

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

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1993

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Sections 10 to 20**

**Sections 1 to 9
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 Standring 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.1.11	CUL Hh.1.11
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	L1 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.

Editorial Procedure and Presentation of Text.

I have here edited the two previously unedited translations of the *Scire Mori* chapter of Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*. The first and longer of the two is that found only in Lichfield Cathedral Ms 16 (Li 16); the second is the version known as *To Kunne Deia*, found in Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496 (GH496) and Oxford, Bodleian Library 789 (Bod 789). The differing editorial problems posed by these two texts are discussed below, together with the conventions of presentation employed for both texts.

The major problem posed by the text in Lichfield Cathedral 16 is that it has been 'corrected' by several hands from its original form. This edition aims to reconstruct the version of the text written by the original scribe, emended minimally, that is, to eliminate gross scribal errors. There are a number of corrections written by the scribe himself or by a contemporary hand. These corrections occur in the body of the text and consist of over-writing over erasure, so that it is not possible to determine the kind of errors they are emending. There are a small number of corrections by the original scribe made in the margin of the text: these always emend the omission of words from the body of the text. Both these types of correction have almost invariably been adopted; where hand 2 appears to have emended hand 1 on the basis of dialect, the original reading has been restored. Those corrections deemed to have been made by the contemporary corrector are indicated in the text by < >, and, where appropriate, discussed in the notes. Corrections made in later hands are treated as having no greater status than a modern editor's conjectures; they are listed in Appendix A.

Those erasures the originals of which may not be read have been subjected to an examination under ultra-violet light, and where this has revealed the original reading this is indicated in the text by italicisation. Where the original reading is irrecoverable, it has been supplied by conjecture and by comparison with the Latin text; such readings are placed in square brackets and discussed in the notes. Other emendations correcting gross scribal error are similarly placed in square brackets and discussed in the notes. Contractions have been expanded and such expansions have been underlined. Modern punctuation and capitalisation have been introduced and rubricated portions of the text are in bold type.

There are four hands.

Hand One is that of the original scribe who writes this text and the Latin text of which this is a translation.

Hand Two is that of the contemporary corrector. Corrections made in this hand may often be identified by crosses made in the margin. This hand is very similar to that of hand one, and may conceivably be the same scribe at a later date.

Hand Three appears to modernise the forms of words, extensively but not systematically. 'Silf' is frequently but not invariably altered to 'self', 'weylyngs' (in its various forms) is altered to 'waylyngs' and 'ȝ' is altered to 'y' in such words as 'ȝowthe' and 'ȝerys'. One may attribute the majority of erasures to this hand, since they too can be considered to conform to this pattern. An examination of the list of alterations under hand 3 in Appendix A will show the extent and kind of these alterations but typical erasures are the loss of the '-th' or '-þ' verb-endings and the loss of the 'u' in 'huyre' and 'fuyre'. The major evidence to suggest that this is a later hand rather than a

contemporary hand of different dialect is that provided by the verb 'dasewen', which is altered both times it appears to 'dasell-'. The verb 'dasellen' is not recorded in the MED and the OED gives the earliest recorded use as 1481. As this manuscript is dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it would seem that this alteration is made by a scribe unfamiliar with the earlier form of the verb. There is no evidence that suggests that 'dasellen' exists as a dialect variation of 'dasewen' in the early fifteenth century.

Hand Four is easily identified, since it contains many secretary forms. It rarely writes alterations in the body of the text (one or two are added above words), and tends to gloss words, either by writing the form of the word with which it is familiar or by providing a synonym. 'Eniwnyd' - enjoined - is for instance glossed by 'minded', which in the context is a reasonably close approximation to this word.

It is difficult to know who was responsible for the erasures. The decision which has been made to attribute the majority of the erasures to Hand Three is based mainly on the kind of erasure which takes place but also by taking into consideration the typical practices of the other hands: Hand One mostly uses expunction; Hand Two uses erasure which is then overwritten; Hand Four is confined to glossing so is not likely to be responsible for erasures.

