corrupcioun; whan the body is buried, it falleth in to powdir, and is turned alle in to wormes. Bihold now, brother, this is an horrible siȝt, but a ful profitable myroure. O ful happy is he þat bisily biholdeth hym-self in this myroure: ffor þer is no craft, medicyne, ne techyng, þat so soone distruyeth vice, and plaunteth vertewes, as doth þe inwardly biholdyng thus of a mannes laste thynges.'¹³

The description of the signs of death are part of a long tradition of writings in this style.¹⁴ This list is longer and more detailed than those in any of the poems quoted by Woolf,¹⁵ but its explicitly didactic context places it firmly within the tradition of such works. In this passage, the list is combined with another frequently recurring image associated with both writings about and iconographic representations of death: the idea of looking in a mirror and seeing

reflected not oneself but a death's head.¹⁶ The gruesomeness of the image evoked by the text is acknowledged by the author and its real value immediately indicated: whilst it is deeply unpleasant to consider the decay of the human body, its use in meditation is a great aid to avoiding vice and living well. This is a common theme in medieval death literature, recurring in a number of texts in Add 37049. The fact the author comments on the horror of the image he draws seems to me significant, suggesting that this process was by no means indulged in out of a desire for gruesome and macabre musings on death and decay: rather it indicates a natural human unwillingness to consider such a picture. It is the spiritual value of this exercise on human frailty that is important: its intention is to focus the mind away from the evanescent matters of the flesh to the everlasting concerns of the soul.

A similar text to the *Mirror*, with which it is frequently found, is the *Three Arrows*. This concentrates on Doomsday and involves the image of three 'arrows' which Christ is then to shoot at sinners. The emphasis here is on the suffering of those who do not repent during their life when faced with Christ the Judge on Doomsday, and the theme of 'Memorare novissima et in eternum non peccabis' once again confronts the reader with the need to convert in the face of possible eternal torment.

These texts, together with *To Kunne Deie*, here called *To Kunne to Dize* are all concerned with repentance and right living, but the question of how to live well is only addressed negatively, by indicating what one should not do, or touched upon very briefly. After impressing the reader with a sense of his/her own sinfulness and the danger of

such sinfulness in the face of inescapable judgement before the throne of God after a death which may come at any time, these texts leave the reader with the pressing question of what should be done in life, beyond the immediate need to repent, to continue to avoid such a fate. The *Pore Caitiff*, a text which draws together material from many sources, such as the *Ancren Riwe* and Rolle's Latin and Middle English works,¹⁷ provides an answer to this question. The introduction explicitly says that the text is a guide to living well:

'This tretise compiled of a pore caitiff & nedi of gostli help of all cristen peple · bi þe girt merci & help of god · schal teche symple men & wymen of gode wille þe right weie to liue...' (GH 496, f18r)

The introduction continues by outlining the rationale behind the content and structure of this work. The author indicates he is to open with a discussion of the elementary articles of Christian belief, because it is impossible, as St Paul says, to please God without faith. Since it is also not possible to please God without good works, as St James indicates, he will follow with a discussion of the 'goode werkes of charite' (f18r) that are an expression and requirement of such faith. After this, he intends to discuss the Lord's Prayer, since prayer is only efficacious if it is grounded in faith, and then follow with various exhortatory chapters. The work, therefore, effectively splits into two sections: the first, consisting of three chapters, expounds the Creed (faith), the Ten Commandments (good works) and the Pater Noster (prayer); the second, the following eleven chapters, deals with a miscellaneous selection of topics related to Christian living, such as love of God, patience, temptations, the active and contemplative life, chastity and so on. As is suggested in the brief extract quoted above,

the work is not aimed solely at contemplatives. In the chapter on contemplative life, which takes as its starting point the story of Christ visiting the house of Martha and Mary (Lk 10:38-42), the author explicitly says that the active life, as exemplified by Martha, is not condemned, but that Martha did badly in attempting to keep her sister from the contemplative life and was therefore rebuked by Christ; active life, when lived according to correct Christian principles, such as those outlined in Matthew 25:31-46, is acceptable to God. Likewise, in the chapter on chastity, the married life, when lived as an expression of the sacrament of wedlock, is not to be condemned, although the ideal of married life is nonetheless Mary, the Blessed Virgin. The implication in both these chapters is however that life as a contemplative, celibate and devoted to loving only God, is the higher option. Christian life is envisaged here as a struggle against temptation, with the Christian patiently enduring tribulation and attempting to foster a passionate love of God by meditating upon His great love for man as exemplified by His sacrifice upon the cross. This work therefore provides a guide for both lay and professed alike to live the kind of life that will avert the fate described in the works on the Last Things.

The texts considered so far all seem to contribute to this pattern of repentance and right living, and *St Anselm's Meditation*, with its passionate soliloquy upon the tragedy of man's inherent sinfulness and inability ever to live according to God's Will, may also be placed within this pattern. However, in emphasis it differs somewhat from the *Mirror* and the *Three Arrows* and it enables the question of repentance to be considered more fully.

The work is dominated by a prolonged and emotional exposition of

man's sinfulness and unfruitfulness, his inability to do sufficient good works to balance his bad, and especially his inability to recognise the full ugliness and gravity of his sins, to lament them properly and to repent fully, and to sustain this repentance. The importance of each and every sin is stressed by the definition sin is given:

'But alas, is it not so þat alle synne by brekyng
of goddes heestes vnworschipeth god? 3us,
sikerly, 3us. What synne þanne dar eny synnere
seie þat is luytel? forto vnworschipe god whanne
is þat luytel?'¹⁰

Whilst it is not impossible to carry out good deeds - although the author seems pessimistic about his ability to do so - it is unlikely that they will outweigh this debt of sin. Nonetheless, full and genuine repentance, which a searching examination of one's conscience and a full awareness of the horror of sin should provoke, is rarely achieved.

The author moves on to describe how the unrepentant sinner will be faced with the need to justify himself on Doomsday, skilfully building up a frightening picture of man standing accused on all sides and by his own conscience, with nowhere to which he may flee. Then, in a sudden, startling and highly effective shift, Christ becomes the Redeemer to whom rather than from whom the sinner should flee:

'A who is he þat schal delyuere me fro þe hoondis
of wratthed god? where schal i haue helthe?
where schal i. haue counseyl? Who is he þat is
cleped þe aungel of greet counseil, þe whiche is
cleped sauour, þat i may crye on his naame?
Ceertes, it is Ihesu, he him-self is þe iuge whom
i. dreede so soore. Looke vp þerfore a3en now,
þow synnere, bee of good hope and dispeire not.
Hope in him whom þow dreeddest. Fle to him for
whom þow fleddest. Crie vpon him meekly for
mercy, whom þou hast soore agreued by pruyde.'¹¹

This awareness of Christ's all-embracing love and mercy, in which the most wretched of repentant sinners may lose him/herself, if s/he

turns back to God in this life, is the key to this text. Christ is the merciful redeemer of sinful man, as well as his judge: a humble acknowledgement of sinfulness and repentance, such as this text seeks to bring about in its readers, together with an appeal to Christ's loving mercy, should be sufficient to prevent damnation. What this text seeks to achieve, then, is two things: a genuine awareness of sinfulness and the need to repent, and a loving trust in Christ as the merciful Saviour of man. It steers a very successful path between the dangers of provoking despair, engendered by a disgust of one's sinfulness and a fear of God's judgement on the one hand, and over-confidence, produced by either a discounting of or a failure to recognise the seriousness of sin on the other. It is clearly preoccupied with the difficulty of achieving genuine repentance and its emphasis on sin and dismissal of good works should be seen in this context. It is not so much that the author believes a good life to be impossible, rather that he wishes to destroy any complacency his readers may have in either their lack of sin or the value of their good works. By this means, a genuine state of repentance and trust in God's mercy may be achieved, rather than a trust in one's own innocence or accumulation of good deeds.

This consideration of the constantly recurring need to repent is a timely reminder that Christian life even for those committed to developing their relationship with God within the religious life, was envisaged as a daily minefield of temptation and sin, and the need for repentance was not confined to a single moment but was a perpetually recurring necessity, given form and meaning by the practice of the Sacrament of Confession, which was a requirement at least once a year. Hence it was always necessary for priests to exhort their flocks to

repentance. In this context, the use of servile fear to bring about repentance, (discussed in the previous chapter) becomes more complex. Since servile fear was apparently considered acceptable only as the initial motivating factor behind an awareness of sinfulness, ideally giving way to love, how were texts which use this theme assimilated into this daily process of repentance? It may be that such texts were read differently as their readers progressed within their spiritual lives. The *Scire Mori* chapter, for example, attempts to enable its readers to embrace death willingly and happily, and one who learns to do this, or who takes to heart the lessons of the text to repent and amend their lives, is likely to respond differently to the image of sudden death presented by the Young Man in this text to those who come to the work without having considered their mortality and the ultimate consequences of their sin. *St Anselm's Meditation* offers a different reason to abhor sin other than through a fear of its consequences through its definition of what sin is: the 'vnworschipe' of God.

This manuscript, then, places the need for repentance and right-living in the context of the consequences of sin after one's death at the Last Judgement. It stresses the importance of a full awareness of one's sinfulness and the worthlessness of worldly pleasures, and offers guidance on and motivation for how to live a good Christian life so as to avoid damnation. The presence of *To Kunne Deie* in this manuscript seems to be determined by its theme of the need to repent and convert one's life in order to avoid dying badly: this is not a manuscript obsessed with the moment of death itself. The significance of death as marking the boundary between the possibility of repentance and of obtaining mercy from God and the impossibility of escaping His justice

is what is of importance to these texts which urge repentance: when inescapable death comes, there is no further room for mercy, only for God's judgement of one's guilt. This is a powerful argument for repentance and it is reiterated in four of the six texts found here: the *Mirror*, the *Three Arrows*, *To Kunne Deie* and *St Anselm's Meditation*. The guide to daily living that the *Pore Caitiff* offers does not make sin impossible - nothing can do that - but provides the reader with the armoury to combat sin and the means to strive to follow God in either the secular or the religious life.

The texts in Bod 789²⁰ appear at first sight to divide into two groups: those whose primary function is to provide assistance in the instruction and pastoral care of the laity (*The Layfolk's Catechism*; the Expositions of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria etc, the *Boke of Visitynge of Seke Men* and the *Four things that make God our friend*) and those which have a more private devotional character, providing material for meditative exercises and pious reflection (the texts about the Passion and about death, the *Speculum Peccatoris* and *To Kunne Deie*). However, a closer examination of the substance of these works suggests that those which appear to be public and didactic may also have had a more personal and private function, and those which appear to provide the material for personal meditation may also have provided inspiration and matter for public exhortation. The only apparent exception to this is Bernard's *Formula Honeste Vite* which is a short, austere rule of living, apparently for those in a community, although much of the advice it contains is directed towards the behaviour of the individual. The final section is, interestingly, concerned with encouraging those who prepare the bodies of the dead of the community to gain spiritual benefit from

such an exercise. This text is readily explicable if the manuscript were owned by a community which had members who undertook pastoral work with the laity (a Benedictine house, for example), or even if it were owned by a priest with particularly austere habits of living. Such a manuscript is at first sight very different in content and concern to GH 496, with its concentration upon sinfulness, the need to repent, the Last Things and the right way to live. However, Bod 789 is a more homogeneous and structured manuscript than it first appears and there are certain recognisable themes and concerns to be traced here as well, into which *To Kunne Deie* may be placed.

The Layfolk's Catechism is a translation made by John Gaytryge, a monk of St Mary's Abbey in York, of Archbishop Thoresby's instructions to the clergy of York. The two texts appeared in 1357, the translation apparently being made at Archbishop Thoresby's request. It contains the basics of the faith to be preached by the clergy to the laity: expositions of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, the Seven Works of Mercy, the Seven Virtues and the Seven Deadly Sins. Despite its misleading title, the text was initially owned by the clergy as a source of instruction for their congregations; towards the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century it was also employed for private use. Such a text combines well with the expositions of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, the text of the Creed, the confessional piece and the exposition of the Ten Commandments which occur later in the manuscript. These outline the basics of faith - the *Pater Noster* is presented as the prayer which contains everything about which one ought to pray whilst the exposition of the *Ten Commandments* attempts to demonstrate that within these ten basic rules all guidance on how to

live is incorporated - although there are interpolations which may be Lollard.²¹ Whatever the orthodoxy of whoever wrote or owned this manuscript, the presence of such pieces as these confirms an interest in the basic elements of the faith, such as were required to be taught to the laity and demonstrate that such instruction was however perhaps more complex than one might expect. Indeed the complexity of some of these texts and the interpolations do suggest that this section was of use for personal consideration by the owner of the manuscript as well as for the instruction of the laity.

The *Boke of Visitynge of Sick Men* is a translation combining elements from the *Visitatio Infirmorum* and the *Admonitio Morienti*, and was used by priests to guide the sick through what might be their last moments, in combination with the Sacrament of the Extreme Unction and the *Commendatio Animae*.²² It opens with a section discussing the nature of death and how one should approach it, which, as f159v makes clear, the priest is intended to expound to the sick person he is visiting, and part of which seems to be a prayer (ff158v-159v) for the use of the sick/dying person. This is followed by the questions from the *Admonitio Morienti*, and the work is completed with the *Orisoun of Bede þe prest*, which is concerned with forgiveness and obtaining a good death, and is presumably intended to be said over the sick/dying person. It should not be surprising that a text designed to provide guidance in visiting the sick actually takes the form of preparation for death: both the *Scire Mori* chapter and the *Craft of Dying* indicate that sickness is seen as the messenger of death and should be treated as such. It was vitally important that a sick man or woman be given the chance to die in a state of grace, shriven of their sins and wholly at one with the

Church in matters of faith and doctrine, and this the *Boke* and the other rites of the Church enabled them to do.

The initial section of the *Boke* is concerned with presenting life as a struggle between the desire of the spirit to be free of the corrupt flesh and the troubles and torments of worldly and physical existence and to be with Christ. Life can never be free from sin whilst man is subject to the passions arising from his body: life, therefore, is bad and death is good. The text uses a rather curious biblical example to illustrate this theory: that of David's behaviour whilst his son by Bathsheba was sick (2 Samuel 12:15-25). Whilst the child was still alive, David fasted, mourned and prayed, demonstrating, the *Boke* says, that he perceived life to be bad, but when the child died, David, according to the *Boke*, rejoiced, death therefore being good. David's explanation of his behaviour does not exactly bear out this interpretation. Whilst the child was still sick he fasted and wept in the hope that God would spare him, but when he died, such action was meaningless: it would not bring the child back. Death is essentially portrayed in this section of the *Boke* in a positive light, in contrast to life:

'For soþe forto deie wel is to lyue wiþ crist and
who mai sufficientli telle þe beneficis of it
whiche ioyneth man to crist whiche is ende of
yuelis and bigynnyng of sikernesse and blisse.'
(f158v).

Such rhetoric is clearly aimed to comfort and inspire the sick and dying faced with their imminent demise. The interrogations enable the sick/dying person to affirm their position within the Church and provide them with an opportunity to repent of their sins and indicate a desire to make recompense for any wrong-doing they may have carried

out. They are similar to those found in the third chapter of the *Book of the Craft of Dying*,²³ but much shorter. The *Orisoun* of Bede asks for forgiveness and a good death by focussing on the seven words of Christ on the Cross and basing petitions on them. It is not specifically concerned with the actual moment of death, and is probably therefore all the more appropriate for a sick-bed which may not turn out to be a death-bed.

One may perhaps see here the different concerns of the rest of the manuscript reflected in one short text. The opening section, with its meditation on the proper response to death parallels in message those texts which aim to teach how to die; the *Interrogations* are concerned with establishing the sick/dying person within the Christian tradition, just as the didactic texts found here seek to ensure their audience is fully able to participate in the basic beliefs of the Catholic Church. The *Orisoun*, based on the seven words Christ spoke on the Cross, recalls the themes present in the Passion texts (discussed below) - the call to repentance through an awareness of Christ's great love of and sacrifice for man, a knowledge of His mercy and so on - whilst also presenting Christ's death as the pattern for all men and the guarantee of salvation.

The presence of this text in B789 indicates a concern with the correct way of guiding the dying through their last moments: a natural concern for any priest with a proper regard for his duties. It also suggests that perhaps the works in this manuscript concerned with meditation upon death were not wholly for private use: they may also have had a public, didactic function, their message if not actual substance conveyed to the laity through the owner of this manuscript.

These texts include the *Speculum Peccatoris* (the Latin original of the *Mirror of Sinners*), and *To Kunne Deie*, as well as some of the texts which form part of the meditative sequence (ff140r-150r) whose primary focus seems to be the Passion, which will be discussed below. The two prose texts are concerned with prompting repentance and right living by placing before the reader/listener the consequences of living badly when faced with one's death and judgement before God. As such they both look forward to the moment of death towards which the sick person may be assisted by the *Boke* and back to the texts teaching the basics of faith, essential to any who wish to be saved, which enable man to know and love God:

'And for that na creatoure myghte come to that blyse withowtten knaweyng of Godd, als that clerke teches, he made skillwyse creatours, angelle and man, of witt and wysdom to knawe God Almyghtyn and thorowe thaire knawynge lufe hym and serve hym and so come to that blyse that they ware made to...' *The Layfolk's Catechism*.²⁴

Perhaps then such texts were used as the basis for urging a recalcitrant congregation to repent, as well as providing motivation and matter for meditation on a personal level. At any rate this combination of works suggests that teaching about death, whether in texts detailing the proper forms of prayer and ritual to be used at the approach of death or in texts which use the concept of mortality and the fear it induces as a means to provoke repentance, may be placed in the context of ordinary Christian living and teaching. This is only to be expected: what the *Scire Mori* chapter clearly demonstrates is that the way in which one perceives one's mortality affects and is affected by the way in which one perceives and lives one's life. *To Kunne Deie* and the *Speculum Peccatoris* with their messages of the need to repent

and live well, to be always aware of the possibility of death, to recognise the dangers of being seduced by transient and worthless worldly pleasures, provide the reason and the motivation behind the need to be fully informed (and to inform) about the essential items of faith that underpin and constitute Christian living.

The other major theme that may be perceived in this manuscript is that of the Passion. The manuscript opens with a prose meditation on Christ's passion (known as *A Meditation by Cardinal Bonaventure on the Passion of Christ*, although the attribution is false); there is a sequence of prose and lyric pieces on ff140r-150r)²⁵ concerned with the Passion, repentance and mortality and finally, the poem *An A.B.C of the Passion of Our Lord*. Works such as these aim, often overtly, by focussing the mind in meditation upon Christ's suffering for man's sin, to bring the reader to a sense of his/her sinfulness, so as to provoke feelings of remorse and humility and again to cause repentance and conversion. The requirement to love God in return for His overwhelming love also constitutes an element of these texts. The precise mixture of these ingredients varies according to the text: what is significant in the context of this discussion is that these works, too, are concerned with the need for repentance and right-living, and that, unlike the texts concerned predominantly with mortality, they offer the possibility of a loving response to a loving God. The meditative sequence (if such it is) is of particular interest here. Hirsh, in his article discussing this group of texts, argues that this selection of works (not all concerned exclusively with Christ's Passion: one is a prayer to the Trinity, one a poem on how Christ shed his blood seven times for the seven deadly sins and another an admonition spoken by a

corpse) form a spiritually coherent whole primarily concerned with man's awareness of his sinfulness and the need to repent. The emphasis shifts as the different themes are treated, but here at least love and fear meet, and remorse may be provoked out of a humble acknowledgement of sinfulness in the face of Christ's sacrifice.

Bod 789 then may be said to be more logical in its choice of content than at first appears. This is not a manuscript dominated by the theme of repentance and mortality, as to a large extent GH 496 is: rather it is concerned with the ordering of Christian life in a wider sense. It contains both public, didactic and private, meditative texts, although there is probably some overlap between these categories. Those texts which are clearly didactic in character are concerned with the basic details of how to live a good Christian life, rather than with any prolonged consideration of, for instance, the nature of the contemplative life: they seem to be aimed at the laity rather than the professed religious. Those texts which are more private in character are more devotional in tone, offering the material for pious meditation on the nature of God's relationship with man and the consequences of man's mortality. *To Kunne Deie* contains material suitable both for private meditation and public teaching: arguing as it does the need for repentance and right living it drives home the message of those texts which offer guidance on how to live to both teacher and taught alike.

CUL Ff.V.45, D322 and H1706 all contain a group of texts which focus on death and dying and hence also on living well. The three manuscripts are all related, as is indicated in Chapter I,²⁶ and the texts in question are *Death's Warning*, the *Fifth Chapter*, the *Boke of the Crafte of Dying* and the extract from the *Tour of alle toures*. I

shall discuss this group first, before turning to the manuscripts in which it occurs.

The poem *Death's Warning* opens this sequence. Its precise origin and authorship has been the subject of some debate: in D322 and H1706 the poem is divided into two sections, and between them occurs a piece of rubrication which says it is drawn from 'the boke of John Lucas'. Whether John Lucas was the owner of the exemplar from which the poem was drawn or the author of the poem, and if so, who he was, or whether this is a mistake for Bocas, that is Boccacio, has not been finally concluded.²⁷ The poem itself is partly made up of extracts from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.²⁸ Wager suggests that the division in to two sections that the rubric effects is a logical one:

'the first four stanza are an address by Death...the last four are an exhortation by the poet to beware of divine punishment in the world to come.'²⁹

As a whole, the two sections encapsulate precisely the complex of ideas explored in this group of texts, considering death's inevitability and unpredictability, life's shortness and the need to be always awake and on the watch, death as the punishment for Adam's sin and thus as the punishment for man's sinfulness and man's forgetfulness of Christ's sacrifice for him on the Cross. The poet therefore advises man to learn to die and to hate life, to repent and avoid wrong-doing, to do penance: to follow Christ's example. Christ suffered and died for man's redemption and required in return only that man should follow his commandments. By doing this, man may attain eternal happiness in heaven:

'To whyche place aboue celestiaall
Cryste Ihesu, so brynge vs to that glory,

Whyche by thy dethe haddest] the victory.³⁰

The fact that the author of this poem (whoever he may have been) draws together various sections from different parts of *The Fall of Princes* so as to combine these particular ideas is further evidence that the association of such themes in these manuscripts is no chance occurrence. For the devout Christian, the fact that man will be judged after his death for his actions on earth meant that meditation upon death was inextricably involved with meditation upon sinfulness and the need to repent, and meditation upon death or repentance led equally inevitably to the thought that Christ by dying on the cross conquered death, and through His life provided the means to avoid sin: He also is both the reason and the motivation for repentance. Learning to die then, as this poem suggests, is nothing more nor less than learning to follow Christ.

The *Craft of Dying* is a rather different and in some ways more complex text. It is a translation of the *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* or *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the longer form of the two related texts generally referred to under the title *Ars Moriendi*.³¹ It is specifically aimed at giving christian instruction on how to deal with the moment of death, both for the dying and those attending the dying. Its history - why it arose, its antecedents and many offspring, its format and concerns - are dealt with by a number of writers in detail.³² It is divided into six chapters, with a brief introduction. The first chapter immediately establishes that death is bad for the sinful and good for those who die 'in þe state of verry repentaunce & contricion & in the verrey feith & vnite & charite of holy chirche'.³³ Death should therefore be accepted gladly, whenever it comes: this is one definition of dying well that this chapter offers.³⁴ Every man,

whether secular or religious, but especially the religious, should therefore learn to die, by being always ready to receive death whenever it comes.³⁵ This chapter presents death in much the same light as the *Scire Mori* chapter, but although there are similarities in this chapter, the *Craft of Dying* as a whole is far more practical in content, aiming to give specific advice to combat the terrors of the moment of death. The second chapter therefore is concerned to outline and offer remedies for the various temptations which will try the dying man and draw him away from God. The temptations are: loss or lack of faith, despair, impatience, spiritual pride, and distraction by worldly concerns. Each temptation is outlined, the author portraying them as the work of the devil and stressing that the devil is not allowed to tempt man beyond his capacity to bear and that therefore firmness against temptation will always prevail. He then provides remedies for each temptation, quoting biblical and patristic texts to underline and uphold his argument and to comfort *Moriens*. The stress is more upon the remedy than the temptation, and the chapter ends on a positive note, as the author asserts the real powerlessness of the devil and the benevolence of God:

"Therfor euerry man, ryghtfull & synfull, lowe hym-silfe fully vnto the myzty honde of god, and so with his helpe he shall surely opteyne and haue the victorie in all maner of temptacion, seknesse & tribulacions, euylls & sorrowes, & deth therto."³⁶

The third chapter moves on to the 'interrogations þat schulden be asked of hem þat were in her deth-bed'.³⁷ Two lists of questions are given, the first attributed to Anselm (similar to those which also occur in the *Boke of Visitynge of Seke Men*) although they are apparently even

older than this;³⁸ the second attributed to 'the doctour the noble clerke the chaunceller of Paris',³⁹ that is Jean Gerson.⁴⁰ The first list is shorter than the second but both allow *Moriens* to affirm his steadfastness in his faith and to establish his awareness of his sinfulnesses and his genuine contrition and desire to make amends for his sins, whilst also placing Christ's passion and death before his eyes as the means by which he may be saved. The chapter ends by reassuring those who are alone on their death-bed that they may examine their consciences themselves and thus ensure that they are suitably disposed to death. The fourth chapter is further instruction to *Moriens*: s/he is recommended to remember how Christ died and to model his/her death on Christ's, and various efficacious prayers are outlined for his/her use. The fifth chapter addresses those attending the dying, stressing the need to place the spiritual health of the dying before the physical and reiterating the importance of the various practices previously recommended in the *Craft of Dying*. The additional advice that is given allows for both a lingering and a swift death, all the time stressing the need to comfort and sustain *Moriens* in his/her faith. Furthermore, this chapter makes it clear that the matter of the *Craft of Dying* should be studied by everyone before the approach of death, so that either in the role of *Moriens* or of one of his/her attendants every person may be fully prepared for what they ought to do. The final chapter gives a further series of prayers to be said over the dying person to ensure their salvation.

The text is aimed both at secular and religious - it addresses both - and it has been argued that it was intended to provide a guide to the moments of death to be used in the absence of the clergy -

there is no mention of the sacraments.⁴¹ Whilst primarily dealing with the actual moment of death it is clearly intended to be read and memorised before death threatens.⁴² It is positive in tone, always stressing the power of God and faith in God over the devil and his temptations. By ritualising death, it enables the fears associated with death to be recognised and contained. It presents the deathbed as a busy and formalised setting: there are specific rites to be practised, specific prayers to be said, even prescribed temptations. Those around the dying person have their own role and know what they must do; their presence is also important to ensure the dying person's salvation, as well as being spiritually efficacious for them by encouraging them to meditate upon their own mortality.

It has also been argued that the *Craft of Dying* has a dual audience and function.⁴³ On the one hand it addresses the living, advising them to prepare for death by becoming fully conversant with the practices it outlines, and on the other, it addresses the dying, guiding them through their last moments. It offers reassurance and practical advice to both groups, at times simultaneously. Beatty, for instance, argues that not only do the final chapters offer guidance to those surrounding *Moriens* and prompt them to meditate upon their own mortality, they also provide *Moriens* with the comfort of knowing there is a formal structure to accompany his/her last moments.⁴⁴ On a different level, however, this dual audience leads to the juxtaposition of potentially conflicting ideas: the first, addressed to the living, that a good death may best be achieved by living well; the second, addressed to the dying, that no sinner should be afraid of repenting on his/her deathbed.⁴⁵ I would agree with Sly's assessment that any

tension this may have caused need not have been problematic to either audience of the *Craft of Dying*.⁴⁶ both are addressed to the specific needs of the moment, offering appropriate comfort and guidance.

It has also been argued that the chapter on temptations can be considered to deal with the ordinary problems of every day Christian life, despite the fact that it is cast in the form of a death-bed struggle.⁴⁷ This is a little problematic: whilst the temptations are undoubtedly such as may face any person during life, the remedies suggested are shaped to the moment of death. However, it is certainly the case that although this text is more concerned with the actual moment of death than any of the other works previously considered, it nonetheless stresses that preparation for death is a matter for the living. Its message to both the living and the dying is essentially positive and reassuring, providing a pathway through death to life.

The Toure of alle Toures is quite unlike either the *Craft* or *Scire Mori*. It is a short text, only a few folios long, and can hardly be said to constitute practical advice either on how to live or how to die. It is in fact concerned with the state of mind of its readers: how they view the prospect of death and life when placed in the context of physical mortality and spiritual immortality. It is a difficult text to summarise, in that it presents a number of ideas briefly and in swift succession, without actually indicating very clearly what structure lies behind them. Its initial proposition is that if one learns to die one will also learn to live: no-one can know how to live unless they have learnt how to die. The text therefore puts forward a series of brief reflections on life and death in order to encourage the reader to have a proper approach to both. The first concept to be explored is that

both life and death are 'passing' and that they may therefore be equated. Death is commonly referred in such terms; life as a 'passing', requires further explanation. Earthly life is so brief in comparison to eternal and its joys pass away so swiftly that it earns this description. To live then is really to die; all the years of man's life pass away into death's hands and man may possess none of them. By this argument, even those who do not know how to die are continually dying. The argument shifts at this point to introduce another idea of death, as the parting of body and soul, a concept taught by Cato. The text does not make explicit that whilst death is a literal parting of the body and the soul, what it goes on to refer to is the attempt to detach oneself from earthly pleasures and to learn to despise the world. It comments that many pagan philosophers hated the world so much they took their own lives, drawing the conclusion that this did them no good because they were not Christians, which leaves the text open to the interpretation that their suicides would have been acceptable had they been Christian! In contrast, those who live good and holy lives have experienced two deaths and wait for the third: they are dead to sin and dead to the world, and they wait for their souls to be parted from their bodies. For such people, paradise is very close, and the text describes a kind of mystical state in which they experience the joys of heaven 'in thought and desiring'.^{4*} Because of these experiences these people hate life and desire bodily death. The text now turns to a further rather muddled image: it seems to be suggesting that actual bodily death may be likened to a running brook that separates man from (eternal) life. On this side of the brook is death (that is, the life man lives on earth) and on the other side, life.

However, so-called wise men see this side of the brook as life and the far side as death and do not attempt to see further. The closing section of the text recommends sending one's spirit into the afterlife and meditating upon Heaven, Hell and Purgatory, each of which teaches how particular ways of life will be rewarded.

A number of ideas found in the *Scire Mori* chapter are also to be found here. The passage in the *Tour of alle Toures* in which the souls are described as lamenting in Hell⁵⁰ is very similar to the passage in the *Scire Mori* chapter where the Young Man laments the passing of his life:⁵⁰ both these texts draw on the Book of Wisdom (5:6-14). The closing passage of the *Tour* with its injunction to consider the differing fates of souls in Heaven, Purgatory and Hell, is reminiscent of *Scire Mori's* similar injunction to the Disciple to consider his own soul in Purgatory.⁵¹ It is known that this section of the *Tour* was a translation of a chapter in *Somme le Roi*,⁵² and since the *Somme* predated Suso's *Horologium*, having been written in 1279, if there is any trace of influence to be seen here, it has to be of the relevant chapter of the *Somme* on Suso's *Scire Mori* rather than the other way round. The *Ars Moriendi* chapter in *Disce Mori* discussed in Chapter II is also related to the *Somme*.⁵³

The main thrust of the text then seems to be to encourage a hatred of life and a detachment from earthly things so that death and the afterlife - in Heaven - are seen positively. By dealing with each concept briefly it seems to provide the starting point for meditation rather than the actual subject matter, and likewise it has little room for some of the negative elements found in such texts as the *Mirror of Sinners*. Again it stresses both the need to see life in terms of death

and the afterlife, and the interdependence of learning to live and learning to die. It is unfortunate that the full text of the *Tour of alle Toures* is no longer extant: it would be interesting to see whether it was a close translation of the *Somme* or whether it just drew this chapter from it; that is, to see how exactly this chapter fitted into it. In *Somme le Roi*, the *Ars Moriendi* chapter plays a pivotal role, forming the central portion of the text together with a piece on hating sin and another on 'to do well and live well', preceded by a section on sin and succeeded by a section on virtues and good deeds.⁵⁴ Such a context for this extract, stressing the use of meditation upon death in order to bring about a disgust with sin and a desire to live well, would correspond exactly with the patterns of texts found across the manuscripts under discussion here.

These three texts, then, together with the *Fifth Chapter* comprise the group which is repeated in these three manuscripts. Each of the texts approaches the problems death presents for the Christian in a slightly different way: *Death's Warning* and the *Fifth Chapter* are both concerned with encouraging their audiences to consider their sinfulness in the context of their mortality, and *Death's Warning* also reflects on Christ's Passion; the *Craft of Dying* outlines the proper form a Christian death should take, encouraging the living to consider this carefully and prepare for their final moments and the *Tour of alle Toures* argues for a need for disgust with life and a detachment from worldly concerns so as to regard death in the proper way. A number of common themes may be recognised: death need not be feared - indeed it should be welcomed - if one has the proper attitude towards life; the way in which one lives and regards earthly things is of vital

importance in determining how one dies (although at the same time the *Craft of Dying* stresses that no repentant sinner should despair of God's mercy); reflection upon mortality is an essential part of Christian life, and, most importantly, one must learn the correct attitude towards life so as to have the correct attitude towards death. The fear of death as a motivation to some kind of action is undoubtedly behind all these texts, and in each case, this fear is clearly intended to provoke a positive response. Furthermore, the specific nature of this fear and the way in which it is used differs across these texts. *Death's Warning* and the *Scire Mori* chapter are concerned with *using* the fear of death they create by dwelling on its consequences to bring about repentance; the *Craft* offers a way of coping with this fear of death by providing a structure for the actual moment of death; the *Tour of alle Toures* closes with its advice on how to regard death and life so that fear of death ceases to be a problem. Each text directs its audience towards considering the importance of how one lives in determining how one dies, but there is only a limited amount of practical advice on how to live actually offered by these texts, beyond the general comments about the need to repent and follow a good Christian life, eschewing the pursuit of worldly pleasures. This lack of specific advice renders these texts accessible and appropriate to a variety of audiences, both secular and religious. This perhaps may be seen as as good a reason as any for the detachment of the *Fifth Chapter* from the *Treatise*, and also of the *Ars Moriendi* chapter from the *Tour of alle Toures*: this allowed the original compiler of this group free to expand or develop whatever possibilities the texts offer which might have been of relevance or interest to whoever the original audience was, and furthermore allowed

later compilers the same freedom. An examination of the manuscripts in question will indicate whether or not this did occur.

In CUL Ff.V.45, the *Mirror of Sinners* is placed at the beginning of this *Ars Moriendi* group and the *Three Arrows* at the end, and these two texts do in some ways reflect the concerns of the group. The manuscript opens with a short, incomplete extract from Rolle's *Form of Living*, followed by some prayers, and after the *Three Arrows* come a series of extracts from the *Pore Caitiff* and more prayers. The manuscript has a number of texts in common with GH 496 (the *Mirror*, the *Three Arrows*, a translation of the *Scire Mori* chapter, and the *Pore Caitiff*), although it is unlikely the two are directly related: apart from questions of date and provenance, they contain different translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter. This would suggest either an indirect relationship of some kind, or that perhaps a clear association was perceived between these works, unless this is a purely coincidental occurrence.

The *Mirror* and *The Three Arrows* both concentrate upon the way in which sinfulness and repentance relate to mortality and the Last Things, arguing for a disgust with transitory, earthly things and portraying the terrors of the Last Judgement for the sinful. They aim to create in their audience a desire not just to repent and change one's life so as to avoid punishment for sin after death, but also to maintain a disgust with sin and worldly things, so that when death comes, it comes to a man prepared to receive it. By placing the *Mirror* at the beginning of this group, with the other two texts which are concerned with repentance and right living and which also to a certain

extent use fear as a motivating factor to bring this about, a powerful sequence of texts is built up arguing for the need to consider the implications of mortality and the punishments of sinfulness in the afterlife and to change one's life accordingly. *The Three Arrows*, with its Last Judgement scenario and stress on the need to combat sinfulness, concludes the group by reinforcing the possible fate of those who ignore the message of these texts to learn to die by accepting one's mortality, judging the relative importance of things physical and transitory and spiritual and eternal, and amending one's life accordingly. These two texts give this group a rather more negative tone than it has without them; by their addition the arguments to consider one's mortality are informed by a greater stress upon fear.

However, the texts which open and close the manuscript focus on other concerns. The extract from the *Form of Living*, its opening section, is concerned with discussing the temptations which afflict those who pursue the religious life; the text as a whole is a guide to the solitary contemplative life, considering the problems which may arise for its practitioners and examining other issues of interest such as the nature of the loving relationship between God and man. The sections of the *Pore Caitiff*⁵ which follow are: (i) Love of Jesus (Chapter 11); (ii) Desyre of Jesus (possibly also from Chapter 11); (iii) Of Meekness (Chapter 12); (iv) The counsaile of Jesus (Chapter 5); (v) A treatise of Patience (Chapter 6); (vi) A short tretis of Temptation (Chapter 7) and (vii) The chartre of Heaven (Chapter 8). It may be seen that none of the instructions in the basic matters of the faith which form the opening chapters of the *Pore Caitiff* are to be found here: the compiler instead has included those chapters which focus on

more general questions of Christian living (temptation, meekness and patience) and those which encourage a devout and fervent love of Jesus. This, together with the *Form of Living*, provides instruction and guidance in the spiritual life.

This manuscript demonstrates that the argument that the consideration of mortality and sinfulness leads to repentance and a desire to amend one's life and live well is in fact not necessarily the only way to express what may be happening here. By opening and closing with texts about ways of living and prayers, and enclosing the texts about death and repentance within this framework, the *ms* offers the possibility of a different interpretation, in which the urge to live well is not so much created as supplemented by reflection on death. The living of a Christian life requires consideration of what a Christian death entails, and this in turn strengthens one's resolve to follow the path outlined in texts like the *Pore Caitiff*. Within CUL Ff.V.45, therefore, texts about christian living and texts about christian dying are interlinked and mutually interdependent, and a similar pattern may be perceived in D322 and H1706.

D322 and H1706 may be discussed together since they are sister manuscripts: indeed, half of H1706 is a copy of either D322 or its exemplar, and the second half of the manuscript was added at a later date and need only be considered in brief here.⁵⁶ Both, incidentally were owned by women: D322 by Petronilla Wrattisley, a nun at the Dominican convent of Dartford, and H1706 by Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, and possibly later by the nuns of Barking of whom she was patron.⁵⁷ The end of D322 is incomplete: H1706 includes *St Brendan's*

Confession in five sections - D322 has only three - followed by the *De Carta Celestia Hereditatis*, which in D322 comes between two of the sections of the *Confession*. There follow in Harley 1706 six further pieces, which presumably were originally to be found in D322, before the second half of the manuscript begins.^{5*}

These manuscripts contain far more texts than those previously discussed, texts which are concerned with a wider range of subjects, and from genres not yet represented, such as lyric poetry. A number of these texts are in themselves complex works, dealing with interesting and important spiritual issues, and it is not possible to examine them all in the degree of detail afforded to those works in other manuscripts which directly impinge upon the subject of mortality and the Last Things. That such works (see for instance the *Ladder of Four Rungs*, the texts on tribulation and so on) exist here alongside these texts on death is surely significant, suggesting that death was seen as one issue among many of importance to the spiritual life, with which it was vital for those who were concerned to develop a close relationship with God to come to terms. The consideration of death was not something to be marginalised from the spiritual life: it had value both as a continual motivation to repentance and as a means of focussing one's mind on the impermanence of the physical world and the value of things spiritual and eternal.

There are a number of texts in these manuscripts concerned with the general question of how to live a good Christian life, whilst others consider more specific areas of concern to the devout Christian, such as tribulation, sin and repentance, the love of God, and prayer. There is only one other concerned specifically with the process of dying: the

Sex Observanda Omni Christiani. The *Sex Observanda* summarises the essentials in the preparation for death:

'All men and women approaching death must take heed of six things: 1) that they will pay their debts and restore any goods acquired unjustly; 2) that they will make their last will and testament; 3) that they confess their sins; 4) that they receive Extreme Unction; 5) that they receive the Eucharist; 6) that they pray God for His mercy and contemplate the joys of Paradise.'⁵⁹

These recommendations are entirely orthodox, covering both the more worldly aspects of the approach of death as well as the spiritual. Their order is significant: the first two recommendations are clearly intended to be carried out before death has had the opportunity to encroach too far upon the Dying Person - the *Craft of Dying* makes it clear that worldly considerations such as these should not interfere with the final death-bed drama;⁶⁰ following this, Confession, Extreme Unction and receiving the viaticum, the accepted death-bed rites where the Dying Person was attended by a priest, are listed in the order in which they were commonly administered,⁶¹ and the final injunction that the Dying Person should pray to God for mercy and contemplate the joys of Heaven indicates that should the previous actions have been properly carried out, the Dying Person need do nothing more than await death, praying and trusting in God's mercy and salvation. This is, it may be noted, the first text here discussed which has anything to say of the sacramental rites associated with the last moments of life. This is not over-surprising: the *Craft of Dying* is generally agreed to have been composed to be used in the absence of clergy attending on the deathbed, whilst the majority of the other texts here discussed are concerned with mortality and repentance, with the ordering of a

Christian life, rather than the rites of Christian death. Texts of these rites would in any case have been in Latin and only been owned by priests, which scarcely makes them suitable for inclusion in any of the manuscripts here under consideration. The inclusion of this piece does however throw some light on the complex and well-organised preparation for death and the rites surrounding it, of which the instructions in the *Craft of Dying* are only a part.

Those texts which consider Christian living in some detail include the translation of the *Emendatio Vitae*, *The Tretyse of Gostly Batayle*, and to a certain extent *The Ladder of Four Rungs*, although its primary concern is with intellectual aspects of the spiritual life, with matters contemplative rather than active, that is. *The Tretyse of Gostly Batayle*, which follows the group of *Ars Moriendi* texts in these manuscripts, and the *Emendatio Vitae*, both offer general advice and encouragement, placing practical matters within a spiritual context as well as addressing more intellectual matters, such as prayer, temptation and so on. The sequence *Consilia Isodori*, *Augustinus de Contemptu Mundi* and *Despyte of the Worlde* (the first a prose piece followed by the second, verses illustrating and reinforcing the message of the prose) and the *IX Poyntes* are similarly concerned with offering advice on how to live well. The *Consilia* briefly considers a number of topics under headings such as 'Off yuell þouʒttys', 'Off chastyte', 'Off wommen', 'Sadnes of mynde' and so on; *De Contemptu Mundi* offers encouragement to those who find the advice of the preceding piece too severe by stressing the transience of the things of this world and of the pleasures experienced in it; the *IX Poyntes* contains still more advice on how to live. Together, such works provide a foil to the *Ars*

Moriendi texts by offering a means of structuring one's life to focus upon God so that death may be met in a state of preparedness. Furthermore, the first three texts discussed offer a positive inducement to live well by dwelling upon God's love for man. There are three short texts which consider specific aspects of the state of mind a Christian should cultivate to live well: a piece on meekness, also to be found in the *Pore Caitiff*, from which it may have been drawn, *The VII Degrees of Humylyte* and *The VII Degres of Pryde*. They offer straightforward and uncomplicated guidance and advice on these areas. Finally, one may add here the *ABC of Aristotle*, an alphabetical poem which offers guidance on how to govern oneself, preaching moderation in all things.

The texts on tribulation include the *Tretyse of the syx mastres*, the *Nota de paciencia infirmitatis*, *The Twelve Profits and Advantages of Tribulation* (the same group of texts as that which occurs in the Caxton edition of the *Treatise*) and *Pety Job*. Such texts deal with the role of suffering within the Christian life, emphasising the need to accept trials humbly and willingly and attempting to demonstrate how suffering so endured can have a positive effect, if not in this world, then certainly in the next. However much one may dislike the emphasis on suffering as a 'gift', and a necessary gift at that, from God, and the lack of acceptance of the very human desire to rebel in the face of what one perceives as unjust or meaningless suffering (precisely what Job, who was by no means patient, did), one must recognise that these texts do attempt to integrate pain and suffering into human life by situating it within the context of spiritual growth and indicating its use as a means of avoiding sin. There are obvious similarities between

this group of texts on tribulation and the group on death: both are concerned with tackling apparently difficult issues within a strongly spiritual context; both direct their audience towards the possibility of a positive and fruitful response to these issues; both have an interest in promoting repentance and right living. The texts on temptation offer advice on one aspect of how to live well, efficacious to those impelled by the consideration of their mortality to a constant struggle with sin and temptation, and this awareness of the consequences of mortality provides good reason to consider such advice very seriously. It may also be remembered that the *Scire Mori* text suggests that pain suffered on earth may mitigate the purgatorial punishment after death due for one's unrepented sins or sins for which one has not done adequate satisfaction: this view is also espoused in the *Twelve Profits*, in Chapter VI. These points of similarity suggest these two groups of texts have the potential to interact profitably.

The related topics of sin, repentance and confession are all considered in these manuscripts. The *Seuyn Dedely Synnes* and *St Bendan's Confession* (incomplete in D322) are simple texts, the one offering a definition of sin, the other a formula by which one may examine one's conscience. Texts on repentance include the *Meditatio S. Augustini* and the lyric poems, *Quia Amore Languet* and *Parce Mihi Domine*. The *Meditatio*, a prose piece, examines man's sinfulness and the overwhelming mercy which God offers to contrite sinners. This text thus aims to encourage repentance by instilling a sense of trust in God's mercy as well as an awareness of sinfulness. Similarly, *Parce Mihi Domine* moralises about youth, beauty, strength and riches which youth abuses and which are lost in old age, and warns that no one

knows when they will die. The poem seems to be teaching the need to use one's gifts well during one's life but the refrain 'parce mihi, domine' (spare me, Lord) suggests also that one should trust in God's mercy when one has done wrong. This text, then, also argues for right living and trust in God. *Quia Amore Languet* (which also occurs in Add 37049) is a lament spoken by Mary for her fallen children whom she loves and whom she wishes to be restored to her. Her various roles as mother, mediatrix, sister and queen of mankind are all employed, whilst she pleads with man to leave his sin and return to her. Mary in this poem is playing the role one would expect Christ to play, imploring sinful man to repent and convert and using love and the promise of forgiveness (which Mary promises she can never fail to gain for man through her intercessions to her Son) as inducements to change. The poem is both skilful and moving, although it is a little odd to see it in manuscripts owned by women as it ends with an appeal to the reader to take Mary as his wife, although of course this metaphor for religious conversion need not wholly alienate female readers!

There are a number of texts which dwell upon Christ's Passion, such as *A Song of Love to Jesus* and *A Prayer for the Seven Times Christ Shed His Blood*. Both these poems dwell upon Christ's love for man as exemplified by His suffering of the Passion, indicate the need to love Him in return and pray that He may aid the reader to avoid sin, live a good life and enter Heaven. In this way they, too, provide positive motivation to repent and live well, whilst also directing the mind to the possible rewards of so doing. The *De Carta Celestia Hereditatis* differs slightly from these. It is the eighth chapter of the *Pore Caitiff*, and it is based upon the image of Christ's body on the cross

forming the charter of Heaven - God's promise to man that he is redeemed and will attain salvation provided he lives well. Again, this text urges repentance, both through a consideration of Christ's suffering and of the fates of those who sin and those who follow God. These Passion texts are clearly related in concern to those texts about death and the Last Things which urge repentance; they differ in that they consider the role of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, offering this as the motivation for change and thus bringing into play the nature of the relationship between God and man. The last chapter of the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* uses meditation upon the Passion to create a suitable state of mind in which one may pray. Meditation on the Passion is not in this text an end in itself: it creates a state of grateful awareness of Christ's suffering to save man and of sorrowing awareness of one's sinfulness which is considered to be the ideal state in which to pray well. The presence of a tract on prayer in these manuscripts is self-explanatory: after all, nothing is more essential to good Christian living than fervent and assiduous prayer and the other short text to be found here, instructing readers how to receive the sacrament, is equally concerned with an essential element of the Christian life.

The texts in D322 and H1706 are concerned with various different aspects of how to live a good Christian life and die a good Christian death. They consider prayer, sin, repentance, patience and tribulation, Christ's Passion and His love for man, how to live well and how to die well. Indeed, these concepts of how to live well and how to die well are closely interlinked, since a good life is the best preparation for a good death, and what comes after death ought to motivate one to live

well. These texts suggest that the Christian life is a constant battle against sin and temptation and the trials and tribulations which draw one away from God: the need to repent, motivated both by a consideration of God's love and sin's consequences, is continual, and the conversion of one's life is an everlasting struggle. The love God has for man, requiring loving service in return, is given consideration here as well as the dangers of unrepented sin leading to damnation as motives not just to repent but also to learn to live and hence to die well. Learning to die then, in these manuscripts, is as much a part of the exploration of the complexities of Christian living as a consideration of the role of tribulation, or a call to repentance, and ultimately all these works focus on loving conversion to the will of God.

The second half of H1706 was added at a later date to the first.⁴³ It contains texts on much the same themes as the first half: there are works on mortality and the last things (the *Lamentation of the Dying Creature*, the *Mirror of Sinners* and *The Three Arrows*); works on Christ's Passion; texts on living well (the group of three texts also found in the first half: the *Consilia Isodori*, *De Contemptu Mundi*, *Despyte of the Worlde* and the IX Poyntes); texts offering advice about temptation and tribulation (the *Remedy against the Troubles of Temptations*); short texts on sin and confession, and on the virtues and actions necessary for living well and so on. Such works reinforce the message of the manuscript as a whole: that good christian living requires a knowledge of what constitutes both good and evil actions, involves a continual battle against sin and temptation and a continual need for repentance, and that living well and dying well are closely

interlinked, each providing the motivation for the other.

Add 37049, a long and eclectic late fifteenth century manuscript from a Northern Carthusian charterhouse, has excited a certain amount of interest as being a good representative of late medieval popular spirituality.⁶³ It contains many texts covering a wide variety of themes: Christ's Passion; Death and Judgement; Heaven, Hell and Purgatory; repentance; contempt of the world; Mary and so on. Hogg's description of the contents as a 'collection of meditations, dialogues, moral stories, legends, travel reports, chronicles, miracle tales, visions and emblem poems'⁶⁴ underlines the diversity of genre here represented also. Unlike the other manuscripts discussed here, it is extensively illustrated throughout⁶⁵ and some of these illustrations are of interest in this discussion. Such a wide variety of texts cannot be discussed individually in detail but the interconnection of some of the themes which occur here and their relationship with the *Fifth Chapter* and the extract from the fourth which appear in this manuscript may be explored.

The illustrations in this manuscript⁶⁶ are not generally regarded as highly skilled, but, as Francis Wormald has pointed out, they are 'humble mirrors of great and interesting ideas'.⁶⁷ Amongst other things, the suffering Christ is depicted, (ff20r, 23r, 30r, 45r, 67v, 68v, 91r and elsewhere), Mary appears (ff 21r, 25v, 27r and v, 29v); there are frequent illustrations of monks, usually in Carthusian dress, reflecting the probable provenance of this text,⁶⁸ and there are many depictions of death-bed scenes (ff 19r, 29r), the figure of death (f31v, 32r, 33v-35r, 36r, 69r) and decaying bodies, (including transi tombs, f32v, 38v, 82r, 83r, 87r) and a number of fascinating representations of

the Last Judgement (f17r) and the afterlife (f24v, 37v, 70v, 71v, ff72v-73r, 74r, 74v, 80v-81r etc). The *Fifth Chapter* is also illustrated (ff39v, 40v-43v). However, it must be stressed that this list indicates those elements of the manuscript of interest in this discussion: many of the other texts not concerned with death, decay, the Last Things etc are also illustrated and this manuscript is by no means wholly and exclusively concerned with those themes listed above.

Of these illustrations, a number are worthy of further comment and of especial interest here are those which illustrate the text of the *Fifth Chapter*. These demonstrate well by virtue of their simplicity that in general the illustrator of this manuscript is concerned with providing a visual dimension to aid the reader in his meditations upon the text before him, rather than with adding to the text in any way.⁶⁹ F39r of the *Fifth Chapter* covers the section of the text⁷⁰ from midway through the Young Man's first speech, through the Disciple's reply to the Young Man's second speech. This is illustrated by, on the left, the Disciple, clad in monastic robes (and hence designated simply as a monk by Hogg), gesturing with his left hand towards the right-hand side of the page, where there is a simple death-bed scene, with the Young Man lying in bed, attacked by a grinning figure of death who thrusts a spear into his chest. Here clearly is the first encounter between the Disciple and the Young Man. F40r has almost the same illustrations, as the Young Man and Disciple continue their dialogue.⁷¹ On f41r, the illustration changes: the Disciple (again pictured as a monk) regards on the right-hand side of the page a soul in torment in the flames of purgatory: this section of the text is where the Young Man exhorts the Disciple to meditate upon a vision of himself (the Disciple) in

Purgatory undergoing torment.⁷² On f41r, the Disciple again regards a soul in torment: the section of the text between the two pictures includes an injunction from the Young Man to the Disciple often to meditate upon the Young Man's fate.⁷³ The next page, f42r, differs again. The Disciple, still on the left hand side, holds up his hands at the picture confronting him, another death-bed scene, this time with the Young Man surrounded by 'þe horrobill faces of deuells' (as the text next to the illustration reads). At the foot of the page, there is another death-bed scene with the Young Man gazing at a vision of souls tossed in the fire of Purgatory. Again, all the illustrations reflect the text: the Young Man, on the point of death, seeing himself surrounded by devils,⁷⁴ and then having his vision of Purgatory.⁷⁵ On f42v, the Disciple kneels, praying to Wisdom (here depicted as Christ in glory): on the left, the Young Man still lies on his death-bed. This corresponds to the section of the text where the Young Man finally dies and the Disciple turns to pray to Wisdom.⁷⁶ The following page (f43r) has the Disciple once again praying to Wisdom, whilst on the right, death holds a naked body and thrusts his spear into the figure's chest. This presumably reflects Wisdom's speech in which he reminds the Disciple of the virtues of meditating upon death.⁷⁷ The text of the *Fifth Chapter* ends on f43v. These illustrations are all simple and conventional, rendering the meditative material of the chapter in visual terms. They do not add to the substance of the chapter, but reinforce the central concept of the Disciple confronted by the dying Young Man.

On ff72v-73r is a two page illustration of the Church's teaching about salvation and damnation. This is discussed and reproduced by Wormald in his article on some of the illustrations on this text.⁷⁸ His

interest is to attempt to demonstrate how elements of this picture relate to more sophisticated traditions and to suggest possible origins for some of the elements found here, but there are a number of areas he does not consider, and the illustration is interesting enough in its own right to merit a detailed description and further discussion here.

In the top left-hand corner of f72v, Adam and Eve walk sadly away from Paradise (a garden walled, turreted and battlemented, guarded by an angel with a sword, and still inhabited by the serpent Satan (literally represented by a snake with a face)). They are responsible for the sin that threatens the generations descended from them, and to save mankind from the wages of sin (death and damnation) Christ died on the Cross, instituting the Seven Sacraments during His time on earth as the means of dispensing His grace to man. Christ crucified is depicted at the top of f72v, and each of the seven (not five, as Hogg incomprehensibly says in his commentary on this picture) sacraments is illustrated below: baptism, confirmation (of a child, reflecting the medieval practice of confirming the young rather than those mature in their faith), marriage, Holy orders, the Sacrament of the Eucharist and 'þe last anyntyng of the seke' stretch in logical order across ff72v-73r, whilst the sacrament of penance is illustrated on the bottom right of f72v. Wormald notes that each sacrament is linked to the wound in the crucified Christ's side by a thin red line, and draws attention to fifteenth century mystical writing stressing the link that was frequently made between this wound and the sacraments.⁷⁹ Furthermore, he suggests that the way in which the sacraments is here portrayed is very reminiscent of the setting of some of the plays of this period,⁸⁰ even speculating whether a particular play may here be illustrated.⁸¹

On the bottom left of the left-hand page is a large figure of a woman, with the rubric 'meretrix magna', and according to the rubric below the picture, representing 'þe lust & lykyng & delectation of þis fals world' (f72v). Wormald demonstrates how this illustration is indebted to illustrations of the Great Whore of the Apocalypse.²

In all the gaps between these pictures are rows of people, who are ordinary Christians and who are organised to represent various patterns of behaviour and the fate after death which such behaviour brings. The row which stretches across immediately below the illustration of the sacraments reaches up to Heaven: a walled and battlemented town, not unlike the terrestrial Paradise, guarded again by an angel with three pairs of wings (presumably one of the Seraphim described in Isaiah (6:1-2), and identified by Wormald as Michael)³ and a long sword, with which he thrusts demons down to hell. In Heaven, God peers over the top of the battlements, with the haloed elect surrounding Him. The rubric informs the reader that those Christians who reach Heaven are those who, after baptism, do not fall into deadly sin but keep themselves clean; they are likened to the Wise Virgins (Mt.25: 1-13) with their full lamps of oil, which is taken to signify charity. Their close proximity to the illustration of the sacraments suggests in visual terms the importance of these elements of the spiritual life. Below them are various other groups: those who are attracted by the 'meretrix magna', worldly values, and fall into deadly sin after their baptism. They cluster admiringly around the figure of the woman. Of these, some repent and turn to the figure of the priest who is hearing confessions; hence the position of this sacrament below the others: it is the sacrament instituted to enable those who have fallen from the

right way of life, as affirmed by the other sacraments, to rise again to a state of holiness. Some of these also go to Heaven; some, however, go to Purgatory because 'þai dyd not dewe penaunce & satisfaccion' (f73r). Purgatory is represented below Heaven: souls in it are surrounded by flames, and lift their hands and their faces towards Heaven, perhaps praying for release. Above them angels lift a soul from the flames in a cloth (a typical and ancient symbol, found elsewhere in this manuscript, f37v)⁸⁴ and bear the soul to Heaven after its period of purgation. Those who do not repent their deadly sins go to Hell: they are depicted along the bottom of the two folios, and Hell is shown as a two-mouthed beast, another ancient image, inspired by the Leviathan described in the Book of Job (Job 40:32 - 42:26)⁸⁵ swallowing the damned (both those who have lived badly, who are likened to the foolish virgins, and the fallen angels). Most of these elements of the illustration Wormald simply indicates to have originated in representations of the Last Judgement,⁸⁶ as indeed they did.

The illustration is then both complex, drawing on a number of different sources and traditions, and carefully organised (I disagree with Wormald's stricture that it is 'in some places rather confused'),⁸⁷ with an attempt to employ the spatial relationships between the various elements of the picture as symbolic representations of spiritual truths.⁸⁸ Thus the souls 'go up' to Heaven, which is 'above' Purgatory, in turn 'above' Hell. The souls of the damned are arranged at the bottom of the page; those who are to go to Purgatory across the middle, and those whose destination is Heaven are above all these, closest to the pictures of the sacraments. The sacrament of penance is represented in the midst of the figures of the sinful, apart from the

other sacraments: it was, after all, next to the sacrament of the Eucharist, the Sacrament to which the faithful were most frequently exposed, and to which in many ways they were closest. Indeed Wormald considers it to be the 'dominant theme' here,** and this is certainly one way of viewing this picture. What, however, is interesting about this illustration in terms of this discussion is the way in which it connects in such a clear, indeed almost simplistic, way the consequences of the way one lives upon the fate of one's soul. Here summarised with the barest detail are the concerns of both the texts apparently about dying like the *Scire Mori* chapter and *Speculum Peccatoris* and of those texts which discuss in practical terms how to live, and the interrelatedness of life and the afterlife is made clear and inescapable.

A number of the images found in this illustration are repeated elsewhere in the manuscript. Hell as the mouth of a monster swallowing the damned occurs on f17r (a scene of the Last Judgement), f19v, f64v, f74r (with a procession of wonderfully deformed damned, afflicted by worms, embellished by horns, tails and webbed feet and so on, each deformation representing a particular sin, as the text above indicates) and f81r. Heaven as a walled city enclosing the elect (the image in Revelations 21:9-27) together with Christ and sometimes the Virgin is on f65v, f71r, f77v and f79v (both complex portrayals of heavenly society, based on Revelations and pseudo-Dionysius), and f80v (which portrays Christ and the Virgin). Other typical iconographical devices include the representation of the souls of the dead as small naked figures, (ff19r, 29r, 70v, 71v, 74v, 82r, 83r, 83v). One might also

mention the armies of angels to be found in the second half of the manuscript, accompanying the poems about heaven (f70v, 71r, 71v, 74v, 76v, 77r and elsewhere throughout the manuscript). These are actually rather charming figures: winged, robed and haloed, sometimes carrying musical instruments (on f74v, one plays a harp and another a lute), and their presence goes some way towards balancing the illustrations concerned with death and dying which also people this manuscript.

Elsewhere in the manuscript, other beliefs about the afterlife are illustrated. On f24v, next to the poem 'Of þe relesyng of saules in purgatory', is another annotated illustration. Here, souls in purgatory (a sort of well of fire) are winched up to Heaven in a bucket suspended from a pulley in the gate of Heaven. The rope is depicted as then passing down through an illustration of a priest saying mass and a man giving alms to beggars: these good deeds raise the souls from purgatory to Heaven, again represented as a walled City in which God is surrounded by the elect, whom He blesses with his right hand. This poem is another of the several in this manuscript composed of extracts from the *Prick of Conscience* (Book IV, ll.3566-3571; ll.3586-3589; 6 lines added; ll.3918-3930; last 3 lines added),⁹⁰ although this does not previously seem to have been noticed. The poem condenses some of the quite fascinating teaching in the *Prick of Conscience* about Purgatory, briefly stating how souls in Purgatory may be assisted through prayer, (in this manuscript 'pater noster'), fasting, alms-doing and mass singing (or 'messyng' as Morris' edition of the *Prick of Conscience* has it, l.3589). The poem goes on to commend the acquisition of pardons, which are 'haly kyrk tresour' (f24v). There is sufficient of this treasure, apparently, to pay for all men's sins. However, in opposition to this

view, the poem continues by saying that some clerks teach that one should avoid the acquisition of pardons, and escape the pains of Purgatory by doing penance here on earth. Nonetheless the text ends with a commendation of 'pardon more worthy to gesse/þan is al warldly rytches' (f24v). The rather confused combination of ideas here is a reflection of the way in which the author of the *Fricke of Conscience* frequently combines all kinds of relevant information in his discussions from both popular and learned sources, regardless of the fact that he consequently contradicts himself. Hence, ideas about Purgatory and the doctrines associated with it were constructed through attempts to synthesise various conflicting views expressed by authorities such as Saint Augustine (mentioned in this text) and more popular attitudes, attempts which were not always successful. Nonetheless the essential idea of helping souls in Purgatory through good deeds on earth is quite clearly conveyed, and this message assisted by the illustration to this poem.

Other illustrations of interest include the death-bed scene on f19r. This is very similar to the kind of scene made popular in the woodcuts illustrating the block book version of the *Ars Moriendi*, and is very likely influenced by this highly popular work. Here are assembled all the familiar elements of such a scene: the man lying on his deathbed; death striking him through the chest with his spear; the man's soul issuing from his mouth in the form of a young child. Grouped around the deathbed are the dying man's Good Angel, praying for him to God, the crucified Christ, displaying his wounds to God the Father, seated in majesty at the top of the picture and holding open what is presumably the book of life. Also praying for the dead man is the

Virgin, showing the breast with which she suckled Christ, the Saviour of man, and thus testifying to her popularity as mediatrix at the point of death, a role in which she became increasingly popular during the fifteenth century.⁹¹ It may be noted she does not appear in this role in the *Scire Mori* chapter, which was of course written in 1336. At the foot of the bed, in opposition to the Good Angel who is at the head, is a devil, demanding the soul of the man as his. One element in this illustration not often found elsewhere is the Holy Ghost, depicted as a dove and, unlike all the other characters, wordless, possibly because, as an unusual figure in this scene, he has no prescribed function.⁹² Such an illustration is interesting mainly for the way in which it so clearly combines all the typical elements of the deathbed scene, presenting a kind of visual summary of the situation of the soul at the point of death, being disputed over by the forces of good and evil. The illustration clearly indicates an hierarchy of intercession between the various figures: the soul cries to Mary for assistance in its need; Mary prays to her Son; Christ prays to the Father and the Father grants His Son's request. The Good Angel's intercession does not fit into this hierarchy and it is unclear to whom it is addressed. This hierarchy stresses the familial links between Mary, God the Father and God the Son:

Soul: 'O hope in nede þou helpe me
 Gods moder I pray to þe
 Mary: ffor þus þou sowke in þi childhede
 Son forgyf hym his mysdede
 Christ: I pray þe fader graunt þi son
 ffor my sake my moder bone
 God the Father: Son als þou byddes sal al be
 No thyng wil I denye þe.
 Add 37049, f19r.

Underlying these simple couplets is a whole wealth of meditative

material stressing the emotional relationship between Christ and His mother. Furthermore they provide an excellent demonstration of the concept of invoking aid from Mary and the saints, whose virtue and value to God the Father and God the Son have the power to obtain what the sinful soul may feel unable to ask God for directly. It may be noted that the illustration stresses the forces of goodness and mercy, demonstrating that God's mercy is infinite and overcomes the claims of both sin and death. This could in fact be described as an illustration of how to die well, and is certainly not negative in appearance or message.

There is a second death-bed scene on f38v, which contains some ingredients different from the scene described above. The couplets which each figure speaks were apparently later additions to the manuscript.⁹⁹ Whilst the man lying on his deathbed, attacked by the figure of death is familiar from the previous illustration, the monk who attends the man's death-bed, and Christ looking down from heaven in glory give this death-bed a different emphasis. Here, the Church's guiding hand assists the dying man to give up his soul, whilst Christ, holding what is presumably a consecrated host as a representation of his sacramental presence in man's life and his role as saviour of man on the cross, offers mercy rather than pleads for it to His Father. This scene can again be characterised as positive: the terrors and dangers of death are contained by Christ's mercy and the Church's guiding presence.

The many representations of Death in the manuscript are all very similar: death is a skeletal figure with a grinning face, usually carrying a spear but also found armed with a bow (f84v) or carrying

arrows (ff69r). Some of the figures of death are crowned, or wear contemporary items of clothing. The figures on ff33v-35r, skeletal and wearing what appear to be female headdresses, are not strictly representations of Death, but illustrate the poem they accompany, *A disputacion betwyx þe body and wormes*. The worms are also pictured! The two transi tombs (on ff32v and 87r) are again reproduced, described and discussed by Wormald,⁹⁴ and the reader is there referred for further details.

It must again be emphasised that this discussion focuses on those aspects of the illustrations of particular relevance to the theme of death and the afterlife: just as a significant number of the texts in this manuscript are not concerned with this theme, neither are the illustrations which accompany them. This is not a manuscript dominated by eschatological themes: they are certainly present, represented both visually and textually, but other subjects also interested the compiler. The longest text in the manuscript, *The Desert of Religion* (ff46r-67r), is illustrated throughout by pictures which make clear that its concern is with the religious life in general, and there are several other works in this manuscript, such as the tract *Of actyfe lyfe and contemplatyfe*, similarly concerned.

It is the simplicity of these pictures that is their strength, if they can be said to have a strength. Because they use very typical and popular images they are very accessible; the quality of the art may be crude but this does not mean that the quality of the idea behind is.⁹⁵ If one compares the deathbed scenes in Add 37049, especially the scene on f19r, with the famous and beautiful death-bed scene from the Rohan Book of Hours⁹⁶ one may see that many of the motifs are common to

both: the man lying emaciated and on the point of death (in the Rohan picture, on a sumptuous cloth, possibly his shroud, not on a bed), his soul issuing from his mouth in the form of a small, naked child; good and bad angels fighting over the soul and God in His majesty looking down on the struggle are all to be found in both. Symbols of death are provided in the Rohan picture by the scattering of skulls and other bones around the figure of the man; celestial interest in the combat between good and bad by the figures of angels that faintly people the blue and gold background of the picture. The dying man places his soul in God's hands, 'Into your hands Lord I commend my spirit' and God replies 'Do penance for thy sins, and thou shalt be with me in the judgment'. The difference between these two pictures is essentially one of artistic quality, not of the ideas behind them. It may be argued that the absence of the crowd of figures seen in the Add 37049 illustration around the dying man from the Rohan illustration gives the latter a greater sense of drama and reduces the moment of death to a direct confrontation with God. In this sense, although more artistically satisfying, the Rohan picture lacks the reassuring sense of order and containment of death because of the absence of those willing and able to intercede for the Dying Man and obtain pardon and salvation for him. However, the ideas of the successful appeal to God's mercy, whether through mediators or not, and of the soul fought over by the forces of good and evil are common to both; both are essentially positive and neither (despite the presence of symbols of death and decay) is macabre or even morbid.

The illustrations discussed here demonstrate that this manuscript is concerned, amongst other things, with mortality and the nature of

the afterlife. They also suggest that the concepts of penance and of the possibility of obtaining God's forgiveness and mercy were important in such a context.

The combination of texts within Add 37049 is so eclectic that it would be foolish to attempt to suggest that any particular theme or interest unifies them all beyond the most general concern with things spiritual or religious. However, a number of themes found in the other manuscripts discussed here may also be discerned within Add 37049, as the discussion of the illustrations of this manuscript clearly indicates: texts on death and dying, on contempt of the world, on the Last Judgement, on penance, on Heaven, Hell and Purgatory are all to be found here, as well as works about the Passion, devotion to Mary, living well, and the contemplative life. This is the only manuscript containing *Scire Mori* in translation which shows any prolonged interest in texts dwelling on the corruption of the body after death (B789 has one such text), and it is also the only manuscript (other than Lichfield 16) which contains texts specifically about Heaven.

Lichfield 16 contains *Scire Mori* in Latin followed by the Middle English translation here edited, which is unique to this manuscript, the long and popular Middle English poem, the *Pricke of Conscience*, and chapter V of the *Dicta Anselmi* of Alexander of Canterbury, *De Quat ourdecim [sic] Partibus Beatitudinis*, in Latin, Middle English and Anglo-Norman, the last two texts also being unique to this manuscript. The concerns here are not unfamiliar: mortality, the nature of sinfulness and the need to repent, and Purgatory, Hell and Heaven. Both the *Pricke of Conscience* and *De Quat ourdecim Partibus Beatitudinis* are worthy of careful consideration in this context, although it is

unfortunately not possible to do justice to the issues the *Pricke of Conscience* raises within the constraints of this chapter.

The *Pricke of Conscience* was written, according to its only editor Morris, 'towards the end of the first half of the xivth century'.⁹⁷ Its author is not known, although a number of candidates have been put forward, including Rolle (to whom Morris attributed it, following a number of manuscripts, and who has now been discounted in this discussion), Robert Grosseteste and William of Nassington.⁹⁸ It is extant in four versions,⁹⁹ and in over 100 manuscripts, (more than any other Middle English poem including the *Canterbury Tales*): clearly it circulated very widely and was extremely popular. Such popularity requires that the ideas it conveys should be carefully considered, as Lewis and McIntosh remark:

'...a careful study of its contents can tell us a great deal about reading and listening tastes and interests in Britain in the late Middle Ages... The variety of ways and versions in which it circulated and the extent to which it was quoted in Middle English literature provide a guide to the subjects that medieval scribes and writers found most important in religious writing.'¹⁰⁰

The poem is divided into seven parts: the first is on the 'bigynnyng of mannes lif'; the second on the instability of the world; the third 'telleth of deþ and whi deth is to drede'; part four considers Purgatory; part five, the Day of Judgement; part six, Hell, and part seven concludes with the joys of Heaven. Of particular interest here is the section on the fear of death, and there is much of interest in the sections on Purgatory, Heaven and Hell. The general tenor of the work is apparent even from a list of the sections of which it is comprised: it is concerned with contempt of the world and the need for

repentance, particularly in the light of the Last Things: Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell. It is highly schematized, dividing and subdividing each topic that is discussed. A full examination of the many and varied sources has not yet been carried out¹⁰¹ but a number of works have been identified amongst which may be named Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium*, Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Grosseteste's *De Penis Purgatorii*, Hugh Ripelin of Strassburg's *Compendium Theologicæ* and Innocent III's *De Contemptu Mundi*, as well as works by Anselm and Bernard.¹⁰² It may be noted that there are a number of occasions where the section on death quotes sources - usually biblical - also referred to by Suso,¹⁰³ although of course neither author could have drawn on the other. The *Pricke of Conscience* is in fact a fascinating and often under-rated text, under-rated, that is, not so much insofar as its literary qualities (which are not that high) are concerned, as in its interest as evidence of how particular concepts were understood and discussed in this period.

The section on death is preceded by the discussions of man's life and the wretchedness of the world, both of which stress how miserable and loathsome humanity and the world which it peoples are. It contains a number of ideas previously encountered in this discussion, although it differs in one crucial aspect from the *Ars Moriendi* texts found grouped together in CUL Ff.V.45, D322 and H1706. It defines why man is afraid of death, using the opportunity [^]stenuously to preach the need for repentance, but makes no attempt to assuage this fear, rather using it, as the *Mirror of Sinners* does, as the means to motivate repentance. Its description of death is far more unpleasant than that contained in these texts, not because it is in any way concerned with macabre

reflections on the corruption of the body, (a subject not discussed in this section, although the discussion of man's life concludes with a long passage on bodily corruption),¹⁰⁴ but rather because of the continuing stress on how death should properly provoke fear in man, and the detailed expositions of why.

The section opens with the bleak statement that 'Ded is þe mast dred thing þat is' (l.1666), and becomes no more encouraging as it progresses. It defines three kinds of death: bodily, (the parting of the body and the soul), 'gastely' (the parting of the soul and God through sin) and 'endles', (the damnation of the soul in Hell). Of these, bodily death is less dreadful than either of the others, but it is still greatly to be feared. Man fears death through 'kynde' (nature); the proof of this lies in the fact that Christ sweated blood in the Garden of Olives at the thought of His death, and if He feared death so much then so ought we. There are four 'skilles' why death should be feared, and the rest of the chapter is taken up with examining each of these in turn. Firstly, there is the 'dede stour' (l.1820) or death struggle, which is more painful than can be described; secondly, the sight of devils which every person shall experience on his/her deathbed; thirdly the account each person shall be required to give of his/her good and bad deeds before the heavenly court, and finally there is the uncertainty of whether one shall be damned or saved. The ensuing discussion of these 'skilles' always returns to the need for repentance and the fact that nothing can, or indeed should, take away these reasons for fear: even the advice for combating them (where any is given) is concerned with the ultimate fate of the soul rather than the deathbed agonies it will undergo. It would seem that this text at

least had no qualms about the use of fear to promote repentance. The ruthless repetition of the need to fear death is quite at odds with texts such as the *Scire Mori* chapter, which awakens the Disciple to an awareness of the significance of his mortality through the use of fear but which nonetheless stresses that ultimately death should not be feared but welcomed, a view quite alien to the *Pricke of Conscience*.

What characterises this section on death then, is the way in which it presents the fear of death as natural, inescapable and right. This fear is used by the author of this work as a motivation for repentance, but the text's emphasis on the difficulty of gaining salvation, on the overwhelming sinfulness of man and the impossibility of ever being sure that one's good works are inspired by the right motives and acceptable to God, hardly encourage the reader in such a course. It is not that this text refuses to allow the possibility of men being good; rather it argues that no man may trust in his own actions, and moreover it portrays God as arbitrarily rejecting actions that one believed to be good and damning one regardless.¹⁰⁵ It even suggests (in a comment on Augustine) that God deliberately makes the sinful man's death so painful that he cannot repent and is thus damned, because during his life he refused to pay any attention to God.¹⁰⁶ Such vindictive and arbitrary behaviour on the part of God places this text at a great distance from those works which stress God's mercy and loving-kindness towards all sinners; this section lacks the saving grace of the picture of Christ as merciful redeemer that transforms *St Anselm's Meditation*, with its initially similar message of the hopelessness of man's ability to be righteous before God. Even its admission that good men do not fear death but embrace it as the end of a life of troubles and the

entry to Heaven is followed by a warning that good men will nonetheless suffer grievous and fearful pain in their death.¹⁰⁷ To a certain extent then the author undercuts his own arguments to repent and live well by discouraging any kind of trust in good deeds and emphasising that even by living well one cannot escape the pains of death, and possibly not even the pains of Purgatory or Hell. Rather than providing a means of combating the fears associated with death, as the *Craft of Dying* does, this work underlines how terrible these fears should be even for those who have attempted to live according to God's law. This attitude is scarcely compatible with the message of *Scire Mori*, which does offer an alternative view of death as something positive and to be welcomed for those who truly desire to be with God.

Following this section, the books on Purgatory, the Signs of Doomsday, Hell and Heaven detail the options which await the Christian after death and indicate how the final fate of all men will be achieved. The author indicates in the section on death that Purgatory is the fate for many souls¹⁰⁸ and consequently sets out to explain in the next chapter what Purgatory is, where it is, what pains are experienced therein, which souls go there and for what sins and how these souls may be helped in their suffering, outlining these intentions in a passage that suggests the doctrine of Purgatory was by no means fully understood when this text was written (c.1350).¹⁰⁹ There is unfortunately no room to discuss this book at the length it deserves here, but attention may be drawn to the interesting description of the geography of the Universe which the author offers,¹¹⁰ in which Purgatory is envisaged within the earth as a part of Hell (clearly the author of this poem or his source for this book subscribes to what Le

Goff describes as the infernalization of Purgatory)¹¹¹ and the rationalisation of this - that soul 'es swa hevy and swa harde' (l.2868) that it drags the soul downwards. There is even a mention of a kind of 'speciele' (l.2877) Purgatory: souls are punished on earth in the places at which they sinned, often appearing to their friends to ask for assistance. This is clearly based on the ideas propounded by Gregory and latter discounted.¹¹² There are discussions of how the soul may feel pain since it is spiritual and not physical,¹¹³ of the nature of the fire which exists in Purgatory,¹¹⁴ an exposition of the passage from 1 Cor3:11-15 to which the doctrine of Purgatory owes much,¹¹⁵ a consideration of venial and mortal sins and ~~and~~ many other similar questions debated by those writers who contributed to the development of the doctrine of Purgatory. As has already been indicated in the discussion of the poem on Purgatory found in Add 37049 which draws extensively on this section of the *Pricke of Conscience*, the means by which those on earth may help those suffering in Purgatory are also treated here. The ensuing three parts of the poem present equally complex considerations of their subjects, drawing on a wide and interesting range of sources to create detailed pictures of the coming of Doomsday, the miseries of Hell and the Joys of Heaven. The latter section indeed draws upon Anselm's *Beatitudes*, one version of which completes this manuscript. The majority of the poem is negative in tone, stressing the miseries and difficulties of life, and the pains to which one will be subject for one's sins after death: it is only in the final section, with its lavish description of the manifold delights of Heaven, that a more positive enticement to living well is offered. Its primary aim, as its conclusion indicates, is to prompt repentance and

conversion of life, by informing its audience of the ordering of God's Creation, dwelling on man's unworthiness, the worthlessness of the world and the unpleasantness of Purgatory and Hell. The description of Heaven as the true inheritance of the faithful goes some way to balancing this negative picture, although even in this description each positive quality attributed to those in Heaven is balanced by a corresponding pain or torment felt in Hell.¹¹⁶ The conclusion of the poem actually addresses the problem of how one should respond to the issues it raises. Acknowledging that both love and fear may be aroused through the descriptions of Heaven and Hell, the author stresses that fear alone is not a satisfactory response to his text: one should combine love and fear, and the fear should be of losing God, not of pain.¹¹⁷ In other words, the author of the *Pricke of Conscience* is well aware of the distinction between *timor servilis* and *timor filialis*, and wishes to ensure that his audience react in the proper way to his text. Nonetheless he places more of his emphasis on the negative side of his argument than he does on the positive.

The *Pricke of Conscience* is followed by the three texts of the fifth chapter of Alexander of Canterbury's *Dicta Anselmi, De Quatourdecim partibus aeternae commoditatis sive beatitudinis*. This contains a description of the joys of Heaven related to the text on which the last section of the *Pricke of Conscience* is based. There are four different versions of the *Beatitudes*, in various texts written during and after Anselm's lifetime. It would seem likely that the *Pricke of Conscience* drew on the *De Moribus*, in which the miseries of the damned are placed (as in the poem) following each corresponding joy: in Alexander's work, they are described only briefly at the end of

the description of Heaven.¹¹⁸ The repetition of this work immediately after the *Pricke of Conscience*, and in three translations, certainly seems to suggest that the compiler of this manuscript was interested in ensuring that the positive inducement to follow God - the promise of the joys of Heaven in the presence of the Beatific vision - was made as explicit as possible. The text itself outlines seven joys of the spirit and seven joys of the body which the elect will experience. The bodily joys are 'pulchritudo, velocitas, fortitudo, libertas, sanitas, voluptas, diuturnitas';¹¹⁹ the spiritual 'sapientia, amicitia, concordia, potestas, honor, securitas, gaudium'.¹²⁰ Each of these is discussed briefly, and the necessity to possess each fully to enjoy the others outlined. The torments of the damned occupy a paragraph at the end, where their suffering is contrasted with the joys of the elect. There is no description of the heavenly city, such as occurs in the *Pricke of Conscience*,¹²¹ although Heaven is pictured as a joyful community surrounding and praising God.

There is within Lichfield 16 a clear progression of ideas: from becoming aware of one's own mortality and with this, one's sinfulness and the need to repent in *Scire Mori*, through a closer examination of this and related issues in the *Pricke of Conscience*, which considers man's unworthiness and the possible fates reserved for him in Purgatory, Hell and Heaven, to Anselm's *Beatitudes* which also deals with the nature of Heaven and the reward for those who go there. These texts together seek to bring about repentance and right-living, progressing from an awareness of mortality and its consequences in so far as sin is concerned through to a portrayal of the joys of those who learn to love God and serve Him and attain Heaven. The concluding

section of the *Pricke of Conscience* which makes explicit the need to follow God through *timor filialis* rather than *timor servilis* suggests that it is legitimate to see such a structure in this manuscript.¹²² By concluding the manuscript with a description of Heaven which in the main simply repeats some of the material in the final section of the *Pricke of Conscience*, the emphasis is laid upon the rewards of following God. This manuscript does not pursue the question of how to live well in the way that most of the others discussed here do: its concerns are primarily eschatological. However, both *Scire Mori* and the *Pricke of Conscience* contain some indications of the paths necessary to pursue to obtain the joys discussed in the *Beatitudes*. This manuscript certainly differs in emphasis from the others discussed here, but the concept of mortality is treated in much the same way as in the others: to direct the mind to a careful consideration of the consequences of unrepented sin by focussing on the judgement and punishment or reward which will be experienced at the hands of God after one's death.

In general, these seven manuscripts place the *Scire Mori* chapter in its various translations in the context of a concern with sinfulness and the need to repent and live well, and there is some preoccupation with the possible fates of those who fail to heed the call to repent and the advice offered on how to conduct one's life. Each manuscript differs in the extent to which it conforms with this general pattern: GH 496 tends towards an interest in things eschatological, particularly the Day of Judgement and the nature of Christ as Judge or Redeemer; L1 16 is also eschatological in concern, but it shows an interest in the nature of the reward for those who live well which the other manuscripts do not; Bod 789 combines an interest in Christ's Passion

with a consideration of mortality as well as the basic elements of faith; D322/H1706 explore various areas of the Christian way of life, of which learning how to die is an integral part; CUL Ff.V.45 similarly juxtaposes ways of living and ways of dying; only Add 37049 is composed of too wide a variety of texts to enable any such summary to be validly made.

Within these manuscripts, the various texts which consider the nature of death and mortality do so in a variety of ways. For a start, it is important to distinguish between those texts which show a concern primarily with the actual moment of death itself (the *Craft of Dying* and the third section of the *Pricke of Conscience*) and those which are interested in the more general concept of mortality (*Scire Mori* itself, the *Tour of alle Toures*, *Death's Warning*, and, to a lesser extent, the *Mirror of Sinners*, the *Three Arrows* and *St Anselm's Meditation*).

Those texts which concern themselves specifically with the moment of death acknowledge that death is something the contemplation of which naturally causes fear, but differ in their response to this: the *Craft of Dying* sets out to offer ways of combating this fear, whilst essentially the *Pricke of Conscience* analyses and enhances it. Both texts place death in the context of the judgement of the good and evil in a person's life which will follow it and in this respect they share in the main characteristic of those texts which are primarily occupied with examining responses to mortality. As *St Anselm's Meditation* makes explicit, the moment of death is the moment which separates Christ's role as merciful redeemer from his role as just judge: before death one may repent and win forgiveness; after death one will be judged according to one's spiritual state when one dies. The moment of death

itself therefore becomes for some of these texts exaggerated to a kind of trial through which one must pass without failing; a kind of compressed form of one's life in which good and evil finally battle it out over the fate of the soul. Although those who have lived sinful lives may pass through this trial successfully by calling on God's mercy, by far the best course, as all these texts reiterate, is to be constantly on one's guard that death may not take one unawares: frequent repentance is therefore essential, since death may come at any moment and one must be prepared to encounter it in a state of grace. Furthermore not only must one amend one's life so that sin is recognised, repented and confessed, one must learn to welcome death as a loved friend, as several of these texts put it.¹²³ It is only through death that one may pass from this world to the next, a passage which ought greatly to be desired because it enables the soul to dwell with Christ, and the desire for His presence in the Christian who has learnt to love God ought to overwhelm all other feelings, rendering worthless things temporal as compared with things spiritual. Correspondingly, many of these works underline the vanity of worldly desires and possessions, through concentrating on the essentially corrupt nature of the body and the ephemerality of the physical world. Insofar as the love of God is concerned, one must turn to the other texts within these manuscripts to see this question pursued.

The *Ars Moriendi* texts, if they may be so termed, present to the reader two alternative ways of dying: dying badly and dying well, and both of these are determined by the way in which one lives. Living an unregeneratively sinful life will bring about a bad death, both physically painful and followed by the pains of Hell or at the very

least torment in Purgatory. Living well, that is, with a constant awareness of one's mortality and by following the teaching of the Church, will enable one to die well, accepting death willingly, even joyfully, overcoming the various deathbed temptations described in the *Craft of Dying* and attaining salvation (although perhaps delayed by a temporary sojourn in Purgatory). It is the final spiritual outcome of death which is important then, and this is determined by the life preceeding it (although most of these texts do indicate that deathbed repentance is possible, if not a path anyone should count on pursuing).

It is an underlying assumption in all these texts that the audience they are addressing is in the position of the Disciple at the beginning of the *Scire Mori* chapter, aware that he will die, but not aware of what this really means, and it has been demonstrated in the discussion of the *Scire Mori* chapter that it is necessary to reflect frequently upon the nature of death and of life in order to develop the required attitude of welcoming death and accepting the consequences of mortality. The Disciple's reaction to his vision of the Young Man - the intention to repent and live well actuated primarily by fear - may be taken to demonstrate how one ought initially to respond to the realisation of the consequences of sin and death before this process of meditation has started, but the *Scire Mori* chapter also indicates how the good man ought ultimately to react to death, desiring it in order to be out of the world and with God. This suggests very clearly the progression of feelings required in one's reaction to mortality: from the fear of death, as one becomes aware of the possibility of damnation and the suffering it involves, one should move to the desire of death, as one recognises the emptiness of the world and learns to place the

love of God and the desire to be with Him before other considerations. This progress of feelings raises problems which have already been alluded to in this chapter: how may texts which rely primarily upon causing servile fear - the fear of the physical pain to be incurred through the loss of God - be read by those who have come to regard their relationship with God in a different light? And do the texts which surround *Scire Mori* in these manuscripts develop the theme of servile fear or offer some alternative way of motivating one's relationship with God? Of these two questions the second is rather easier to answer than the first: indeed one can only offer conjecture with regard to the way in which texts may have been read.

In the majority of the manuscripts described here, the texts on mortality and the Last Things are primarily accompanied by texts which I have described as being concerned with the mechanics of living well. The *Scire Mori* chapter suggests that to live well, one must repent, give up one's sins and change one's way of life from sinful selfishness to the practice of virtue, meditating frequently upon the possibility of sudden death in order to maintain this pattern, but the fact that the *Scire Mori* chapter is followed by an *Ars Vivendi* chapter in the *Horologium* suggests that there is more to living well than this - the actions recommended in the *Scire Mori* chapter are merely the starting point for the Disciple. The texts which in many of these manuscripts occur alongside the translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter confirm this further. The practice of living well involves not just abstention from sin and the practice of virtuous actions but also the development of a prayerful and loving relationship with God. Within all these manuscripts, excepting only Li 16, are prayers and meditations which

facilitate the development of such a relationship and more specifically, many works which consider to a greater or lesser extent the nature of God's love for man and the kind of love man owes to God in return. Furthermore works such as those on tribulation stress that religious observance should be motivated by a genuine emotional commitment to following God in both good and difficult times. The presence in these manuscripts of texts which demonstrate an understanding of living well as a development of the spirit towards God as well as involving the outward observances of faith confirms that those texts which teach about death lead on most logically to a consideration of the nature of faith as exercised in living well, rather than prompting a prolonged consideration of fear, or a morbid concentration on the actual moment of death and the fears which attend it. It is only Li 16 which does not really fit into this mould: it is concerned primarily with the various different fates awaiting man after death and in particular dwells upon the nature of Heaven as the reward for those who follow God. In short, Woolf's argument that in later Medieval texts servile fear prompting repentance and right-living was an acceptable element in the initial stages of a man's journey to God provided it gave way to the desire to follow God through love does seem to hold true in these manuscripts.

For those who heed the advice of all these texts, and seek to learn to die well by living well, what do these texts discussing death and morbidity have to offer? Once one has absorbed the need for a continual awareness of one's potential sinfulness and come to understand that sin and damnation are to be avoided because the first damages one's relationship with God and the second destroys it, rather

than because sin will be punished by pain and at the worst, the eternal pains of damnation, how does one read a text which places the need to repent in the context of fear and pain? These texts do provide a salutary reminder of the need always to be aware of death and the importance of not slipping into any kind of complaisance regarding one's fate after death, or of not being seduced by the vanities of the world; furthermore, to those whose love of God is sufficiently great, might not these texts inspire *timor filialis*, the loving fear of losing God?

Whatever the case, it is clear that these manuscripts are not concerned with dwelling upon the moment of death in itself except insofar as it relates to the health of one's soul. They contain a balance of works, some dwelling on the need to understand one's mortality in Christian terms, some dwelling on the kind of life one ought to lead in order to avoid the worst consequences of mortality with its inevitable burden of sin. In the terms of these texts, learning to die is inextricably tied up with learning to live. Death is an important focus for meditation in a Christian's spiritual life because it stresses the importance of using one's life well, focussed upon God and immortality rather than sin and spiritual death. With the exception of the *Pricke of Conscience*, the texts concerned with death stress that it can be regarded positively, at worst as an end of man's troubles on earth and at best his entry into everlasting joy, and the manuscripts within which these texts occur provide a context in which the Christian life in general is considered. This can hardly be described as morbid, unless any text which mentions death is to be so labelled, still less as macabre. Whilst they do advocate a careful and constant consideration of the consequences of mortality, the majority of

these texts do not assert that life should be dominated by the fear of death: rather that a proper understanding of death should free one to live the best possible life a Christian can, detached from worldly cares and concerns and desiring only to be with God.

Chapter IV: Footnotes

1. See Chapter I, pp.27-28.
2. See Chapter III, pp.103-106.
3. See Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Age, (London, 1924, adapted from the original Dutch, first pub. 1919), Chapter 11, pp.134-146.
4. For editions of these texts and all texts from the manuscripts discussed in this chapter, see Appendix I, which describes in full these manuscripts and the texts they contain.
5. For full details of this group and other texts which are also found with these, see A. I. Doyle, A Survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein (unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge 1953) Vol I, pp.165-167.
6. Other (predominantly) Middle English manuscripts containing the *Mirror*: CUL Ff.V.45, H1706 (second half) and B789 (in Latin). Latin mss containing the *Scire Mori* chapter and the *Speculum*: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Hatton 26, Oxford, Magdalen College MS 72.
7. Yorkshire Writers, ed K Horstmann, Vol II (London, 1896), p.436, ll.7-8 and elsewhere.
8. Horstmann (1896), p.437, ll.4-7. See also p.437, ll.37-40, 44-50 etc; p.439, ll.37-48 etc.
9. Other texts which contain reflections on mortality and sinfulness include *Scire Mori*, *Death's Warning*, *Three Arrows*, *St Anselm's Meditation*, *Fricke of Conscience* etc.
10. Ll 16, ll.129-130. See also the *Mirror of Sinners* ed Horstmann, (1896), p.437, ll.4-7, 37-50; p.439, ll.33-35 etc. Similarly, the idea of sin as sickness is discussed in *Meditacio S. Augustini* ed. Horstmann, (1896), pp.377-380: see especially p.379, ll.28-39 etc
11. Fisher's *A Spirituall Consolation* is in John Fisher's English Works ed J. Mayor, (London, 1867), pp.351-363: the section on corruption may be found at p.355, l.34 - p.357, l.17): the quotation is from p.356, ll.27-32.
12. R. Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages, (Oxford, 1968), p.68.
13. Horstmann, (1896), pp.438-439.
14. Woolf, (1968), pp.78-82. See also Chapter III, p.111. Woolf indicates the basis of the Middle English tradition to be in Galen's Latin translation of Hippocrates' Greek text, but does not of course consider prose texts such as the *Mirror*, or its Latin original the *Speculum Peccatoris* (in which this list of course does occur). Unfortunately, there seems to have been little work done on dating the *Speculum* or attempting to determine its provenance. It appears to have circulated across the Continent, and it probably post-dates Hugh of St Victor (who died in 1141), on whom it appears to draw (as Migne indicates, PL 40, 987-88).
15. Woolf, (1968), especially, p.82, version from *Fasiculus Morum*.
16. This theme has of course already been discussed in the previous chapter on the *Scire Mori* translations. See p.93.
17. See H. E. Allen, 'Some fourteenth century borrowings from "Ancren Riwle"' MLR 18, (1923), pp.1-8 for further details.
18. Horstmann, (1896), p.444. 'vnworachip' translates 'exhonorat'.
19. Horstmann, (1896), p.445.
20. A critical edition of Bodleian 789 is currently being prepared by T.

Hadyn Williams as a doctoral thesis at the University of Birmingham, in which this argument will be pursued further.

21. Articles which discuss possible Lollard interpolations in B789 include Anne Hudson's 'A New Look at the Layfolk's Catechism' Viator 16 (1985), pp.243-258 and R. N. Swanson, 'The Origins of the *Layfolks' Catechism*' in Medium Ævum LXI (1991), pp.92-97.

22. See Manuale ad vsum per celebris ecclesie sarisburiensis ed. A. Jefferies Collins for the Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. XCI (Chichester, 1960 for 1958) for the Latin texts of the *Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmum*, pp.97-107; *De extrema Vnctione*, pp.107-114; *Commendatio Animae in Articulo Mortis*, pp.114-118 etc.

23. See Horstmann, (1896), pp.412-414. This text is discussed in more detail later in this chapter: see below, pp.156-160.

24. *The Layfolk's Catechism*, ed. N. F. Blake, in Middle English Religious Prose (Evanston, 1972), pp.73-97: this quotation p.74.

25. Discussed by J. C. Hirsh 'Prayer and Meditation in Late Mediaeval England: MS Bodley 789' in Medium Ævum 48 (1979), pp.55-66.

26. See Chapter I, p.5.

27. See Doyle, (1955-60), p.225, FN.7 which summarises this debate. See also W. J. Wager, 'Two Poems from the "Booke of John Lucas"', in Philological Quarterly, 15 (1936), pp.377-383. Lydgate drew on Boccaccio.

28. Stanza 3 of *Death's Warning* is pp.21-2, ll.764-70 of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*; Stanza 5 is pp.22-3, ll.806-12; Stanza 7 is p.26, ll.925-931; Stanza 8 is p.27, ll.960-6. See *Lydgate's Fall of Princes* ed. H. Bergen, Part I (Books I-II), (Washington, 1923) and *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate Part II: Secular Poems* ed. H. N. MacCracken, (London, 1923), pp.655-657 for *Death's Warning*.

29. Wager, (1936), p.377.

30. MacCracken, (1934), p.657.

31. See O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the *Ars Moriendi* (New York, 1942, repr.1966), p.7. O'Connor calls this version, which she believes to be the earlier of the two, the CP version, from its Latin Incipit: Cum de presentis exilii... The shorter version was the text which occurred in the Blockbooks.

32. See R. Rudolf, *Ars Moriendi: Von der Kunst des Heilsamen Lebens und Sterbens* (Böhlau, Verlag, Köln, Graz, 1957); O'Connor, (1942); N. L. Beatty, The Craft of Dying Well (New Haven and London, 1970); Dennis Siy, Death, Medieval Moralities and the *Ars Moriendi* tradition, unpub. PhD diss. (University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1985).

33. Horstmann, (1896), p.407.

34. Horstmann, (1896), p.407: 'To dye well is to dye gladlye & wilfully'.

35. Horstmann, (1896), p.408. There is a passage in Latin, p.408, ll.18-20, which may also be found in the *Scire Mori* chapter: see Heinrich Susos *Horologium Sapientiae* ed P. Künzle, (Freiburg, 1977), p.527, ll.15-18, but whether this is a direct quotation is debatable. There are a number of other such instances: see O'Connor, (1942), p.26.

36. Horstmann, (1896), p.412.

37. Horstmann, (1896), p.412: this is from the chapter heading.

38. Beatty, (1970), p.19.

39. Horstmann, (1896), p.413.

40. Drawing on the third section of his *Opusculum Tripartitum*. See O'Connor, (1942), pp.23-24.

41. See O'Connor, (1942), pp.5-6. Rudolf, (1957), pp.1-10, discusses the shortage of clergy leading to this kind of text being translated into the vernacular for the guidance of the laity.

42. This theme is touched upon in the introductory lines to the *The*

Book of the Craft of Dying (Horstmann, (1896), pp.406-420): see p.406, ll.6-9. It is the burden of the first chapter (pp.407-408): see especially p.408, ll.2-36. The theme is also touched upon later in the *Boke*: p.417, l.44 - p.418, l.1.

43. Siy, (1985), p.53. Whereas Beatty, (1970), does not address this question in detail, it underlies much of her discussion of the substance of this text (pp.7-34).

44. Beatty, (1970), p.6; p.26.

45. Siy, (1985), p.60.

46. Siy, (1985), p.60.

47. Doyle, (1953), Vol.I, pp.220-221.

48. Comper, (1917), p.124.

49. Comper, (1917), pp.127-128.

50. Künzle, (1977), p.529, l.21- p.530, l.10.

51. Künzle, (1977), p.534, ll.3-14.

52. O'Connor, (1942), p.18, FN.

53. See Chapter II, pp.58-60.

54. See The Book of Vices and Virtues, ed. W. N. Francis (London, 1942).

55. I have used the chapter titles which occur in this manuscript.

56. For details of the relationship between the two manuscripts, see Doyle, 'Books connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey' in Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society New Series 25, (1955-60), pp.222-243.

57. For details about these two women, see Doyle, (1955-60), pp.228-229 (Petronilla Wrattisley) and pp.233-238 (Elizabeth Scrope-Beaumont-Vere).

58. These are: a translation of the *Monita or Consilia Isodori; De Contemptu Mundi* and *Despyte of the Worlde*, followed by a few lines of Latin verse and the *IX Foyntes* (a group of texts which is also repeated in the second half of H1706); the *ABC of Aristotle*, *The VII Degrees of Humylyte* and *The VII Degres of Pryde*.

59. Wells and Hartung, Vol.VII, p.2356.

60. See Horstmann, (1896), p.416, ll.5-14

61. See Chapter V for a discussion of the sacraments and rites associated with death.

62. See Doyle, (1955-60), p.229.

63. See H. E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, (London, 1927), pp.54-5, 306-11, 526; B. L. Doty, An edition of British Museum Ms Additional 37049; A Religious Miscellany (unpub. PhD. Diss., Michigan State University, 1963) edited the whole ms, but his edition, which I have not seen, is characterised by James Hogg as inaccurate. Hogg also is supposed to have edited this ms for *Analecta Cartusiana*, but I have been unable to obtain this edition, if it exists. See also his article, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library Ms Add 37049' in Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his sixtieth birthday, ed. J. Hogg, Vol. I, (Salzburg, 1980), pp.241-284. Lewis and McIntosh, A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Pricke of Conscience, (Oxford, 1982), pp.155-156 consider this ms briefly; Add 37049 has a number of extracts from the *Pricke of Conscience*, two of which to my knowledge have been previously identified as such. See below, pp.183-184 for *Of the relief of souls in Purgatory* and Appendix I, pp.⁴⁰⁶⁻⁴¹³ for further details of this and the other previously unidentified extract, *The Joys of Heaven*.

64. Hogg, (1980), p.253

65. Douce 322 is also illustrated.

66. Reproduced by James Hogg, 'An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Miscellany, British Library Additional MS 37049', Analecta Cartusiana 95,

Vol.III: The Illustrations, (Salzburg, 1981). Unfortunately, many of Hogg's comments are inaccurate: he appears not to have studied both text and illustration together.

67. F. Wormald 'Some Popular Miniatures and their Rich Relations' in Miscellanea pro Arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60 Lebensjahres am 13 Januar 1965 (Schriften des Pro Arte Medii Aevi), (Dusseldorf, 1965), pp.279-285.

68. See Wormald, (1965), p.279.

69. This may seem like an obvious comment, but Hogg does not in his commentary on these illustrations indicate the link between them and the text.

70. From '...handes I ȝelde outward...ȝe gret worthynes...': E. P. Armstrong, Heinrich Suso in England: An Edition of the *Ars Moriendi* from the *Seven Points of True Love* (unpub. PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1966), p.78, l.9 - p.82, l.13.

71. From '...wote not weder...in purgatory': Armstrong, (1966), p.86, l.8 - p.89, l.13.

72. From '...and had in penaunce...of ȝe world...': Armstrong, (1966), p.89, l.13 - p.93, l.1

73. From '...nowe is in olde...ffor so now is...': Armstrong, (1966), p.93, l.1 - p.95, l.13. The section in question is p.94, ll.8-15.

74. Armstrong, (1966), p.96, ll.4-9.

75. This section: Armstrong, (1966), p.97, l.1 - p.98, l.9. The page contains '...ȝe houre...ȝe saules...': Armstrong, (1966), p.93, l.13 - p.97, l.13.

76. From '...wemettyng for sorwe...dedes into...': Armstrong, (1966), p.97, l.13 - p.100, l.15.

77. From '...ȝe laste ende...tyme dwellynge...': Armstrong, (1966), p.100, l.5 - p.102, l.10.

78. Wormald, (1965), pp.281-283; reproduction, Plates CLVI-CLVII.

79. Wormald, (1965), p.283.

80. Wormald, (1965), p.282.

81. Wormald, (1965), p.283.

82. Wormald, (1965), p.281 and p.282.

83. Wormald, (1965), p. 281.

84. See for instance, T S R Boase Death in the Middle Ages, (London, 1972) pp.31, 32, 35, 38, 43; all illustrations of this or similar ideas, the earliest of which dates to the mid-twelfth century. Originally a figure holding a cloth full of souls represented the bosom of Abraham, an early representation of the afterlife of the elect before the Last Judgement which later came to be a metaphor for Heaven. It has its origins in Byzantine Art, as Mâle indicates in Religious Art in France: the Twelfth Century, ed. H. Bober and translated by Marthiel Matthews, (Princeton, New Jersey and Guildford, 1978), pp.30-1.

85. See Emile Mâle, (1978), pp.119-120, FNs 22 and 23. He also indicates that this representation may first have been employed in England. See Boase (1972), p.27, 31. One may also note the lines of the Offertory Prayer in the *Missa pro Defunctis* G. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.150 which read 'libera eas de ore leonis ne absorbeat eas tartarus...!'

86. Wormald, (1965), p.283.

87. Wormald, (1965), p.282.

88. On the other hand, Le Goff indicates that the spatial relationship of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory really were conceived like this, pp.2-4 see also *Pricke of Conscience* Morris, (1863), p.76, ll.2787-2795.

89. Wormald, (1965), p.283.

90. For further discussion of the *Fricke of Conscience* see the section on L116 which contains this poem, pp. ¹⁹⁰⁻¹⁹⁶ below.
91. See Sr Mary Pêcheux, Aspects of the Treatment of Death in Middle English Poetry, (Unpub. PhD Diss, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC, 1951).
92. See the reproductions of the block book illustrations to the deathbed temptations of Moriens in Alberto Tenenti, 'La Vie et la Mort à travers l'Art du XV^e Siècle' Cahiers des Annales 8 (1952-3), p.101. The Holy Ghost here is without speech.
93. Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC - MDCCCXV ed. G. F. Warner (London, 1907), p.328.
94. Wormald, (1965), pp.283-285.
95. Wormald, (1965), p.279.
96. Reproduced on the cover of the Penguin paperback version of P. Ariès' The Hour of Our Death translated from L'Homme devant La Mort by H. Weaver (Harmondsworth, 1983) and in Boase, (1972), p.118.
97. Morris (1965), preface, p.iv.
98. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), pp.3-4 summarise the arguments and evidence associated with the possible authorship of this poem.
99. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), pp.5-15, the version in this manuscript is the Southern Recension.
100. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), pp.1-2.
101. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.3, n.6.
102. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.3; Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, p.1269.
103. See for instance, (i) Reference to Bernard alluded to in *Scire Mori*, Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.3-5; *Fricke of Conscience*, ll.1876-1879; (ii) common quotation: *Scire Mori*, Künzle, (1977), p.528, ll.13-14; *Fricke of Conscience*, ll.1932-3; (iii) quotation from Ecclesiastes 12:1-2 in *Scire Mori*, Künzle, p.539, ll.15-16; *Fricke of Conscience*, ll.2070-2071, etc.
104. Morris, (1865), ll.830-919.
105. Morris, (1865), ll.2534-2539; ll.2542-2562 are the opening lines of *St Anselm's Meditation*, first quoted in Latin and then translated by the author of the poem.
106. Morris, (1865), ll.2038-2056.
107. Morris, (1865), ll.2206-2210.
108. Morris, (1865), ll.2627-2630.
109. Morris, (1865), ll.2692-2707.
110. Morris, (1865), ll.2786-2891.
111. See Le Goff, (1984), p.84 (in relation to Augustine); pp.205-207 etc.
112. See Le Goff, (1984), pp.91-94.
113. Morris, (1865), ll.3020-3087.
114. Morris, (1865), ll.3088-3147.
115. Morris, (1865), ll.3178-3195.
116. Morris, (1865), ll.7889-9474.
117. Morris, (1865), ll.9485-9528.
118. R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, Memorials of Saint Anselm (London, 1969), pp.9-10.
119. Southern and Schmitt, (1969), p.129, ll.13-14, (beauty, swiftness, strength, freedom, health, pleasure and durability).
120. Southern and Schmitt, (1969), p.129, ll.21-22, (wisdom, friendship, concord, power, honour, freedom from care and joy).
121. Morris, (1865), ll.8865-9388.
122. Dr Avril Henry, whose study of Anselm's works is forthcoming, considers that this manuscript has been rearranged, and that at one stage the three texts of the *De Quatuordecim Beatitudinis* preceded the

other texts in the manuscript. Her argument is based on the ornate decoration of the first page of *De Quatuordecim Beatitudinis* which she considers to be appropriate to the opening page of a manuscript. If this was the case, the manuscript opened with the description of Heaven as the reward for the Christian after death and then considered the motives for and methods of achieving such an award, an interesting pattern of works.

123. As Mozart described it (see Introduction, p.6); similar sentiments are expressed in the *Tour of alle Toures* (Comper (1917), p.129 and the *Crafte of Dyinge* (Horstmann, (1896), p.407, ll.31-39.

CHAPTER FIVE

Attitudes to Death in the Liturgy

Sickness and death in the Middle Ages were surrounded by a host of rites developed by the Church in order to facilitate the sick and/or dying person's salvation, and even after the final committal of the body to the grave, prayers and masses continued both to commemorate the soul and to provide aid for it should such aid be necessary. It is with the nature of these rites that this chapter is concerned, and by an examination of the way in which the soul was prepared for and guided through death and committed to the grave one aspect of the Church's approach to and treatment of death may be discerned. Such an examination may also demonstrate whether the penitential quality which infuses texts concerned with mortality is a product of the Church's presentation of death and whether the liturgy enforced the view which regarded mortality as a salutary subject for meditation for those left behind by the dead, a view which it also taught in those didactic and meditative texts already examined. Some attempt will also be made to indicate the development of the various elements of this process where this contributes to an understanding of the issues at hand, although in some areas the subject is too large and complex to be satisfactorily discussed here. Questions such as the extent to which this material was actually put to use or understood by the laity will not be addressed here.

The liturgy of the Early Church was extremely complex. Any examination of the development of various rites is rendered problematic by the lack of conformity in liturgical practices throughout Christendom in the period up to and including the Middle Ages. Before the tenth

century liturgical practices differed to such an extent in the various different areas of Europe that the attempt to ascertain how individual rites developed has required considerable circumspection on the part of those scholars concerned with this area. Furthermore, even during the period and in the area of interest here - fifteenth century England - when such rites were more uniformly distributed and had achieved some stability of form, matters were complicated by the existence of many different liturgical 'usages',¹ although the Sarum usage came to be the most widespread² and has consequently been chosen for discussion here. To add still more to the complexity of the question, the various different elements of Church ritual were contained in a bewilderingly large number of books: missals, manuals, ordinals, sacramentaries, processional, primers, psalters etc.³ For the purposes of this discussion, the texts to be found in the Sarum Manuale⁴ for the visiting of the sick, the *Requiem* mass and the burial will be used here.

The Sarum Manuale was in part based on the *Consuetudinary of the Church of Salisbury*,⁵ ascribed to Richard de Poore, Dean and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury (1210); in part on the New Ordinal of the middle of the fourteenth century⁶; in part on the two tracts *Oculis Sacerdotis* of William of Pagula (written between 1320-1328) and *Pupilla Oculi* (written sixty years later and based on but attempting to modify the former) of John de Burgh, both of which are concerned with expanding and expounding the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* of Archbishop Peckham (produced as a result of the 1281 Lambeth Council).⁷ They combine both canon law and pastoral teaching. The editors of the Sarum Manuale footnote where such borrowings occur and the interested reader should refer to the edition for such information.

The Sarum Manuale probably took definite shape during the

fourteenth century, although it was in existence during the thirteenth. By the fifteenth century it contained the texts of the 'occasional offices' (baptism, marriage, visitation of the sick etc) arranged for the use of the priest. The edition of the *Sarum Manuale*, which is based upon printed editions of the early sixteenth century which were in turn based upon fifteenth century usage, includes the sequence *Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmum, De Extrema Vnctione, Commendatio Anime in Articulo Mortis, Commendatio Animarum, Vigile Mortuorum, Missa pro Defunctis, and Inhumatio Defuncti*.⁹ These were sometimes abstracted from the *Manuale* and combined together as the Dirge-Book.¹⁰ This group of texts provides for spiritual guidance from a priest and creates structure for the whole span of time from the inception of sickness, through the apprehension of imminent death, the actual departure of the soul, the preparation of the body for burial, the procession to the church with the body, the vigil the night before the Requiem and the Requiem itself to the closing rite of the inhumation of the body. It may be noted that there are three particular Sacraments of importance to the dying person - Confession, Extreme Unction and the Viaticum (reception of the Eucharist) - and all of these are to be found within this structure. Many of the elements which combine to form these rites are very old, some dating as far back as the sixth century, if not earlier. However, some of the elements of these rites as they appear here display significant and interesting thematic developments from such early works. I shall take this sequence piece by piece, summarise what is known about each piece's historical development and consider its actual content in order to attempt to determine how these texts prepared the dying person to face death and in what way they affected the living through the reflection upon death they might induce.

The first item in this series is the *Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmum*,¹¹ of which there is a Middle English version in Bod 789. This rite is generally taken to involve the three sacraments of Confession, the reception of communion and Extreme Unction, although the latter will here be discussed as a separate ceremony.¹²

There is evidence that many of the elements of the Sarum form of the rite of visiting the sick go back to the Anglo-Saxon church: the administration of the Eucharist and sick unction were all practised at least as early as the eighth century,¹³ and, before the development of frequent, individual confession, it was also permitted to administer absolution to the sick even when they had not become penitents.¹⁴ It would also seem that the details of the rite itself are very ancient: Rock's comparison of the Sarum rite with the rite employed in the Anglo-Saxon church,¹⁵ suggests that only the opening prayers and interrogations were lacking.¹⁶

The rite itself as it appears in the *Sarum Manuale* is not complicated. It opens with instructions to the priest on how he should robe himself and what prayers he should say in preparation for his visit. Once in the presence of the sick person, the priest should place a crucifix before his/her sight so that s/he can reflect upon the passion, and then bless him/her with holy water.

The priest opens by praying over the sick person. Nine prayers of varying length¹⁷ are given, from which, judging from their very similar content, the priest was presumably free to choose the most appropriate. All ask for the restoration of the health of the sick person, often referring to miraculous biblical cures from both Old and New Testaments. There is never any suggestion here that sinfulness results in sickness: rather, the qualities of physical and spiritual health are

scarcely distinguishable. The questions which follow this are rather more complex than those in either the form of visiting the sick to be found in Bod 789 or the set in the third chapter of the *Craft of Dying*.¹⁸ The rubrication¹⁹ makes it clear these must be asked before the sick person is anointed or receives communion. The priest opens the questions by exhorting the sick person to bear their sickness patiently since accepting tribulation with humility will bring great reward. Furthermore, the highest duty now is to be faithful, for 'sine fide impossibile est placere deo'²⁰: faith is indispensable in order to attain salvation. The rubric then instructs the priest to question the sick person about the fourteen articles of faith, and should there be any question of doubt or error on the part of the sick person, they must be reconciled to the faith. The questions asked of the sick person which follow²¹ are based upon the articles of the Creed.²² An alternative and less complex version suitable for a lay person or one with little learning follows,²³ together with the response the sick person ought to make. The priest then addresses the sick person again, stressing the necessity for *caritas* and hope as well as faith, before turning to the necessity for confession: it is the pure in heart who will see God.²⁴ The priest must stress the need for full confession at such a point in one's life when death beckons since any sin omitted will be punished at the time of judgement. The texts of the prayers the priest is to say in response to the confession of the sick person are then given, together with variations on the basic form which take into account special cases such as the sick person's possession of a papal bull authorising full absolution.

This ceremony, therefore, divides into three: prayers for the health of the sick person, the examination of faith and the sacrament

of confession. Although the first section seems to suggest that it is possible that the sick person may recover and live, the rest of the ceremony is clearly preoccupied with the possibility of imminent death.²⁵ It was obviously considered important for the sick person to establish his/her orthodoxy and for his/her sins to be forgiven, for by this s/he might legitimately hope to receive a favourable judgement from God after death. This ceremony then aims at restoring both physical and mental health, confirming the sick person in their membership of the Church as well as preparing them to face death should that be the outcome of their sickness through offering them the opportunity of confession and the profession of faith.

Extreme Unction is the next element in this series. From around the tenth century until comparatively recently, the sacrament of Extreme Unction was the only sacrament to be specifically and exclusively intended for the approach of death.²⁶ The practice of unction was however initially aimed at the sick rather than the dying and its function was to bring about physical healing rather than spiritual (ie forgiveness of sins). It is based upon the Epistle of Saint James, (5:14-16), which combines the concepts of sinfulness and sickness, (without, however, suggesting that the former caused the latter):

'If one of you is ill, he should send for the elders of the church, and they must anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord and pray over him. The prayer of faith will save the sick man and the Lord will raise him up again; and if he has committed any sins, he will be forgiven. So confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, and this will cure you...'

The earliest certain reference to the practice of anointing the sick comes from Innocent I (d.417).²⁷ There is evidence for the practice of

anointing the sick in the Celtic church; there are Celtic Missals extant which include rites for sick unction.²⁸ Bede (673-735) also discussed this sacrament in his commentaries upon James.²⁹ Maskell, in his discussion of the Sarum rite of visiting the sick,³⁰ cites various Anglo-Saxon authorities discussing sick unction, confusingly and erroneously referring to the sacrament as Extreme Unction - although of course his work pre-dates scholarly debate on this subject. It is possible that the Celtic church did develop Extreme Unction earlier than the Carolingian³¹ but evidence on the question is scarce and equivocal. It was not, however, until the eighth-ninth centuries that the Roman liturgy had any office for anointing the sick.³² It was during the last years of Charlemagne's reign that the Carolingian bishops introduced the practice and developed a suitable rite, which drew on a variety of sources. This rite, the 'Carolingian Unction Order' gradually became more and more complicated: in particular the parts of the body which were to be anointed proliferated, and there was a shift in emphasis from physical to spiritual healing. By the tenth century, the rite had come to be administered when recovery from sickness could no longer be expected and had developed into an extremely complex ceremony appropriate to the dying. With the development of scholasticism, two opposing views of the sacrament came into being: one, which still considered the healing of the body to be the proper function of this sacrament, was held by, for instance, Hugh of St Victor (d.1141) and William of Auxerre (d.1231); whilst the other regarded spiritual healing, the forgiveness of sins, to be its proper function, and maintained that it was, therefore, to be applied to the dying. This view, which became the accepted teaching about Extreme Unction in the Catholic Church until very recently, was held by Peter Lombard (d.1160)

and developed by later scholars, in particular Thomas Aquinas (d.1274).³³ Hence the ceremony of anointing became focused upon the healing of sin, and prayers for the healing of the body gradually became less and less a part of this rite. Various arguments accounting for this change in attitude have been put forward: that the sacrament rarely effected a physical cure and that therefore some other explanation of its function was sought, or that the concept of a sacrament having a physical effect was problematic, since sacraments are the vehicles of God's grace.³⁴ Its function was therefore deemed to be the removal of the last traces of sin from the sick person before their death. It is interesting to note, however, that Ecgbert, Archbishop of York in 732 and a friend of Bede, spoke of anointing as having the effect of removing the last stains of sins from the sick person's soul:

'...ideo fidelis quisque, si possit, unctionem obtinere debet, et ritus qui ad eam pertinent; quoniam scriptum est, quod quicumque hos ritus habuerit, anima ejus æque pura sit, post obitum suum, atque infantis, qui statim post baptismum moritur'.³⁵

This quite clearly indicates that in England at this date this Sacrament was perceived as being essential to the sick because it rid their souls of sin so that should they die, they would be in a state of grace. However, it would be inaccurate to suggest that Ecgbert is here describing Extreme Unction rather than sick unction: death is seen as something which may possibly happen after anointing, not anointing as something which must take place before death.

The rite of Extreme Unction³⁶ opens with the antiphon 'Saluator mundi salua nos qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos: auxiliare nobis te deprecamur deus noster'³⁷ ('Saviour of the world save us, who

through the cross and blood redeemed us: we pray that you help us our God') said with Psalm 70, the psalm of an old man affirming his trust in God in times of trouble, and praising the God who has always stood by him. This ceremony then opens on a positive note, with this emphasis on God's role as saviour of His people, and the themes of trust and praise suggest that even though this sacrament is administered under the shadow of death, its healing and redeeming function should not be forgotten. The opening prayer³⁸ draws upon the passage from James (5:14-16) which is considered as the authority for this Sacrament. The prayer links physical and spiritual health, the restoration of *saluti pristinae* being the aim of the sacrament.³⁹ The anointing which follows is accompanied by the recitation of various psalms (Psalms 12, 29, 43, 69, 85, 87 and 140). These psalms are predominantly concerned with asking for help from God in times of trouble, which is often specifically the threat of death. They generally express trust in God, praising Him for previous help and confident of assistance in the future. Two of these psalms share a common theme, that of demanding of God how anyone may praise Him from the grave (Psalm 29:2-3;9; Psalm 87:11-12). There is no concern with sinfulness; none of these psalms is a confession of unworthiness or a plea for mercy from a God angry because of misdoings: rather, they express trust in God's ability to help even when death threatens. The places of anointing are the eyes, ears, lips, nose, and hands (representing the five sense^S) and the feet and torso. However, accompanying each anointing are prayers which stress the penitential nature of this sacrament and each anointing is regarded as combating those sins appropriate to the place of anointing:

'Per istam vnctionem et suam piissimam
misericordiam indulgeat tibi dominus quicquid

peccasti per...' (visum, auditum, verba etc).⁴⁰

The rite closes with a prayer⁴¹ which asks for the restoration of health and the forgiveness of sins, and is followed by the administration of communion.

The practice of administering the Eucharist to the dying person is an ancient one, dating to the very Early Church. There is evidence of the practice dating to the fourth century at least.⁴² The term *viaticum*, meaning 'provisions for a journey' is frequently used to refer to this particular, special use of the Eucharist. The origin of the practice of communicating the sick on the point of death and the choice of the term *viaticum* to describe it were, it would appear, influenced by the Greco-Roman death custom of placing a coin (obol) under the dead person's tongue as the fee for the ferryman Charon to carry the soul across Lake Acheron, a practice referred to by the Romans as *viaticum*.⁴³ Early Christian Fathers employed a similar image of the soul's journey after death as a dangerous and difficult voyage upon a ship with Christ the pilot guiding it to safe harbour, despite the devil's opposition.⁴⁴ Thus, according to Grabka, by a natural process of analogy the reception of the Eucharist at the point of death came to be known as *viaticum*:⁴⁵ provisions for the journey to God. There was however another theological justification for this practice, which envisaged the Eucharist as "the medicine of immortality" and "the antidote against death".⁴⁶ The term *viaticum* could in fact be applied to all the rites surrounding death which could strengthen and aid the soul in its final journey:

'...*viaticum* (ἐφόδιον) signified anything that gave spiritual comfort and strength to the dying, and enabled them to make their journey to God. Hence, any sacrament administered to a sick person in immediate danger of death - the Eucharist, Baptism, Penance - even prayers and good works

applied in their behalf, and finally anything that tended to reconcile the sinner with the Church and with God in the hour of death, was called *Viaticum*...'.⁴⁷

and it may also refer to any of the Sacraments, and especially the Eucharist, taken at any point during life, since the Christian life was commonly regarded as pilgrimage. Aquinas uses the term to refer to the Eucharist in general rather than at the point of death.⁴⁸ The Council of Orange in 441

'explicitly stated that the Eucharist administered in the hour of impending death is for the consolation of the dying and that it has been fittingly called by the Fathers a *viaticum*.'⁴⁹

There is ample evidence that the reception of the Eucharist before death was widely practised in the early church,⁵⁰ and that it was required of priests that they should be ready to communicate the sick. It has already been noted that the Anglo-Saxon church was also familiar with this process⁵¹ and thus its presence in the Sarum rite is entirely to be expected.

Before the thirteenth century, when the Carolingian rite was adopted, there was no fixed form in the Church for the administration of the *viaticum*. The preparation that is to be seen in the *Sarum Manuale* has its roots in the eleventh century, when the saying of the *Pater Noster* gave way to 'the *Confiteor* and the giving of a proof of faith'.⁵² The administration of the Eucharist as it is outlined in the *Sarum Manuale* is very simple. After the completion of Extreme Unction, the priest must question the dying person whether s/he recalls any sins s/he has not yet confessed and then ascertain that s/he believes in the true presence.⁵³ Wearing his stole, the priest then offers the sacrament in the form of the reserved Host⁵⁴ to the sick person with the words 'Corpus domini nostri iesu christi custodiat corpus et animam

tuam in vitam eternam. Amen'.⁵⁵ A series of prayers complete the rite (still in the *Sarum Manuale* included as part of *De Extrema Unctione*) which are to be said only when the dying person has been communicated. These consist of Psalm 145, a psalm of praise and trust in God as the helper of the helpless, a prayer for the forgiveness of sins through the sacraments just administered and for the health of the sick person, and a final blessing. Here again physical and spiritual health are closely linked and it is the restoration of the health of both body and soul that is requested.⁵⁶ Similarly, the final blessing asks for help, health and cleansing for both body and soul. This section closes with suggestions of prayers which the sick person might wish to say if s/he is able.⁵⁷

After the sick/dying person has confessed and been absolved of his/her sins and received Extreme Unction and the *vaticum*, all that remains to do for those attending the death-bed before the actual moment of death is to comfort and guide the dying person in their last moments with pious readings, prayers and so on. After the moment of death, there are prayers for the soul of the dead person. The preparation of the body for burial and the procession with it to the Church for the Vigil before the Requiem are also accompanied by suitable rites aimed at providing the soul with assistance in its final journey to God. It is to this section of the *Sarum Manuale* that we now turn.

Following the rite *De Extrema Unctione* are the pieces entitled *Commendatio anime in articulo mortis* and *Commendatio animarum*. The former of these commendations provides the material which should accompany the dying person's final moments; the latter covers the whole span of time from the moments immediately after death to the point

just before the beginning of the Requiem and includes instructions for the preparation of the body, the procession to the Church, the marking out of the grave, and so on.

Gougard, in his '*Études sur les Ordines Commendationis Animae*'⁵⁸ discusses the development of the commendations and indicates which groups of prayers this term was used to cover. The term 'commendatio' comes from Christ's use of Psalm 30 on the cross: 'Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit'. This gives a clear indication of the kind of prayers to which this term was applied: prayers which were concerned with commending the soul (or souls) of the dead or dying person(s) into God's hands. It was used to refer to prayers both preceding and succeeding the death of the sick person. Preceding the death, the term could refer to the prayers said by the dying person him/herself and the prayers said by those around the dying person (the priest, or in the case of a monk or nun, their community, either in the presence of the dying person or in the church). The *ordines commendationis post decessum*⁵⁹ referred to prayers said in a number of different circumstances, such as (in the presence of the corpse) immediately after death, during the preparations of the body for burial, and during the funeral vigil. The term was also used to refer to prayers said commemorating all the faithful departed or individuals on the occasion of their anniversaries, and where monasteries had special arrangements to commemorate each others' dead.

As early as the ninth century priests were required to know the *Ordo Commendationis animae*,⁶⁰ and there is evidence pre-dating this of ceremonies beside the death-bed aimed at strengthening and encouraging the dying person in his/her faith, in which the participants prayed for

the eternal salvation of the dying person's soul. These ceremonies involved the recitation of psalms (often specifically the seven penitential psalms) and the litany of the saints,⁶¹ both essential features of the later rite. The reading of one of the Gospel narratives of Christ's Passion was also a possibility.⁶² It is clear from Gougard's article that the elements which make up the various different commendations were far from uniform.⁶³ However, there was some conformity amongst English manuscripts in the form of the commendations said *in expiratione*.⁶⁴ In particular, the group of manuscripts containing the longer form of this rite includes the *Sarum Manuale* in its number, as well as various other earlier English service-books, which again suggests a continuity in the English Church's use of ritual.

The *Commendatio anime in articulo mortis*⁶⁵ (the commendations said when death is imminent), consists in the *Sarum Manuale* of the Creed and the seven penitential psalms, with the anthem 'parce domine',⁶⁶ the litany of the saints,⁶⁷ the prayer beginning 'Profiscere anima christiana'⁶⁸ and finally, the invocations based around the phrase 'libera, domine, animam serui sicut liberasti....' introduced by the lines 'Suscipe itaque domine seruum tuum in bonum et lucidum habitaculum tuum Amen',⁶⁹ all of which are discussed by Gougard as ancient and frequently employed elements of this rite.⁷⁰ The concerns of such a series of prayers are not difficult to determine: they plead for mercy and forgiveness for the dying person, ask for protection for him/her against the Devil and Hell, and request that s/he may attain eternal rest in Heaven. Sections of the litany illustrate this well:

'Ab omne malo: Libera et defende animam eius domine. Ab hoste iniquo... Ab insidiis et laqueis diaboli... Ab incursu malignorum spirituum... A timore inimicorum... Ab ira tua... A damnatione

perpetua... A penis inferni... A periculo mortis... A pondere peccatorum...'.⁷¹

'Vt animam famuli tui de principibus tenebrarum et de locis penarum liberare digneris: Te rogamus. Vt eam ab inferorum cruciatibus liberare digneris... Vt cuncta eius peccata obliuioni perpetue tradere digneris... Vt ei omnes lubricae temeritatis offensas dimittere digneris...Vt delicta iuuentutis eius et ignorantias non reminiscaris...Vt quicquid vitiorum fallente diabolo et propria iniquitate atque fragilitate contraxit/clementer indulgere digneris...Vt eum in pacis ac lucis regione constituere digneris...Vt ei gaudium et exultationem in regno tuo cum sanctis et electis tuis donare digneris...'⁷²

This preoccupation with sinfulness and its consequences for the dying person is of course mirrored in the manuscripts discussed in the previous chapter. Here, the need to obtain forgiveness and protection for the departing soul leads to this comprehensive series of petitions, providing reassurance to both the dying and those caring for him/her. However, just as the manuscripts ostensibly concerned with negative images of death have more positive concerns, so these petitions also invoke God's love for man and His sacrifice on the Cross to plead for the dying man's redemption (in a section not quoted here)⁷³ and conclude with the beautiful vision of the 'region of light and peace' in which it is hoped the dying person's soul will give joy and exultation with the saints and elect to God after his/her death.

The prayer 'Profiscere, anime christiana' (translated as the concluding prayer 'Go, cristen soule...' of the *Craft of Dying*⁷⁴ and dating back to the eighth century) ushers the soul out of the world by invoking the whole hierarchy of the Church, both celestial and temporal. The final prayer 'libera domine...' returns again to the theme of liberating the soul from sin and torment, drawing on a series of biblical analogies from Enoch and Elijah to Peter and Paul, asserting the continuity of the Church and God's concern for all His children, and

placing considerable emphasis upon God's saving grace rather than upon possible punishments for sinfulness. This sequence of prayers is positive and reassuring, its striking use of repetition contributing to both these qualities. It ensures the dying person is fully aware of his/her position in the Church, here identified as the body of all believers stretching right back to figures from the Old Testament, which is overseen and protected by God in His mercy. Those dangers which assail the soul in its return to God - Hell, the Devil, previous sins, God's anger - are combatted by the relationship of God with His Church which enables both the saints in heaven and the faithful living on earth to intercede for mercy for one of their company. Indeed, it is the ability of the Church to plead for mercy for one of its members after death as well as before which gives the rest of these rites meaning.

The rites discussed so far - the visitation of the sick with the three sacraments of Penance, Extreme Unction and the reception of the Eucharist - and the *Commendatio anime in articulo mortis* all concentrate then upon preparing the sick person for death. They are concerned primarily with promoting spiritual wholeness and health rather than physical, and hence with encouraging the dying person to recognise the value of firmly expressed faith in God and of penitence for previous sins, the two vital qualities necessary to achieve this before death. The prayers and readings employed confirm the place of the dying person within the Church and remind him/her of his/her common place with the saints under God's spiritual protection, thus ideally helping to uphold him/her in faith and trust until the moment of death. Following this point, the focus shifts to aid given by the living to the dead in the form of the series of rituals which will now

be discussed.

The *Commendatio Animarum*,⁷⁵ (referred to by Gougard as the commendations *in expiratione*),⁷⁶ is said immediately after the moment of death. The text to be found in the *Sarum Manuale*⁷⁷ belongs to the group of mostly English manuscripts which contain the same or very similar versions of this rite,⁷⁸ the oldest of which, the *Fulda Sacramentary*, dates to the tenth century,⁷⁹ although certain elements of this rite may be traced back still further to the ninth century.⁸⁰ It is again made up of a number of prayers, psalms and antiphons. Gougard summarises the form, providing a comparison of the various different manuscripts⁸¹, and here the emphasis is upon the safe passage of the soul after death to God. The journey of the soul to God after death as it was envisaged by some of the early Fathers of the Church, (that is, as a voyage), has already been described.⁸² Another popular image from the early Church involves the soul being shepherded to Heaven by angels sent from God. Both these themes may easily be discerned in the prayers 'Misericordiam tuam domine...'⁸³ and 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus...'.⁸⁴ Again, these prayers plead for the forgiveness of the sins of the soul of the deceased and ask for protection against the powers of darkness. They envisage the ideal state of the soul seated amongst the saints and the elect after the Last Judgement, experiencing the joy of eternal bliss.⁸⁵ After these prayers a series of psalms are said ('Dilexi quoniam...' 114; 'Credidi propter quod locutus sum...' 115; 'Laudate omnes gentes...' 116; 'Confitemini domino quoniam bonus...' 117; 'Beati immaculati...' 118). This series of psalms embrace a range of themes. Psalms 114 and 115, together with psalm 117 (said also during the burial service,⁸⁶ praise God from the point of view of one who was saved having been on the point of death, the obvious

interpretation in this particular context being the saving of the soul from eternal death, that is, damnation. Psalm 116 is a very short hymn of praise, whilst psalm 118 is a very long eulogy of God's law, the significance of which in this context lies in its plea for mercy from one who has been faithful to God's law. These psalms are followed by another prayer for the soul of the dead person, prayers for all the faithful departed and three concluding prayers, which request salvation for the soul of the dead person and ask for the absolution of his/her sins and the sins of all the dead. These prayers and those preceding them focus upon the possibility of salvation for the soul of the recently dead person, God's mercy is invoked and the image of the soul in bliss is opposed to descriptions of those dangers which threaten it. Whilst it is clearly untrue to say that there are no negative undertones to this ceremony, the concern with sinfulness and punishment is far from overwhelming and the appeals to God's mercy and images of bliss indicate that salvation is possible for the soul of the deceased and may be assisted by these prayers.

Following the *Commendatio Animarum* the body is prepared for burial and taken to the Church in procession, to the accompaniment of further prayers and psalms.⁸⁷ The Vigil of the Dead (Hours of the Dead)⁸⁸ are said whilst the body rests in the Church before burial. Before the *Missa pro Defunctis*, the priest marks the grave and the choir sings a further short *commendatio*.⁸⁹ The Mass⁹⁰ then leads straight into the burial service⁹¹ itself, which starts in the church and moves into the cemetery, as the body is committed to the grave. The themes to be found in these texts are closely related to those just discussed in the *Commendatio Animarum*: the fate of the soul after death is the focus of attention from this point on.

The *Vigile Mortuorum* and the *Inhumatio Defuncti* are alike in both drawing substantially on the psalms. The *Vigile* also draws on Isaiah (once) and the Book of Job; only the Requiem contains material from the New Testament (the reading and the Gospel). In the examination of these rites which are based upon scriptural material it is useful to bear in mind that the texts used were drawn from a limited set of options, and what is of especial interest is what themes the compilers of the liturgy felt were appropriate in such a context. It might be supposed that the compilers had a greater freedom of expression in the composition of the prayers which accompany this biblical material, and to what extent this is the case is likewise of significance in this examination.

The form of the Vigil in the Sarum rite and something of the history of the development of the office for the dead are discussed by Rowell.⁹² He suggests that the Vigil had become a part of the Roman burial rite by the second half of the eighth century,⁹³ and that the rite developed from then on within a monastic context.⁹⁴ It consists of:

'...essentially...two parts, Vespers of the dead, commonly known as the *Placebo*, from the words of the opening antiphon *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum*, and Matins and Lauds, known as 'the Dirge', from the opening antiphon, *Dirige*. In the Sarum rite... the *Placebo* was said in the room where death occurred whilst the body was prepared for burial... Matins and Lauds, which were sung the following day, were usually treated as a continuous office. Matins consists of a series of three nocturns, each built around a lesson from Job.'⁹⁵

The structure of Matins and the use of material from Job may be traced back to an eleventh century rite⁹⁶ and possibly further. Rowell also outlines early burial rites.⁹⁷ Whilst the early rites simply contain

the 'necessary stages of burial' within a liturgical structure, latter development involves the gradual incorporation of material with a penitential character into them, so that the mood changes and the rites become lengthier and more complex in form.'* Rowell cites Durandus of Mende (1230-1296) in order to illustrate this point:

'Durandus interprets the office [the Office of the Dead], and indeed all the rites for the dead, in a way which emphasises the penal nature of death, and this serves as a reminder of the change of emphasis which occurred in the liturgy of death and burial in the Western Church during the Middle Ages. The pattern of the office of the dead, he points out, is similar to the liturgy for the last three days of Holy Week, the *triduum sacrum*, when the *Gloria*, Alleluias, blessings before lessons, and other joyful responses are omitted. In the office of the dead, he asserts, there should not be rejoicing but rather sorrow and mourning, and all canticles of exultation and joy should be omitted.'*

Although it is true, and hardly inappropriate, that there is an air of mourning in these final rites, it is easy to overemphasise the concern with sinfulness that is displayed in them at the expense of other, more positive, themes. In the examination of the material in the Vigil, Requiem and Burial service which follows, the extent to which this concern with the 'penal nature of death' is displayed by these texts and the prevalence of other concerns are therefore of particular interest in determining the attitude to the nature of death and the fate of the soul after death that this section of the liturgy encapsulates.

The first element of the Hours of the Dead, Vespers, comprises psalms 114 (vv1-8), 119, 120, 129 and 137, followed by the Magnificat, and closed by psalm 145 and various prayers. The three nocturns of Matins share the same structure: they each open with three psalms (5, 6 and 7; 22, 24 and 26; and 39, 40 and 41) followed by three extracts

from the Book of Job (7:16-21, 10:1-7, 10:8-12; 13:23-28, 14:1-6, 14:13-16; 17:1-3, 11-15, 19:20-27; 10:18-22). Lauds has a more complex structure: psalms 50, 64, 62 and 66 open, followed by Isaiah 38:10-20, then come psalms 148-150, the Benedictus, psalm 29, a series of prayers and, to conclude, psalm 141.

The psalms which form Vespers are predominantly concerned with God's role as helper of the helpless in times of trouble, a recurring theme throughout the rites surrounding death which has already been noted in the *Commendatio Animarum*. In psalm 129, the speaker is in the midst of troubles, calling on God for help and confident he will be answered; in psalms 120 and 137, the speaker reflects from a position of safety upon God's help which is afforded him in times of trouble: common to all these is the theme of praise and trust. In particular, psalm 129 ('Out of the depths') may be noted as a plea for mercy and forgiveness from one who recognises man's unrighteousness before God. However, the psalmist confidently asserts his faith in God's mercy and his trust in God as man's unsleeping guardian: this is no pessimist dwelling upon man's failings in the face of God's strict and unswerving justice. The desire to be with God, away from those enemies who threaten safety and peace of mind, is expressed in psalm 119. By focusing upon God's role as willing dispenser of mercy and forgiveness, always ready to afford help to those who ask Him in times of difficulty, this office suggests that the possibility of salvation for the soul of the deceased is dependent more upon God's mercy and His loving care of man than upon man's sinfulness, and, moreover, likely to be attained.

There is a distinct split in mood in the three nocturns between the readings from Job and the psalms. Once again, the psalms chosen

are predominantly positive in tone, praising God as man's guide and saviour in much the same way as the psalms to be found in the service of Vespers. In the first nocturn, psalms 5 and 7 consider God's justice. In both, the psalmist is convinced of his own righteousness and demands appropriate judgement and the right to approach God, whilst pleading for the punishment of the wicked. Psalm 6 contains a theme already encountered: that of the cry for help in the face of death, since no man may praise God from 'Sheol' (vv4-5). The second nocturn returns to the theme of trust in the Lord, opening with Psalm 22 ('The Lord is my shepherd'), that eloquent expression of absolute, joyful trust in God as the guardian and sustainer of man who rewards those who follow Him with good things. Psalm 24 is yet another prayer from one in danger, praising God and His ways and linking the desire to follow God with a confession of sinfulness and request for mercy and guidance. The tone of confidence in God's help reappears in psalm 26, which also expresses a deep longing to be with God and to follow His ways at all times. Psalm 41, the final psalm of the third nocturn, also to be found in the *Commendatio Animarum*, continues this theme, which is particularly appropriate in this context in which it is the soul's return to God which is being considered. The other two psalms of the third nocturn, 39 and 40, return to familiar themes: the confident plea for help from one sick and oppressed, expressing trust in God and asserting that despite having sinned, the speaker has always desired to follow God. Thus this selection of psalms, by stressing God's role as the merciful saviour of sinful man, suggest a positive outcome for the soul of the deceased in its return to God. Even those psalms which consider sinfulness place man's weakness in opposition to the loving mercy of God, and stress the importance of the desire to follow in His

ways. However, the readings from the Book of Job rarely reflect this mood of confidence in God's mercy and trust in his saving help: they tend to be meditations on man's sinfulness and unworthiness, his inability to justify himself before a God who seems to be determined to seek out his every fault. They plead for man's sins to be overlooked by the God who created man in his image, or assert innocence in the face of a God who seems determined to pursue revenge. They speak of the transience and worthlessness of man's life, and 17:1-3, 11-15 has a particularly funereal ring, speaking of gravediggers gathering, and addressing the tomb as 'father' and the worms that inhabit it as mother and sister. Yet even so following this reading is the passage 19:20-27, which opens with another image of decay but moves on to the assertion of faith in God as man's 'Avenger' ('Redeemer' in the King James version made familiar by Handel's setting of verses 25-26 in the *Messiah*); a passage which was read as a prophecy of the resurrection. This mood however is not permitted to last: the final reading in this triad in the third nocturn (10:18-22) returns again to the worthlessness and transience of man's life and the unpleasant fate of the soul after death. The Book of Job is notoriously difficult to interpret, and the tendency in the Middle Ages was to eradicate any hint of unorthodoxy in the views it expressed.¹⁰⁰ However, those passages which do occur here paint a picture of sinful man pursued by God, living a short and unhappy life before being relegated to decay in the grave. Such readings are more in keeping with the penitential and macabre views of death supposedly so overwhelmingly popular at this time and as such must be placed in opposition to the psalms with their calmer and more confident message of trust in God the Saviour.

The final service of Lauds contains further material on the themes

already identified. Like the opening service of Matins, it is predominantly confident in tone, even those psalms which consider sinfulness, such as the *Miserere* with which it opens, plead passionately and with conviction for God's mercy and guidance, whilst psalm 64 confidently asserts God will wipe out all man's sins. The desire for God's presence and trust in His saving power is again considered (psalm 62), as is the theme of being saved from death or from the pits of Sheol, where no man may praise God - again no doubt seen as referring to the soul being admitted to eternal life rather than the spiritual death of damnation (Isaiah 38:10-20; psalm 29). Several of these psalms are purely psalms of praise, and there is a marked contrast between this service and Matins which precedes it.

The *Vigile Mortuorum* hardly seems to conform to the expectations comments such as those of Durandus might raise. The concern with sinfulness is present, it is true, but not overwhelmingly so: far more marked is the affirmation of God's sustaining and protective role in man's affairs. It might perhaps be useful to see the readings from Job as providing meditative material upon mortality for those who are attending these ceremonies to consider in relation to their own lives, at a time when the death or anniversary of some known person gave such meditation particular force, whilst the psalms offer encouragement in the form of the portrayal of a loving and merciful God, prepared to help both the living and the dead. The fact that many of these psalms speak from the position of one in danger or recalling danger acknowledges the spiritual trial death poses, but this trial is always ultimately containable with divine assistance. Only the material from Job could possibly be taken to refer to the penal nature of death - death, that is, as the punishment for and inescapable outcome of sin.

The *Sarum Manuale* gives references for a variety of alternative readings to be said at various different anniversarial masses for the dead.¹⁰¹ However, only the two said at the *Requiem* itself will be considered here. The first of these two is 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18¹⁰² in which Paul, directly addressing his readers, expounds the Christian belief in the general resurrection of the dead at the second coming of Christ. The dead are referred to as those who sleep in Jesus: 'de dormientibus...qui dormierunt per Jesum'. The reading explicitly states that this teaching ought to comfort the living, so that they do not grieve unduly over their dead. Here then is a text which both addresses the question of the fate of the dead, stating that they will rise on the last day as Christ rose from the dead, and will pass with the living into Heaven there to live eternally, and attempts to assuage the grief of the living through reflection upon the immortality of the soul. The sleep of death, that is, the idea that the dead slept or rested, whilst waiting for the call to resurrection, is a concept which was particularly prevalent in the Early Church¹⁰³ and this reading is one of its sources. The physical resurrection of the dead (the first resurrection) at the Second Coming of Christ is another noteworthy element of this reading which is also reflected in the Gospel, taken from John (11:21-27).¹⁰⁴ Here, Jesus proclaims himself to Martha as the resurrection and the life, and the guarantor of eternal life for those who believe in Him:

'I am the resurrection. If anyone believes in me, even though he dies he will live, and anyone who lives and believes in me will never die.' (John 11:25-26).

Again, this reading is concerned with affirming the immortality of the soul, whilst also stressing the importance of faith in the ultimate fate

of the Christian, exemplified by Martha's affirmation of faith in Jesus which ends the reading. The choice of such readings as these for the *Requiem* is surely positive: both stress the immortality of both body and soul achieved through faith in Christ, as well as offering comfort to those bereaved capable of understanding them, together with food for thought with respect to their own futures. Neither reading suggests a preoccupation with sinfulness, judgement or damnation, which, if the presentation of death were wholly taken over by such ideas, one might expect: it is perhaps noteworthy that the description of the Last Judgement in Matthew (25:31-46), in which Christ separates the sheep from the goats, does not appear anywhere in these ceremonies.

The choice of psalms used in the *Inhumatio* is similarly revealing: once again, there is very little concern with sinfulness and infinitely more stress on trusting in the Lord in times of trouble. It is particularly noticeable that psalms are chosen to fit the various actions in the burial service which they accompany, providing a spiritual commentary to the physical process of committing the body to the grave. Whilst the body is carried from the church to the grave, psalm 113 ('In exitu Israel...') is sung.¹⁰⁵ This is said by Rowell¹⁰⁶ to have paschal and baptismal overtones, being concerned with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land and with the parting of the Red Sea. Here, it may be taken to represent the passage of the soul back to God through death. The beautiful antiphon which accompanies this psalm:

In paradisum deducant te angeli: in suum
conventum suscipiant te martyres et perducant te
in ciuitatem sanctam Hierusalem.¹⁰⁷

certainly has the journey of the soul after death as its theme. This

old antiphon, dating back to the eighth century and probably originating in North Italy¹¹⁰ is used a number of times in the liturgy surrounding death¹¹¹ and encapsulates an image of the passage of the soul, guided by angels and received into the Heavenly Jerusalem, which will be found elsewhere in the prayers which form a part of this service.¹¹² To accompany the opening of the grave, psalm 117 'Confitemini domini quoniam bonus...' is sung, the antiphon being vv19-21 of this psalm.¹¹³ This is a psalm praising God for His help in times of trouble, and stressing His trustworthiness and powerfulness in times of danger. Verses 17-18 are an assertion by the psalmist that Yahweh has saved him from death, which in this context were probably taken to refer both to the physical resurrection outlined in the readings in the *Requiem* and to being saved from spiritual death - damnation. Following this are the verses which are used as the antiphon which clearly relate to the grave. Here the link between salvation and virtue is made explicit, but without any indication of alternative possibilities of sin and damnation.¹¹⁴

When the corpse is placed in the grave, it is accompanied by the psalm 'Quomodo desiderat cervus...' (41), with the antiphon:

Ingrediar in locum tabernaculi admirabilis vsque
ad domum dei.
'I am on my way to the wonderful Tent/to the
house of God.' (Psalm 41:4)¹¹⁵

The opening image of this psalm of the soul longing for God as a deer yearns for running water encapsulates its mood: the desire for God's presence, to approach God, when He seems to have withdrawn Himself. It is the theme of the desire to approach God which renders this psalm particularly appropriate to this point in the burial service, when the physical remains of the dead person are placed in the grave, in an

action which finally closes their presence upon earth.¹¹⁴ Once the body has been placed in the grave, it is blessed and the blessing is accompanied by psalm 131 'Memento domine dauid...' and accompanied by the antiphon:

Hec requies mea in seculum seculi: hic habito
quoniam elegi eam.
'Here I will stay for ever,/this is the home I have
chosen.' (Psalm 131:14).¹¹⁵

This psalm is concerned with David's devotion to Yahweh and the close relationship between Yahweh and David's descendants. Its relevance here would seem to lie in its delineation of a people chosen by God and under His eternal protection.¹¹⁶ Whilst the corpse is being covered with earth, psalm 138 'Domine probasti me...' is sung. The antiphon here is:

De terra plasmasti me et in carnem induisti me
redemptor meus domine resuscita me in nouissimo
mei.¹¹⁷

The theme of this psalm is God's omniscience, the psalmist relating how God's presence has informed every moment of his life from his conception and how he may never escape from God's knowledge. The use of such a psalm in this context may be seen as reminder that if God cares so much for the soul before death He will continue to do so after death as well.¹¹⁸ As such, in keeping with the rest of these psalms, it strikes a particularly positive note, which is also to be found in psalms 148-150 which form part of the rest of the burial service. These are psalms of praise to God the all-powerful creator.

The material here asserts God's saving mercy and loving kindness towards man, even more strongly than that found in the *Vigile*. The choice of psalms which are concerned with the soul's desire to be with God or, symbolically, with the passage of the soul back to God,

suggest an underlying mood of confidence in the final outcome of the soul's last journey. There certainly seems to be no particular concern here with the perils posed by sinfulness, or with any threat to the soul in its return to God, and it is to the prayers which accompany these psalms that it is necessary to turn to see any evidence of such difficulties.

The prayers in the Vigil, Requiem Mass and Burial Service summarise and articulate most clearly the most important concerns which underlie these rites. A close examination of this material reveals that each prayer is constructed from a series of elements which are combined in each prayer in more or less the same order, although all need not be present. Usually each prayer opens with an address to God which focus es upon those divine characteristics most appropriate to these petitions: He is described as the creator and sustainer of life,¹¹⁹ capable of calling back those He has created in His own image to Him through death;¹²⁰ He is the dispenser of divine mercy;¹²¹ He is omnipotent and eternal;¹²² He is the redeemer of mankind.¹²³ On one occasion He is described as the eternal lover of the souls of men,¹²⁴ and on another, as the God with whom the souls ('spiritus') of the dead are living.¹²⁵ Only very rarely is the second person of the Trinity addressed: in two prayers, the first in the *Requiem* ('Dominus iesu christe rex glorie...'),¹²⁶ and the second in the Burial service.¹²⁷ These opening invocations place the divine role in the fate of the soul in a positive light: this is not God the stern Judge dispensing punishment for sin who is being appeased; rather the loving God who created man in His own image is being asked to have mercy on His children.

The pivotal point of these prayers follows the address to God,

when such an address appears. This is the clause which places the soul of the deceased before God and asks for His help in assuring its salvation. The various petitions which follow may vary in order, but all return to the consideration of the details of the soul's fate after death.

Often first of these petitions is the request that the soul may have assistance against various dangers which assail it after death. Such dangers frequently include the threat posed by the soul's own sins to its chances of eternal happiness and pleas for mercy and forgiveness for the soul or for God's anger at the soul's sinfulness to abate are common throughout all this material. The nature of man's sinfulness may be explored further in these prayers: in one, forgiveness is asked both for those sins committed through the deceits of the devil or through weakness, and those committed deliberately¹²⁸ and in others, it is stressed that although the deceased sinned, he remained true in his faith¹²⁹ and is thus worthy of forgiveness and eternal life. This recalls the *Visitatio Infirmorum* with its stress upon the need for orthodox belief as well as for penitence. Such a profession - that faith is more important than actions - may seem at variance with those texts which reflect upon mortality in order to advocate repentance and reform of life, but it is important to remember the context of these remarks. These prayers reflect upon a life that is passed and look forward to the future of the soul that has lived that life; there is no room for reform now, only for making the most of an inevitably flawed human life. Whilst penitence and reform are obviously the desired ideal for the living, they have no relevance for the dead. Affirming the faithfulness of the deceased as a redeeming factor in the consideration of his or her life is on the other hand of obvious worth

in the attempt to assure the salvation of the soul of the deceased.

The other dangers which assail the soul after death are external, as opposed to the 'internal' danger of sin. Very rarely do these prayers simply request that the soul should be spared damnation and never do they mention Purgatory: rather they envisage the soul threatened by a picturesque series of trials over which God has ultimate control. Such trials may involve the danger posed by the inhabitants of Hell or by Satan himself¹³⁰ or they may be representations or descriptions of Hell itself and the pains therein¹³¹ or they may take the form of the kind of physical obstacles encountered on an earthly journey (mists,¹³² whirlpools¹³³ etc), which presumably also symbolise the torments of Hell, or again they may involve the idea of God casting out or rejecting the soul utterly.¹³⁴ On one occasion the plea is that the soul should not be ruled by the shadow of death,¹³⁵ once more suggesting the threat of spiritual death, that is, damnation, and the absence of the Beatific Vision. Usually several such expressions are combined within one prayer, perhaps most notably in the prayer at the Offertory in the *Requiem*:

'...libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de manu inferni et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore leonis ne absorbeat eas tartarus ne cadant in obscura tenebrarum...'.¹³⁶ ('...deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the grasp of Hell and from the deep pit of the dead; deliver them from the lion's mouth so that Hell (Tartarus) may not swallow them up; and may they not fall into darkness'.¹³⁷

The iconographic representation of Hell as a lion's mouth or the mouth of a monster has been discussed in Chapter IV: this is one possible source for such an image. Rowell examines the development of the image of the lion as a danger to be overcome by the pilgrim Church,¹³⁸ referring to its biblical origin¹³⁹ and demonstrating that various

Jewish and Christian writings about Hell employ such a figure.

The varying descriptions of Hell - in this particular prayer as a deep pit, as the mouth of a lion open to devour the souls of the damned and as a place of darkness - and of the other dangers likely to afflict the soul should not be seen as contradictory but complementary and all ultimately referring to the danger of damnation. The many medieval texts of visions of Hell bear witness to the variety of topographical features, inhabitants and torments which it was widely envisaged as encompassing.¹⁴⁰

Often coupled with the request for protection against the powers of darkness is the request for angelic assistance; that the soul may be sustained by angels, ('...sed iubeas illam ab angelis sanctis suscipi...')¹⁴¹ or guided by them to the bosom of Abraham, that ancient symbol of the resting place of the blessed.¹⁴² Occasionally Michael the archangel is specified as the guardian of the soul.¹⁴³ This image of the dead guided to their resting place by angelic or mythical figures is found both in classical literature and in the Old Testament.¹⁴⁴ The *Apocalypse of St Paul* contains the figure of Michael the Archangel baptising sinners to enable them to enter heaven¹⁴⁵ and he also appears in a number of early prayers.¹⁴⁶ This verbal picture of the soul being threatened on the one hand by the forces of the devil whilst on the other hand the angelic powers are ready to guide it to safety is illustrated in the many representations of deathbed scenes, such as those which accompany the shorter form of the *Ars Moriendi* (the Blockbook illustrations) or those which occur in Add 37049, discussed in the previous chapter.

The actual destination of the soul, the desired state for it to achieve, is also described in very archaic terms (many of which are

nonetheless still in use in modern Catholic liturgy). The bosom of Abraham mentioned above is a popular image and on one occasion is even expanded so that the soul is described as residing with Isaac, God's elect and Jacob, His loved one.¹⁴⁷ The descriptions of the resting places of the soul are as varied as the kinds of dangers which may threaten them, but certain key terms recur: light, happiness, peace and rest. Many of these descriptions, though brief, are particularly beautiful evocations of the soul's bliss:

'...vt famuli tui vel famule tue N. que temporali per corpus visionis huius luminis caruit visu eterne illius lucis solatio potiatur...'; '...et lucis eis letitieque regionem in sanctorum tuorum societate concede...'; '...in pacis ac lucis regione constituas...'; '...vt digneris domine dare ei lucidum locum refrigerii et quietas... maneatque in mansionibus sanctorum et in luce sancta quam olim Abrahe promisisti et semini eius...'; '...vt ipse ei tribuere dignetur placitam et quietam mansionem...'.¹⁴⁸

The term 'mansio' is drawn from the passage in John (14:2) in which Jesus describes His Father's house as containing many mansions. Other prayers ask that the soul should experience a place of happiness rather than of sorrow¹⁴⁹ or focus upon the ancient idea of the sleep of death;¹⁵⁰ or even portray the soul clothed in the garments of immortality.¹⁵¹ On a few occasions the soul's destination is to reside with the blessed saints and elect¹⁵² or on one occasion with the angelic chorus,¹⁵³ but this expression is generally reserved to describe the final fate of the soul after the Day of Judgement, in the petition which regularly closes these prayers.

The final petition in this series then is that on the Day of Judgement, when Christ comes again, the deceased may be raised to the right hand of God, there to dwell with the saints and the elect, praising God for ever.¹⁵⁴ This, then, is the ultimate achievement for

the deceased: physical resurrection on the Last Day and permanent promotion to the ranks of the elect. This recalls the choice of readings for the *Requiem* mass, each of which talks of the physical resurrection of the body as the rightful inheritance of those who follow Christ.

There are a number of elements which occur in only a few of these prayers. Surprisingly, references to Christ's incarnation and sacrifice on the cross to redeem man appear only in the burial service, from the point where the grave is blessed onwards.¹⁵⁵ These prayers reflect upon Christ's victory over sin and death which gave life to the world and which ought to guarantee the salvation of the deceased. Elsewhere but not very frequently, Mary, the archangel Michael and all the saints are invoked as intercessors for the deceased.¹⁵⁶ The presence of Mary in this role is not surprising; her popularity as intercessor for those on the point of death has already been mentioned;¹⁵⁷ the presence of Michael is likewise unsurprising here.

The majority of the prayers in these three services combine these elements in the order indicated here or in a very similar way so that following the address to God, mercy is requested for the soul together with protection against the dangers which threaten it and angelic guidance to usher it to its place of rest. To conclude, the assurance of resurrection on the Last Day and a place among the elect is sought for the deceased. Some of these prayers combine these elements in a slightly different order, stressing one element above another, and shorter prayers tend to express each element of this series by one clause only and often conclude with the request for a place of rest for the soul, omitting the final request concerning the resurrection of the soul and often the petitions concerning sinfulness.

Both Rowell and Ariès provide evidence that many of the elements of these prayers are extremely ancient: Rowell's description of the prayers accompanying an eighth century burial rite lists all of the elements described above and the details he offers suggest that in fact many of the prayers he refers to are those still to be found in the Sarum rite, although perhaps in a modified form.¹⁵⁸ Ariès,¹⁵⁹ having considered the scriptural and apocryphal basis for the ideas he wishes to discuss, outlines an early conception of the fate of the soul after death. This sees the soul journeying to a place of rest, where it awaits, in the sleep of death, the second coming of Christ and the physical resurrection which results in its final translation to eternal bliss. Ariès stresses the existence of an intermediate state in which the soul rests between death and the first resurrection, this state being referred to in a number of ways:

*'refrigerium, sinus Abrahae, Jérusalem céleste, mansio, porcio ou pars (à la résurrection), paradisus, regnum, habitaculum. Un sel mot désigne l'état d'attente: requies, les morts étant des dormientes, des pausantes.'*¹⁶⁰

Many of these terms may of course be found in these prayers. Ariès goes on to argue, however, that this idea of a place of *refrigerium* ceased to be a part of orthodox doctrine during the twelfth century, and that with the development of the doctrine of purgatory which emphasised the necessity for the soul to be purged of any last remnant of the effect of sin, the possibility of immediately encountering God after death without any such process of cleansing became unacceptable.¹⁶¹ He contends that although popular thought may have retained the idea of *refrigerium*, the sleep of death, after the twelfth century, the liturgy followed scholastic teaching:

'La liturgie, à son tour, a éliminé les allusions trop précises et trop voyantes à l'idée d'une

attente, mais elle en a cependant conservé le vocabulaire, les mots de *requies*, de *dormitio*, de *refrigerium*... Seulement, ces mots étaient désormais appliqués à l'espace unique de transcendance, de la vision béatifique.¹⁶²

This would not however seem to be fully born out by the prayers in the *Sarum Manuale*. Here, the idea of the place of rest followed by the resurrection of the body on the Last Day may still be found, although not all these prayers trace precisely this scheme: the shorter prayers in particular, by omitting the final petition concerning the Last Judgement, seem to envisage the soul attaining bliss without this intermediate period of waiting. Interestingly enough, however, there is no attempt to introduce the concept of purgation in any of these prayers, although the forgiveness of sins is requested in both these kinds of prayer. Thus there is some acknowledgement of the need for man to be cleansed before any participation in eternal bliss, sin being the mark of man's corruption and the spiritual cause of death, despite the fact that such a cleansing does not here seem to involve any experience of purgatorial fire. The prayers in the Vigil, Requiem Mass and Burial service would seem then to offer several slightly differing views of the fate of the soul; it would appear that combined here are a core of old prayers, perhaps slightly modified, which still retain more 'archaic' ideas, surrounded by newer prayers which indicate however vaguely a gradual shift of ideas. That many of these prayers are old is born out by Rowell, as has already been indicated above, and Ariès also offers some evidence for this.¹⁶³ It would seem then that in the *Sarum Manuale* as it was used in England up to the sixteenth century, there was no great attempt to update those ideas which had been ousted in theological teaching, and to a certain extent in more popular writings.¹⁶⁴ There is no overwhelming concern with sinfulness here, no

terrifying portrayal of the Last Judgement (although of course the sequence 'Dies illa' is to be found in the Burial Service)¹⁶³ and no dwelling upon the pains of Purgatory. Rather these prayers, like the psalms and readings which they accompany, focus largely and with confidence upon the acquisition of divine and angelic assistance for the soul, drawing an essentially positive picture of the soul escaping danger and being conveyed to eternal bliss.

These three services together with the *Commendatio Animarum* are all concerned with imploring divine assistance to ensure the soul of the deceased achieves eternal bliss. They suggest that given faith and repentance on the part of the deceased, which ought to have been affirmed during the *Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmum*, God's aid will be forthcoming. The defeat of death through the physical resurrection of the body and the salvation of the soul, are made possible and guaranteed for the faithful by Christ's Incarnation, teachings, Passion and Resurrection, as the readings in the *Requiem* and a number of the prayers testify. Indeed, although the *Vigile* is more equivocal in tone, both the *Requiem* and the *Inhumatio* combine readings and prayers which are positive and comforting in their certainty that God will assist the soul in its return to its final home.

At first sight, this liturgical material may seem very far removed from Suso's *Scire Mori*. The liturgy is public, formal, a ritualised expression of the sacramental and pastoral nature of the Church and as such limited in its possible content: it is the realisation, essentially, of the Church's involvement in all those elements of life regarded as spiritually significant. The material examined here is of course specifically concerned with ritualising the moments preceding and

succeeding death: it is formulated to accompany a particular series of events. The *Scire Mori* chapter, on the other hand, whilst the product of a cleric and concerned with religious matters, is an imaginative work, meditative in intent and far more personal and immediate in tone. It is concerned with creating an emotional apprehension of mortality within the reader through the example of the Disciple and the Young Man in order to encourage repentance and conversion of life. Neither in form nor in function do these two texts coincide, yet there is undoubtedly a certain correspondance in ideas and some verbal parallels where Suso drew on liturgical material in his text.

It has already been noted that the passage in the *Scire Mori* chapter which describes the entry of a good man into Heaven is very similar in detail to the prayers concerned with the fate of the deceased's soul discussed earlier in this chapter. Other notable borrowings include the opening lines of the Young Man's first speech:

'Circumdede runt me gemitus mortis; dolores inferi
circumdede runt me'⁶⁶

This is the opening antiphon to the *Inhumatio Defuncti*⁶⁷ and is drawn from Psalm 17:4-5. Such a borrowing is highly appropriate and undoubtedly resonant in this context, as the Young Man prepares to face his own inevitable death, immediately providing a suitable context for his speeches.

Another antiphon in the burial service is alluded to by Suso in the following speech, in which the Disciple replies to the Young Man's opening lament. This is the antiphon accompanying the placing of the body in the grave, drawn from Psalm 41:4: 'Ingrediar in locum tabernaculi admirabilis vsque ad domum dei'. The Disciple says:

'An putas, quod tibi soli mors parcere deberet
et tabernaculum tuum fictile ingredi non

auderet?¹⁶⁸

This is translated in the Lichfield manuscript as 'Trowest þou þat deth schuld only spare þe, & be aferde to entre in feyned tabernacle?' (Li 16, 11.99-100) and in *To Kunne Deie* as 'Wheþir gessist þou þat deþþ shall spare þe aloon and durste not entre in to þine erþly tabernacle?' (*To Kunne*, 11.53-54). A knowledge of the liturgical origin of this phrase assists in comprehending this rather unexpected expression. The 'locum tabernaculi' of the antiphon clearly refers on one level at least to the grave into which the body is being placed: the Disciple then is also referring to the Young Man's fear of accepting his own final resting place. A similar phrase is used later in the text,¹⁶⁹ but on the second occasion, when the allusion is to Luke 16:9, the expression refers rather to Heaven, the spiritual resting place of the soul, than to the grave, the physical resting place of the body.

There is a further echo of the prayers from the services surrounding death and burial in the Young Man's description of the way he has been trapped by death:

'...insidiator factus est mihi sicut leo in abscondito, replevit et inebriavit me in amaritudine; deduxerunt in lacum mortis vitam me.'¹⁷⁰

'...a spier is maad to me, as a lioun in hid place; he haþ fillid me and maad me drunken wiþ bitternesse; he haþ brouzt mi soule in to þe lake of deþþ' *To Kunne* 11.274-276

This recalls the terminology of the Offertory prayer in the *Requiem*, which also mentions the pit of death and the lion's mouth.¹⁷¹ Künzle refers to a Dominican Breviary as a source for this passage.¹⁷² He also suggests other liturgical borrowings in his notes, and it is clear that Suso's undoubted familiarity with the liturgy surrounding death influenced his work on a verbal level. The appropriateness of such

references is obvious; their familiarity to Suso's audience would no doubt have added further resonance to the Young Man's words and further underlined the seriousness of his message.

These verbal parallels are reflected on a conceptual level in the liturgy and the *Scire Mori* chapter. The concern with sinfulness is evident in both, and both make clear the vital nature of repentance in the acquisition of eternal life. *Scire Mori* of course is concerned to provoke conversion of life, and so stresses further the necessity of living well; this is a less prevalent theme in the liturgy where conversion has no relevance for the dead. For the living, those attending the deathbed, vigil and burial, the stress upon sinfulness and penitence may have been capable of having the same effect as the Young Man's strictures to the Disciple, but such an intent is never actually articulated in these texts. In *Scire Mori*, the fate of the Young Man is to be sent to Purgatory, there to be cleansed of his sins. There is no mention of Purgatory within the liturgy surrounding death, but the sacraments of confession and Extreme Unction preceding death and the pleas for forgiveness for the deceased in the prayers succeeding it bear witness to a shared understanding of the need to be cleansed of sin before being united with God: sin as the spiritual cause of death must be removed before death may be overcome. In both it is clear forgiveness may be obtained from God through repentance during life and through the prayers of the living for the deceased: God is not solely Judge, He is also the dispenser of mercy.

The interdependence of physical and spiritual health in the *Ordo ad Visitandum Infirmum* is interestingly paralleled in the *Scire Mori* text. In the second of the Young Man's laments, he exclaims:

'Sic et ego natus continuo desini esse, et virtutis quidem signum nullum valui ostendere. In malignitate autem propria consumptus sum.'¹⁷³

'In þis same manere, anone as y was bore y beganne to faile, for y myȝt schewe no manere sygne of strengþe ne of vertu <on> me.' Li 16 ll.129-131¹⁷⁴

Here, the idea of physical and moral decline are combined: from the moment of birth the Young Man began to cease to be and this physical decline is clearly linked to a lack of goodness; he is consumed by his own wickedness. This demonstrates all the more clearly of course the need for forgiveness in order both physically and spiritually to overcome death.

There is one significant absence in both these texts in terms of the imagery and motifs which usually surround death: neither is concerned with the corruption of the body after death, or indeed with the dead body at all, except in the liturgy insofar as it must be buried. There is no interest in drawing moral conclusions from the distasteful corruption of what was once young and beautiful in either text. The expectation within the liturgy of the physical resurrection of the body renders such an attitude meaningless.

Both the liturgy and *Scire Mori* avoid the excesses attributed to texts concerned with death in the later Middle Ages; the liturgy because it has a tendency to be conservative in content, *Scire Mori* because it is concerned to bring about repentance through a spiritual understanding of mortality rather than with dwelling pointlessly upon the unpleasantness of death. The concern with sinfulness is common to both but both also share a confidence in God's mercy: indeed, both texts would be pointless without such trust.

Footnotes: Chapter V

1. Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, The Old Service-Books of the English Church (London, 1904), pp.1-15 discuss the development of the liturgy within England from its first Christianisation. They discuss the use of Sarum and other rites, suggesting the range of variety of rites. See also F. E. Brightman, The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer with an Introduction and Appendix, 2 volumes, (London, 1921), p.xv-xvi.
2. Wordsworth and Littlehales, (1904), pp.7-9; Brightman, (1921), p.xvii-xviii.
3. Wordsworth and Littlehales, (1904), pp.26-38 describe the books parishes were required to possess and indicate which they actually had; pp.69-255 discuss the various books in more detail.
4. Manuale ad vsum percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis, ed. A. Jefferies Collins, (Chichester, 1960); pp.97-162 contain the rites surrounding sickness and death.
5. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.xi lists which parts of text draw on Consuetudinary.
6. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.xiii.
7. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.xvi.
8. See Wordsworth and Littlehales, (1904), pp.26-35; pp.213-218; A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.viii-x.
9. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.97-162. The forms of the titles used are those to be found in this edition of the Sarum Manuale.
10. See Wordsworth and Littlehales, (1904), p.218.
11. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.97-107.
12. The editors of the Sarum Manuale discuss the division of the text into separate ceremonies in their footnotes.
13. W. Maskell Monumentia Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, or Occasional Offices of the Church of England according to the Ancient use of Salisbury The Prymer in English and other prayers and Forms with dissertations and notes (Vol.I, London, 1846), p.ccxiv; D. Rock The Church of Our Fathers, as seen in St Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury Volume II (London, 1849), p.454, FN 12: both of these refer to Ecgberht, Archbishop of York.
14. Maskell, (1846), p.ccxiv; referring to Archbishop Theodore, a seventh century archbishop of Canturbury.
15. Rock, (1849), Vol.II pp.458-460.
16. Rock, (1849), Vol.II draws upon number of Anglo-Saxon sources to illustrate his discussion of the Sarum rite. He cites, for example, 'the precious liturgical codex which once belonged to bishop Leofric' on p.298 and Aelfric and Ecgberht pp.454-455 (in the case of sick unction).
17. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.99-100.
18. C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his followers, (London, 1896), Vol.II pp.412-414.
19. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.100.
20. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.101.
21. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.101-102 (L12).
22. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.101, FN 15: the editors indicate these questions draw on Peckham's constitution Ignorancia Sacerdotum.
23. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.102.
24. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.103.
25. For instance, the rubric preceding the questions about the fourteen articles of faith indicates the importance of asking these questions before death: 'ante mortem dum adhuc spiritus vnitus est carni ad fixem

- solidem reducatur': A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.101.
26. Catholic theology now views it more as sick unction, useful for those suffering both physically and mentally: an interesting return to the early conception of this sacrament.
27. See H .B. Porter, 'The Origin of the Medieval Rite of Anointing the Sick or Dying', Journal of Theological Studies, N. S. 7 (1956), p.212, FN.5, where Innocent I and Bede are cited as early authorities for the anointing of the sick. Porter refers specifically to Innocent's eighth decretal (P.L.62, coll.240-1).
28. See Porter, (1956), p.224, who cites F. E. Warren, The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, (Oxford, 1881), pp.167-171 (Book of Dimma); pp.171-173 (Book of Mulling).
29. Porter, (1956), p.224. He refers to Bede, P.L. 92, Vol.III, (1862), col.188 and 93, Vol.IV, (1862), col.39.
30. Maskell, (1846), Vol.I, pp.ccxxiii-ccxli.
31. Porter, (1956), p.224.
32. As Porter argues in his article, (1956), pp.211-225.
33. See: St Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Vol.56: The Sacraments, (3a, 60-65), edited David Burke, (Blackfriars, 1975), pp.143, 157; Vol.60, Penance (3a, 84-90), edited R. Masterson and T. C. O'Brian, (Blackfriars, 1966), p.111.
34. See the Catholic Encyclopedia's entry on Anointing the Sick, New Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. I, p.571.
35. Quoted in Maskell, Vol.I, p.ccxxxiii.
36. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.107-110.
37. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.107.
38. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.107-108.
39. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.108.
40. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.108 and 109.
41. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.109-110.
42. Geoffrey Rowell, The Liturgy of Christian Burial, (London, 1977), pp.14-15.
43. G. Grabka, 'A Christian Viaticum: A Study of its Cultural Background', Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion, 9, (1953), pp.1-21 discussed pre-Christian beliefs - Egyptian, Greek and Roman - concerning the journey of the soul after death to its final place of habitation, and the development of this particular practice; see also Rowell, (1977), pp.14-16 for a discussion of the early history of the viaticum.
44. Grabka, (1953), p.22; he cites amongst others Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. See also Rowell, (1977), p.16.
45. Grabka, (1953), p.27.
46. Rowell, (1977), p.15.
47. Grabka, (1953), p.28.
48. St Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Vol.58: The Eucharistic Presence, (3a: 73-78) ed.and transl. W. Barden (Blackfriars, 1965), pp.16-17; Vol.59, Holy Communion, (3a:79-83), ed. and trans. Gilby (Blackfriars, 1975), p.9; see also Grabka, (1953), p.28, where he indicates early usage: 'It was used in general for spiritual provision for the two great journeys - that of life and that of death.'
49. Grabka, (1953), p.35.
50. Grabka, (1953), pp.30-36.
51. See above, p.215.
52. Rowell, (1977), p.18, who gives a little more detail on earlier forms.
53. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.110.

54. Maskell, (1846), pp.ccxxiv-ccxxix and others (Rock, (Vol II 1849) p.461) indicate that only the previously reserved Host was administered, and this is borne out here by the question which is asked of the dying person, 'Frater, credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari sub forma panis est verum corpus et sanguis domini iesu christi?' (A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.110).
55. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.111.
56. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.111 'sanitas anime et corporis restituatur'.
57. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.112.
58. L. Gougard 'Étude sur les "Ordines commendationis animae" in Ephemerides Liturgicae 49 (NS 9) (1935), pp.1-27. See also P. Ariès, The Hour of Our Death, translated by Helen Weaver, (Aylesbury, 1983) (from L'Homme devant la Mort, (Paris, 1977), p.17, where he discusses secular evidence of this prayer for example in the *Song of Roland*.
59. Gougard, (1935), pp.21-23.
60. Gougard, (1935), p.2.
61. Gougard, (1935), p.2, p.11.
60. See Rock, (1849), Vol. II, p.99 and Rowell (1977), pp.57, 58, 59 etc. on reading the Passion on deathbed. Gougard ((1935), p.16) discusses the choice of psalms to be sung at the point of death in sixteenth-eighteenth century rites. Here, he indicates one Irish rite which recommended the use of the *Song of Songs* as suitable for deathbed reading, because it signified 'l'union de l'église avec l'âme chretienne' (p.16).
63. Gougard, (1935), pp.1-18 discusses the various prayers etc he found in the different commendations. He provides a list of manuscripts which contain these, pp.5-10, discussing dates, sources etc.
64. Gougard, (1935), pp.19-21.
65. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.114-115.
66. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.15.
67. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.115-117.
68. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.117-118.
69. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.118.
70. Gougard, (1953): the litany, introduced by the creed and psalms, pp.11-12; 'Profiscere anima christiana', p.12; the invocations, pp.13-14.
71. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.116.
72. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.117.
73. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.116-117.
74. Horstmann, (1896), p.420.
75. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.118-132.
76. Gougard, (1935), p.19.
77. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.118-121.
78. Gougard, (1935), p.19.
79. Gougard, (1935), gives date as tenth century when discussing this manuscript on p.19, but as ninth century in list of manuscripts, p.6.
80. Rowell, (1977), pp.57-58: Gelasian Sacramentary.
81. Gougard, (1935), pp.19-20.
82. See above, p.221.
83. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.119.
84. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.119-120.
85. These themes will be discussed in more detail, when I examine the prayers in the *Vigile*, *Requiem* and *Inhumatio*, see pp.240-248 below.
86. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.155.
87. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.121-132.
88. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.132-142: the *Vigile Mortuorum*.

89. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.142-144.
90. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.144-152: *Missa pro Defunctis*.
91. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.152-162: *Inhumatio Defuncti*.
92. Rowell, (1977), pp.66-67 (Sarum Rite); p.60 (history).
93. Rowell, (1977), p.60.
94. Rowell, (1977), p.66.
95. Rowell, (1977), p.66.
96. Rowell, (1977), pp.66-67.
97. Rowell, (1977), pp.57-65 etc. His discussion of burial rites covers the whole process from the preparation for death to burial.
98. Rowell, (1977), p.64; pp.67-68.
99. Rowell, (1977), p.67.
100. See for instance the poem *Pety Iob*, edited by Horstmann (1896), pp.380-389, and contained in a number of the manuscripts discussed in Chapter IV; this has a clear tendency to interpret the text so as to suppress any hint of unorthodoxy.
101. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.147-150.
102. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.147.
103. See Ariès, (Aylesbury, 1983), pp.22-24 and 'Une ancienne conception de l'au-dela' in *Death in the Middle Ages* ed. H. Braet and W. Verbeke, (Leuven, 1982), pp.78-87.
104. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.149.
105. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.155.
106. Rowell, (1977), p.58.
107. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.155.
108. Rowell, (1977) summarises what is known of its history, p.61.
109. The antiphon 'In paradisum...' occurs during the *Commendatio Animarum*, A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.124 and during the *Inhumatio Defuncti*, A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.155.
110. This psalm is found in a number of older rites associated with death, being said immediately after the soul has left the body, that is, as part of a commendatory sequence, (Rowell, (1977), p.58), rather than as part of the burial service.
111. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.155-156.
112. This psalm was said during the procession from the church to the grave and at the conclusion of the burial service in the version of the *Inhumatio* which is found in a ninth century Gelasian sacramentary and in a very similar text which Rowell refers to as the 'Cologne Rite' (Rowell, (1977), pp.59-60). It also formed part of the rite found in the eleventh century Ordo XLIX described by Rowell, (1977), pp.57-59.
113. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.157.
114. This psalm is also found in earlier rites, as part of the funeral procession to the church (Rowell, (1977), p.58) or as one of the psalms said once the body has been placed in the grave (Rowell, (1977), p.60).
115. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.158.
116. This psalm is also used when the body is resting in the grave in the Cologne rite, Rowell, (1977), p.60.
117. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.158.
118. This psalm is not found in any of the earlier rites described by Rowell.
119. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.140 'Creator omnium rerum deus...'; see also p.155, p.156.
120. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.156.
121. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.135, 'Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere...'; see also pp.141, 145, 146 etc.
122. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.141, 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus...';

see also pp.145, 146, 155, 156.

123. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.135, 'Fidelis deus omnium conditor et redemptor...'; see also p.147.

124. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.157, 'Deus qui humanarum animarum eternus amator es...'

125. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.158.

126. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.150.

127. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.157.

128. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153, '...vt quicquid famulus...tuus...vitiorum tua voluntati contrarium fallente diabolo et propria iniquitate atque fragilitate contraxit, tu pius et misericors abluas indulgendo...'

129. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.154, '...vt factorum suorum in penis non recipiat vicem: qui vel que tuam in votis tenuit voluntatum: et quia hic illum vel illam vera fides iunxit fidelium turmis illic eum vel eam tua miseratio societ angelicis choris'; p.157 '...quem dum in corpore maneret tenuit fides...'; see also p.160 (end of prayer at top of page).

130. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.145 '...non tradas eam in manus inimici...' and elsewhere.

131. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.155 'Liceat ei transire portas inferorum et penas tenebrarum...'; p.158 '...locum penalem et gehenne ignem...'

132. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.156, '...nec tegat eum vel eam chaos et caligo tenebrarum'.

133. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.161, 'Libera et absolute eam a tetra voragine inferni...'

134. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.145, '...nec obliuiscaris in finem'.

135. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.156, '...dominentur vmbre mortis...'

136. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.150.

137. Based on the translation in the Roman Missal, p.1053.

138. Rowell (1977), p.16.

139. eg. 1 Peter 5:8; Isaiah 11:7, 35:9 as indicated by Rowell (1977), p.16 and footnote 64.

140. See for instance: Book Six of the *Pricke of Conscience*, edited by Richard Morris (Berlin, 1863), pp.74-108; 'The Eleven Pains of Hell' in An Old English Miscellany edited by Richard Morris, EETS OS 49, (London, 1872), pp.147-155; pp.210-222; St Patrick's Purgatory, two versions of Owain Miles and the Vision of William of Stranton, together with the long text of the Tractatus de purgatorio Sancti Patricii, edited by Robert Easting EETS OS 298 (1991); The Vision of Tundale edited by Robert Mearns, MET 18 (Heidelberg, 1985); The Vision of Fursey; The Visions of Leofric; The Vision of the Monk of Eynsham ed E Arber (London, 1869).

141. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.135; p.145 (same wording).

142. See for example A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153.

143. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.150.

144. Rowell, (1977), pp.16-17.

145. Rowell, (1977), p.17.

146. Rowell, (1977), p.17.

147. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153. This image is discussed in Chapter IV, FN 84.

148. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.158, p.141, pp.135 and 154; p.155, p.155 respectively.

149. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153 '...quo aufugit dolor et tristitia: atque suspirium: fidelium quoque anime felici iocunditate letantur...'

150. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.157 in a prayer referring to the grave, '...vt te iubente sit ei in hoc quieta dormitio...'. For discussions of this concept see above, p.236 and FN 103.
151. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.159.
152. See for example A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.154, '...et sanctorum tuorum iubeas esse consortem...'; see also p.157.
153. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.154, 'angelicis choris'.
154. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.145, '...vt cum dies agnitionis tue aduenerit inter sanctos et electos tuos eum vel eam resuscitari precipias...'; '...in nouissimo magni iudicii die inter sanctos et electos tuos eam facias perpetue glorie tue percipere portionem...'; see also pp.155 and 157 etc.
155. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.156, 160-161, 162.
156. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), pp.135, 146.
157. See also Chapter IV, pp.185-186.
158. See Rowell (1977), pp.61-62. The prayer 'Pie recordationis affectu...' which he lists amongst the 'Prayers after a man's death' (p.62) is one of the prayers which accompanies the transferral of the body from the church to the grave (A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.155); the mention of the bosoms of Abraham, Issac and Jacob suggests the prayer 'Deus cum omnia viuunt...' (A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153); other references are not sufficiently exact to locate particular prayers.
159. See Ariès, (1982), pp.78-87.
160. Ariès, (1982), p.81.
161. Ariès, (1982), p.84.
162. Ariès, (1982), p.84.
163. Ariès, (1982) in his analysis of the prayer 'Deus apud omnia morienta viuunt...' (p.83) which is clearly an older form of the prayer 'Deus cui omnia viuunt...' (A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153) to which Rowell also refers. This prayer is unfortunately not dated by Ariès, who merely refers to it as 'très ancienne' (p.83) and refers to D. Sicard's work: La Liturgie de la mort dans l'Église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne (Münster, 1978).
164. For example, in the *Pricke of Conscience*.
165. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.154.
166. Künzle, (1977), p.528, ll.9-10, translated in L1 16 as 'The weylyngys & sorwes of deth hauyþ compased me al aboute, & þe sorwes of helle hauyþ bisegyð me on euery side' (ll.64-66).
167. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.153.
168. Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.7-8.
169. Künzle, (1977), p.533, ll.23-24.
170. Künzle, (1977), p.536, ll.14-15.
171. A. Jefferies Collins, (1960), p.150. This is of course also discussed above, p.242.
172. Künzle, (1977), p.536, note to ll.14-15.
173. Künzle, (1977), p.530, ll.4-6.
174. See also *To Kunne Deie* ll.72-74.

Conclusion

There have been many commentators who have examined medieval attitudes to death, although perhaps none so famously and provocatively as Johan Huizinga,¹ whose characterisation of the medieval approach to death as a morbid and frequently macabre obsession with 'the perishable nature of all things'² has been a theme upon which many other critics have constructed their own variations, modifying his material and adding motifs of their own, but all essentially retaining in some form the key notes which give mood and structure to his argument.

Commentators who have been interested in exploring the medieval attitude towards death have approached the subject in a variety of different ways, examining in the process a wide selection of differing kinds of material. Several kinds of approach may be discerned. There are those who attempt to synthesise a coherent account of the changes in attitude towards death from the early Middle Ages onwards from a vast range of evidence - literary, historical, artistic, folkloric and statistical - covering many centuries; there are those who concentrate on a more restricted time-span, dealing with a narrower range of evidence and attempting to construct a view of attitudes towards death in the Middle Ages which is representative rather than exhaustive and there are those who, in the course of examining a particular specialised area, consider the way in which death and mortality are treated within their area.

The two French historians Philippe Ariès and Michel Vovelle are the primary exponents of the first of these approaches. Ariès's main work, L'Homme devant la Mort,³ appeared before Vovelle's, La Mort et

L'Occident de 1300 à nos Jours,⁴ so that the latter is in many ways a response to Ariès's argument, drawing however on a wider range of material and adopting a more rigorous critical approach to the literary evidence at least.⁵ Both Ariès and Vovelle trace a development in the attitude towards death from the end of the first millenium (or a little later in Vovelle's case) to the present day, and both in the period in question (the Middle Ages) seek to distinguish differing attitudes in differing sections of society. Both are concerned with the extent to which the 'official' views of the Church in this period influenced the 'popular' vision of death. By employing a huge variety of different evidence - all kinds of written texts, including material as diverse as wills, saint's legends, romance and the liturgy, medieval art and architecture, demographic information, the etymology of particular words, folklore, church history and so on - both Ariès and Vovelle attempt to construct a comprehensive, indeed exhaustive, picture of the medieval attitude, or more accurately attitudes, to death.

In L'Homme devant La Mort, Ariès postulates a concept of death at the beginning of the Middle Ages as natural, familiar, anticipated in advance and experienced in society with the full support of one's social group. This way of dying was intensely ritualised and even during the first millenium of Christianity did not, according to Ariès, involve the Church to any great extent. This model he calls 'tame death' and contrasted with this was a deep fear of sudden and unexpected death, which continued throughout the Middle Ages. In this earlier period ideas about the nature of the Afterlife were in a state of flux and the doctrine of Purgatory had not yet been fully formulated or begun to permeate the popular consciousness.⁶ Ariès suggests that there was a

widespread belief in the 'sleep of death': of the righteous Dead resting in peace until the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of their earthly bodies. The actual corpse itself aroused no particular fear and there was no attempt to indicate the burial places of individuals except in the case of exceptional members of society such as bishops, martyrs and so on.

In the second section of his work ('The Death of the Self') Ariès suggests that in the later Middle Ages ideas about death became focused more on the individual and the concept of judgement. Not only was sudden death feared but death itself, now beginning (during the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries) to be portrayed in the visual arts. With the development of the macabre - a concentration on the corruption of the flesh after death and on bizarre encounters with Death personified as a skeleton or a decaying or mummified corpse - and with the multiplication of images of the torment of the damned, was associated a reluctance to accept the final decree of death, derived from a developing love of life and attachment to material things. At the same time, Arts of Dying (*Ars Moriendi*) taught the Dying Man how to prepare himself properly for death and there is ample evidence from tombs and wills that Prayers and Masses for the Dead were demanded by testators for the good of their souls. There was an increasing preoccupation amongst the upper echelons of society with commemorating themselves after their deaths - not least in order to ensure that their requests for prayers were carried out. Tomb sculpture became more complex and at the same ^{time} there was a growing reluctance to display the corpse during the funeral. Religious ceremonies surrounding death increased in complexity as well - at least

for the rich - displaying a need to demonstrate charity and to ensure intercession for the sake of one's soul. The emphasis was increasingly on the individual and on the need to make adequate provision during one's lifetime for the safety of one's soul. The situation that Ariès outlines in this section is far more complex than his idea of 'tamed death' - it involves evidence ranging from the kind of figures carved as tombstones and the choice of burial place to the etymology of particular words - but its main thrust is towards the emergence of the individual continually confronted with his/her own mortality (precisely what the *Scire Mori* chapter portrays) and reacting to it in an increasingly negative way.

Vovelle's La Mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos Jours stands as the major work in opposition to Ariès's L'Homme devant la Mort. Unlike Ariès, Vovelle is concerned with examining the theoretical questions raised by the process of writing such a history and devotes his introduction to this process. He thus attempts to establish a theoretical strategy for the construction of a comprehensive view of Western European society's attitude towards death, a strategy which takes note of the problems associated with particular kinds of evidence and the difficulty of recording the history of the views of the 'silent', illiterate masses. His recognition of the danger of constructing a supposedly representative view of death solely from the evidence left by the aristocracy and the clergy - those who could write and those who had the wealth to ensure their commemoration after death - which is what, essentially, Ariès does, is timely, but although he recognises the need to look for traces of the popular voice, he does not examine what might be meant by popular culture in the Middle Ages or later, or

how such a popular culture might inter-relate with 'higher' culture. He stresses the need to include as many different kinds of evidence as possible into such a survey, including demographic and folkloric evidence, which Ariès does not use, but does not indicate sufficiently strongly any possible drawbacks of such material. He avows that the study of attitudes towards death is essential and not an isolated and abstruse pursuit. Rather it is a process which sheds light upon the state and the views of the society with which it is concerned, it illuminates a society's preoccupations, essentially, its investment in happiness. In fact he employs a formula of Marx's in order to suggest how he wishes to justify his examination of death:

'Simplement, l'image de la mort, à un moment donné, me semble bien rentrer dans le cadre de cette définition que donne Marx du mode de production comme 'éclairage general, éther particulier que détermine le poids spécifique de toutes les formes d'existence qui ressortent de lui.'

Turning to Vovelle's consideration of the Middle Ages, it comes as no surprise to find him taking a radically different stance from Philippe Ariès. He starts by constructing two models of death in existence in 1300 which are the basis for his discussion of the change in attitudes towards death during the course of the Middle Ages. The first of these models is constructed largely from folkloric and associated evidence and is concerned with the uneducated strata of society. It traces a series of practices and beliefs associated with death and the dead, focus ing largely on the belief that the dead remained in the community from which they came after their death for a particular period of time and had to be appeased and honoured during that time. The main drawback of this section is acknowledged by

Vovelle but this nonetheless does not appear to have any effect on his conclusions: whilst he indicates his awareness of the largely a-historical nature of folkloric evidence he still constructs an image from it which he relates specifically to the Middle Ages. He then outlines what he perceives to be the clerical approach to death, with its emphasis on Heaven and Hell and its own particular rituals surrounding the moment of death and burial. The clerical model of death does not offer much evidence that is new but Vovelle suggests that Ariès is perhaps weighting his evidence wrongly when he draws a picture of the predominance of the idea of the sleep of death; it is rather that this idea exists concurrently with the more 'orthodox' ideas of Heaven and Hell, whilst the concept of Purgatory had not gained much popular currency at this point (1300). Vovelle suggests that in fact ideas about the afterlife at this stage were confused and unclear, especially when it came to the question of when the soul was judged: at the moment of death or on the Day of Judgement? He thus modifies Ariès' picture of tame death: he suggests that death was 'telle soit] accueillie paisiblement',* and whilst he accepts the Church had a well-developed series of rites which surrounded death, he suggests that they were not carried out as widely or with the thoroughness that one might perhaps expect. Vovelle's main argument appears to be that it is necessary to recognise that these two models of death - the christian and the folkloric - exist in 1300 but that neither dominated the other. It is unfortunate that this does not lead him into a discussion of the vital question of how these two models he postulates might have inter-related and interacted. He certainly makes the important point that even separating two such models is dangerous:

'... on ferait erreur en croyant les deux domaines séparés dans les consciences, comme dans les attitudes collectives...'

Nonetheless, these two separate models are constructed and positioned in such a way as to suggest that they existed separately and in opposition and the question of how they succeeded in existing in combination with each other is not addressed.

From these two basic models Vovelle turns to a detailed examination of the developments in attitudes towards death in the Middle Ages, these models being understood as the basis from which change progressed. He does not cover much new material in comparison to Ariès, although he once again does employ demographic and folkloric evidence: it is his approach that differs, his interpretation of what lies before him. He is essentially more cautious than Ariès in constructing a view of death for the whole of medieval western society from the evidence relating to a few. Whilst accepting the general outlines of the picture Ariès draws, he stresses the need to balance such a picture of the aristocracy/clergy responding with increasing fear towards death with a picture of how the rest of society reacted.

In his second section, 'Le Triomphe de la Mort', using the same kind of evidence as Ariès (written texts of all kinds, art work, etc), Vovelle outlines the concept of a society gradually becoming overwhelmed by ideas about death; about judgement, Heaven, Hell and Purgatory; about corruption and sin; about the need to make provision for the fate of one's soul after death. In addition, he stresses the 'clericalisation' of death: the gradually increasing range and complexity of religious rites surrounding death and the memorials of the dead. In this area the development of the doctrine of Purgatory played an

important part in that it enabled the possibility of prayers for the dead to be considered efficacious. It is therefore curious that Vovelle also asserts that ideas about Purgatory did not permeate popular consciousness during the Middle Ages. In this context of the triumph of death, Vovelle sees the macabre (images of corruption, the dance of death etc) as the pushing to the utmost limits of the tendency within society to dwell upon mortality and death, rather than as an isolated and inexplicable phenomenon.

These two commentators, although disagreeing in the detail and to a large extent substance of their arguments nonetheless both agree that the Middle Ages were characterised by a shift in attitude towards death, a shift which resulted in an increased preoccupation with certain ideas associated with death: the inevitable, inescapable and unpredictable nature of death; judgment and punishment of the self; the corruption of the body after death; the need to be prepared for death and its consequences and so on. The critics who may be placed in the second of the two categories suggested above in the main concur with this approach, although their arguments are more specialised.

In this category may be placed literary critics such as Rosemary Woolf¹⁰ and Douglas Gray,¹¹ both of whom consider the medieval treatment of death and related concerns in the course of discussing medieval lyric poetry, discussing such themes as worldly transience as exemplified by the *Ubi sunt* lament, *memento mori* texts, the use of fear, the theme of penitence, the corruption of the body and so on. Woolf's arguments have already been explored in the third chapter of this thesis: it is she who underlines the importance of examining the spiritual implications of the use to which the fear of death is put in

her material, and who draws attention to the penitential intent of these works. Philippa Tristram,¹² in the course of a more specific argument attempting to illustrate the prevalence of particular figures - of Life and Death - considers a similar selection of material to Woolf and Gray: *memento mori* poems and *Ubi sunt* laments, the Dance of Death, poems listing the signs of death, body and soul debates, the poem known as the *Three Living and the Three Dead* and also Hoccleve's translation of *Scire Mori*. Pêcheux¹³ likewise examines medieval poetry, in her case in an attempt to argue for the presence of positive aspects in the treatment of death, exemplified for her by the role the Virgin Mary came to play as intercessor at the point of death. Other critics have a more specialised interest: Clark¹⁴ examines the history of the *Dance of Death*; Siy¹⁵ the *Ars Moriendi* theme in drama. In a different field, Mâle, whose wide-ranging and scholarly examination of medieval religious art is contained in several volumes,¹⁶ focuses on the themes of death, judgement, Heaven and Hell as one section in his far larger argument which explores the relationship between the visual arts and written texts, demonstrating the way in which images of judgement and punishment gradually became more prevalent in the portrayal of the Second Coming of Christ. Both Boase¹⁷ and Tenenti¹⁸ also espouse the second of these approaches, being interested in both literary and iconographic evidence (and in Boase's case to a certain extent sociological/historical as well), although both are primarily interested in art: Tenenti, in tracing the development of the iconography of Death personified, Boase in the art surrounding death. Both also work within a European rather than English context, and both seek to demonstrate a development in attitude towards death during the Middle Ages, on a

somewhat smaller scale to Ariès and Vovelle. It is Tenenti who first postulates the idea of the gradually increasing love of life leading to an increasing reluctance to accept the inevitability of death also to be found in Ariès's work.

There are also a number of other critics who in in the course of more specialised discussions make useful contributions to this process: Panofsky,¹⁹ for instance, considers the history of tomb art and in the process examines Medieval tomb art, making some interesting comments on how such things reflect attitudes to dying, whilst Le Goff in tracing the development of the doctrine of Purgatory²⁰ makes an invaluable contribution to the understanding of the way in which sinfulness and judgement were perceived and the hereafter envisaged in the Middle Ages, an examination to which I have also already referred during the course of this thesis.

There are of course other critics who deal with this area: it is one in which interest has increased dramatically, as Ariès points out,²¹ over the past twenty or so years. One may mention French historians such as Pierre Chaunu, the many writers who have contributed to collections such as Dies Illa,²² Death in the Middle Ages²³ or Le Sentiment de la Mort au Moyen Age²⁴ which consider the nature of attitudes towards death in the Middle Ages, or those who examine the *Ars Moriendi* texts in detail, to whom I shall refer below. However, a full survey of all such material would clearly be out of place here: rather I now wish to turn to a discussion of how my examination of the three Middle English translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter accords with the conclusions reached by this body of material, if it does so at all. Let us reconsider then in the light of critical discussions of

death-related material in the Middle Ages the conclusions reached in the course of this thesis about the *Scire Mori* chapter in its three Middle English translations: its circulation and ownership; the way in which it was used in other Middle English literature; its function and content; the manuscript context in which the three translations appear and, finally, the liturgical background to the experience of death.

It has been established that the *Horologium Sapientiae* most probably entered England during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and that the translation, *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, was probably produced by around 1400. *To Kunne Deie*, which is extant in a fourteenth century manuscript (Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496) may pre-date the *Treatise* slightly, whilst the Lichfield translation, extant in a manuscript dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, probably post-dates both. Knowledge of the ownership and circulation of the *Horologium*, both in its complete form and in extract, of the *Treatise* and the various elements of it which circulated separately, and of the other two translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter is tantalisingly incomplete. It has been demonstrated that this material enjoyed a wider and more varied circulation than might be expected: in addition to the various different clerical and 'academic' owners of the *Horologium* from all areas of the country, including York, Oxford and Cambridge, Eton and so on, there is considerable, although not unexpected, evidence of Carthusian interest in both the Latin and the English texts and ownership extended to both male and female religious and layfolk, although female and lay male ownership would appear to be

restricted to the English texts. The way in which the *Horologium* was quoted or extracts of it used in other Latin treatises as well as in a variety of English works other than the three prose translations already mentioned suggests further that the work came to be incorporated into mainstream spiritual thought in England. It is particularly noticeable of course that as well as circulating separately in its own right in both Latin and English forms, the *Scire Mori* chapter is frequently extracted from the *Horologium* and incorporated in other Latin works, and it is also translated by Hoccleve and Fisher as an efficacious meditative spiritual exercise.

These details are interesting in the light of those critical works which postulate a change in attitudes towards death through the course of the Middle Ages and indeed beyond, the basic thesis behind Ariès's and Vovelle's work, demonstrating that a work produced in one country (Germany) in the fourteenth century circulated widely in the following century in another country, England, and indeed, right across Europe, with, in the case of the *Scire Mori* chapter, few significant changes in substance. This underlines the need to be aware of the way in which texts circulate when assessing the impact of the themes and ideas they convey. The popularity of this particular text in the fifteenth century suggests that any change in attitude (or attitudes) towards death during this period was rather an introduction of new motifs alongside old than a wholesale abandonment of the old in favour of the new. Such a conclusion does not invalidate the arguments of commentators such as Ariès, Vovelle, or Tenenti, but it does suggest that they should be regarded with some caution. Furthermore, the intermingling of the old with the new, the apocryphal with the scriptural²⁵ which occurs

even in the mainstream religious text that is Suso's *Horologium* when added to the complexities of the circulation of such a work suggest that any attempt to locate too precisely particular ideas to particular times or social groups is an exercise fraught with danger.

Lovatt's contention is that the *Scire Mori* chapter enjoyed the circulation it did because as an *Ars Moriendi* text it accorded well with the late Medieval taste for literature concerned with mortality and death. The examination of the *Scire Mori* chapter in Chapter III suggests that although Suso himself indicates he is concerned with teaching how to die, the preparation he advocates is very different from that described in the 'CP' version of the *Ars Moriendi* (the version translated as the *Craft of Dying*). Suso's chapter is concerned with using the perception of one's own mortality to become aware of the extent of one's sinfulness and to learn the need to repent and convert one's life before the inescapable but unpredictable Death prevents the conversion of life. It is essentially arguing the view that learning to die well actually consists of learning to live well: it is the balance of good deeds against bad, tempered by God's mercy in the case of sincere repentance or by His anger in the case of continued 'blindness', which determines the nature of every man's death. Thus the immediate moment of death which is treated in the *Craft of Dying* is relevant to Suso's argument only insofar as it enables him to demonstrate through the Young Man how badly a life of sin enables one to face the reality of death and divine judgement. Characterising this text as an *Ars Moriendi* work is potentially misleading then, if by that label one creates the expectation of a work which is primarily concerned with the moment of death. Yet this is a context in which a number of

critics have chosen to consider it, treating it as a forerunner of the *Ars Moriendi* texts proper.²⁶ Whilst it is undoubtedly true that there are a number of verbal parallels between the *Scire Mori* chapter and the *Ars Moriendi* text, which may even be borrowings from the former by the latter,²⁷ the two texts approach the problem of preparing for death quite differently, the one focusing upon life as the primary preparation for death, the other upon providing the living with a series of spiritual instructions for their last hours. Both texts however share an underlying common theme of the need to trust in God's mercy; both suggest the ideal Everyman to be a devout and repentant sinner; both attempt to reassure a fallible audience of the possibility of overcoming the terrors of death with God's help. These similarities fail to become apparent when the *Scire Mori* chapter is merely footnoted (literally, in the case of O'Connor)²⁸ as an early, insignificant and not very influential forerunner of a far more interesting work, and the character of the chapter is likewise obscured by this treatment. The theme of repentance and conversion of life that informs this text, because itself a reflection of a concern at least as widespread in the church as the related concern with mortality, must have been as important in securing the acceptance of the *Scire Mori* chapter into English spirituality as its use of the figure of the dying Young Man which leads to its characterisation as an *Ars Moriendi* text.

The significance of the theme of repentance in texts also concerned with mortality and death is considered primarily by critics interested in particular genres rather than by those critics who focus on the theme of death itself. Woolf and Gray, both writing on lyric poetry, and critics concerned with the morality play *Everyman* and other

dramatic pieces with the twin themes of repentance and the threat of death²⁹ all consider this theme. Gray³⁰ argues that Huizinga's contention that the Medieval vision and treatment of death was limited, having 'hardly assimilated more than one of the great complex of ideas relating to death, namely the perishable nature of all things',³¹ that it was incapable of expressing the 'emotions of consolation or tenderness'³² is valid in the case of poems about mortality and death which are ascetic and penitential in nature:

'The thought of death is an excellent penitential weapon - to adapt Dr Johnson's remark, it 'concentrates the mind wonderfully'; there is therefore no room in most of these poems for complexity of emotions or compassionate understanding - they are interested in absolutes, and attempt to achieve a general and universal message.'³³

Suso's text also is concerned with attempting to convey a 'general and universal message' - the need for repentance in the face of an awareness of man's frailty and mortality - and as such the initially uncomprehending and ultimately fearful rather than compassionate response of the Disciple to the Young Man is in keeping with Gray's analysis of the nature of penitential literature. However, Woolf's examination of the role of fear³⁴ in provoking repentance and conversion of life suggests the most important outcome of the call to penitence and change: it necessarily requires a focussing back towards life away from the moment of death. What is at issue with a text such as this is not the extent to which it demonstrates compassion towards the dying but the extent to which it guides the living. As Woolf goes on to argue, fear of death may initiate this move towards repentance and conversion - it is certainly one of the devices Suso employs - but

it should not be the underlying incentive behind a continued attempt to live well. In the *Scire Mori* chapter itself, the fear-stricken disciple is exhorted to turn to Christ his Saviour in the moments before death, trusting in his mercy to gain forgiveness for his sin. The chapters following *Scire Mori* in Suso's *Horologium* turn to the theme of living well, focusing upon aspects of worship - prayer and praise, a continual awareness of God and a devotion to the Sacrament of the Eucharist - which are clearly concerned with fostering a devout love of and yearning towards a loving God, rather than with enforcing a feeling of dread and fear of a God who as righteous judge should be obeyed in all. It is particularly noticeable that the manuscript context in which the three Middle English prose translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter appear in many cases reflects not only this element of repentance and conversion, but also directs the reader towards the nature of holy living. Mortality was, in spiritual terms, perceived as being contiguous with repentance and conversion, but repentance and conversion are the concern of the living as much as the dying. In many cases, these manuscripts, to employ a popular medieval image for this process, use death as a mirror by which to reflect the realities of life more clearly. Thus the danger of presenting a distorted picture of the vision of death in the Middle Ages by considering texts concerned with death in isolation without examining the context in which they appear is underlined by the analysis of the manuscript context of the *Scire Mori* chapter which is undertaken in Chapter IV. Such an examination demonstrates that material about death is often balanced by, indeed leads into, material concerned with the complexities of a good spiritual life: the need for an understanding of the doctrines which underlie

faith, especially an understanding of what constitutes sinfulness, the need for repentance and conversion and the need to learn to love God. The contemplation of mortality becomes in this light both an incentive towards living well, and a natural and necessary part of the ordinary spiritual life: it is through the fear of one's mortality that one may be prompted to turn to God at times when sinfulness overwhelms all other considerations, as Saint Anselm's Meditation demonstrates; it is through an understanding of one's mortality that one may come to an evaluation of life based upon a truer perspective of the worth of things, as the extract from the *Tour of alle toures* argues.

The examination of the liturgy surrounding death provides both a contrast to this kind of literature and a further scale against which to measure it. The liturgical rites surrounding death demonstrate that even at the moment of death, sinfulness and repentance may be channelled through the Sacraments of Confession and Extreme Unction, and that after death the prayers of the faithful continue to accompany and provide help for the soul of the dead person. Furthermore they provide both admonishment and encouragement for the living, as Suso's text does, reminding their audience by their very nature of the frailty of life and of man's sinfulness but also of God's mercy, His Son's sacrifice for them, the power of the prayer of the Church (both living and dead) and the hope of ultimate salvation.

This examination of Suso's *Scire Mori* chapter in its three Middle English translations suggests that the vision of death and mortality within the section of society to whom works such as this was accessible was largely far more temperate and orthodox than that suggested by many critics concerned by this issue. The contemplation

of death is not here an obsession with physical corruption or with the loss of earthly comforts - nothing could be more alien to an ascetic like Suso - it is a concern with the true value in Christian terms of both life and death, it is an acknowledgement of man's frailty and of God's mercy and essential to its message is a belief in a God who is merciful as well as just, who as well as punishment for the irredeemably wicked holds out hope and salvation for the repentant sinner.

Footnotes: Conclusion

1. Johan Huizinga The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924).
2. Huizinga, (1924), p.134.
3. Philippe Ariès, L'Homme devant la Mort (Paris, 1977) translated as The Hour of Our Death by Helen Weaver, (Aylesbury, 1983). References are to the translation.
4. Michel Vovelle, La Mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos Jours (Paris, 1983).
5. Ariès's other works about death include Western attitudes towards Death in the Middle Ages to the present translated by P. Ranum, (Baltimore, London, 1974) and Essais sur l'histoire de la Mort en Occident du Moyen Age à nos Jours (Paris, 1975); Vovelle's include Mourir Autrefois: Attitudes collectives devant la mort aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle (Paris, 1974).
6. See also Le Goff, (1984), pp.52-127, where he discusses the early development of the doctrine of Purgatory.
7. Vovelle, (1983), p.23.
8. Vovelle, (1983), p.67.
9. Vovelle, (1983), p.57 'Les deux domaines: La mort préchrétienne et la mort chrétienne'.
10. Rosemary Woolf The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968).
11. Douglas Gray, Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric (London, 1972).
12. Philippa Tristram Figures of Life and Death in Middle English Poetry (London, 1976).
13. Sr Mary Pêcheux Aspects of the Treatment of Death in Middle English Poetry (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, the Catholic University of America Press, Washington DC 1951).
14. J M Clark The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Glasgow, 1950).
15. Dennis Siy Death, Medieval Moralities and the 'Ars Moriendi' tradition unpub. PhD diss. University of Notre Dame, Indiana 1985.
16. Emile Mâle, L'Art Religieux du 12^e Siècle en France 2nd edition (Paris, 1924); L'Art Religieux du 13^e Siècle en France (Paris, 1919) (Translated by D. Nussey from the third edition as Religious Art in France: the Twelfth Century (1978); Religious Art in France in the thirteenth century: a study in the medieval iconography and its sources of inspiration (London, 1919); L'Art Religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France (Paris, 1908).
17. T. S. R. Boase Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance (London, 1972).
18. A. Tenenti 'La Vie et la Mort à travers l'Art du XV^e Siècle' Cahiers des Annales 8 (1952-1953), pp.9-97.
19. E. Panofsky Tomb Sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini ed H W Janson (London, 1964).
20. J. Le Goff The Birth of Purgatory translated by Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1984).
21. See for instance Ariès, (1983), p.xii.
22. Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages ed. by Jane Taylor (Liverpool, Cairns, 1984).
23. H. Braet and W. Verbeke, Death in the Middle Ages (Leuven, 1983).
24. Le Sentiment de la Mort au Moyen Age ed. C. Sutto (Montreal, 1979).
25. See the discussion of Purgatory in Chapter III.
26. See Rainer Rudolf, Ars Moriendi: Von der Kunst des Heilsamen Leben

und Sterbens (Böhlau, Verlag, Köln, Graz, 1957); M. C. O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi (New York 1942, rep. 1966); N. L. Beatty, The Craft of Dying: A Study in the literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England (New Haven and London, 1970); and D. Siy Death, Medieval Mortalities and the Ars Moriendi tradition (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1985).

27. See Chapter IV FN 35 above.

28. O'Connor, (1942), p.18 FN.

29. See for instance E. Prosser Drama and Religion in the English Mystery Plays (Stanford, 1961), pp.19-42 and R. Potter The English Morality Play (London and Boston, 1975), pp.16-19 (forgiveness of sins in Middle Ages) and pp.30-57 (medieval morality plays).

30. Gray, (1972), p.182.

31. Huizinga, (1924), p.134.

32. Huizinga, (1924), p.145.

33. Gray, (1972), p.182.

34. See Chapter III, pp.103-106 above.