The translation *To Kunne Deie* is from an altered form of the *Scire Mori* chapter, similar to that found in Oxford, Merton College 204, possibly the version in Indiana University Poole Ms 126. As there are two manuscripts of this translation extant, Glasgow University Library 496 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 789, it is necessary to decide which of these to use as copy text. A comparison of the two texts

against each other and against the Latin of Künzle's edition (given the absence of any absolutely certain knowledge of the translator's exemplar) shows that Bod 789 is the better text (that is, it is closer to the Latin) despite the lack of approximately two folios of text (ll.15-57; omitted by the scribe) and therefore has been chosen as copy text despite the fact that it is of a later date than GH496. I have emended those readings where GH496 agrees with the Latin given by Künzle against Bod 789. On those occasions where the manuscripts differ but the Latin gives no adequate guidance to which might be correct I have retained the readings given in Bod 789. This process is rendered problematic by the fact that the exemplar used by the translator may have given rise to some of the disputed readings but until and unless the exemplar is identified, there seems no alternative but to adopt such a course. These emendations are indicated by square brackets and footnoted.

As in the edition of Lichfield 16, scribal alterations to the text (which are few) are indicated in the text by < > and in the footnotes; scribal marginal annotations are likewise listed in the footnotes. Editorial emendations of gross scribal error are indicated by square brackets and footnotes. As with Lichfield 16, abbreviations have been expanded and such expansions underlined, rubrication is indicated by bold type, and capitilisation and punctuation introduced.

There are three occasions where a later (probably post-Reformation) hand has erased words in the text or margin: the readings have been restored and are discussed in the footnotes.

Language: the *Scire Mori* translations in Lichfield 16 and Oxford

Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789

This discussion will focus primarily on the Lichfield translation. Doyle¹ indicates that both Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789 and Glasgow University Library Hunter 496 are most probably of metropolitan origin, that is, written in Chancery English and other work upon Bodleian 789 suggests a South-East Midlands provenance.² A critical edition of Bod 789 is currently being prepared by T. Hadyn Williams³ and will include a detailed examination of the language of this manuscript. There is however no previous work on the Lichfield translation of the *Scire Mori* chapter and it is to this therefore that we will now turn.

1. Orthography

- *sch-* for OE *sc-* (one example of *sh-*: short).
- unetymological *h-*: eg *y ham*; *his* (for *is*); *habundance*.
- *u* and *v* interchangeable initially; medially *-u-* for *-v-* common; medial *-v-* rare.
- *w* for *u* occurs frequently: eg. *valowre*, *pows*, *powndes* etc.
- *þ* and *th* both used, usually interchangeably; *þ* never used, always *Th-*.
- *i* and *y* interchangeable.
- *i* used for *j*.
- *ȝ* used extensively:
 - 1) initially and medially indicates /j/: eg. *ȝowthe*, *aȝen*, *ȝife*, *deȝȝyng*.

ii) medially with vowel or diphthong indicates length: eg.

deuouȝtly, fruȝte, spiryȝt etc.

iii) indicates /x/: eg. *myȝt, ryȝt*.

iv) *uyȝous*⁴ for *vicious* seems to indicate that the sound /ʃ/ may also be represented by ȝ. This would also imply that the initial sound in the extremely localised spelling *ȝeo* for *she* may indeed be pronounced /ʃ/, rather than /j/. LALME indicates clearly that in the South West Midlands area there is a wide variety of forms for *she*.⁵ Gloucestershire alone contains the following: *she, heo, sche, hoe, he, ȝe, ȝo, ȝoe, ȝeo, hy, hue, scheo, ȝheo* etc. In the light of such variety in this and the surrounding counties, presumably created by a mingling of the more Northern *sch-* forms and the more Southern *h-* forms in this area, one could argue for a number of pronunciations for *ȝeo*. The forms *scheo, ȝheo, ȝeo* could indeed be all pronounced with initial /ʃ/, and this would certainly correspond with the spelling of *vicious*.

2. Accidence

Nouns: all plurals in *-ys/-es* except *yȝen*. Genitive forms: *mannys* and *Goddys*.

Pronouns: typically Southern forms eg. *i/y* for first person singular; *ȝey/hem* for the third person plural (all cases except possessive); *ȝe, ȝowe* and *ȝoure* for second person plural, nom, acc/dat and possessive. The only unusual form is *ȝeo* (*she*): LALME indicates that this form occurs in Somerset, Devon and Gloucestershire.⁶

Adjectives: *-e* endings random and not significant.

Weak Verbs: Typically Southern endings:

Present	Singular	Plural
1	-e	-th
2	1st, -yst, -est, [-e]	-e, -th
3	-yth, -eth, -ith, -eþ	-eth, -eþ, -yth, -e

Past	Singular	Plural
1	-y, -id, -ed	-yd
2	-est	
3	-yd, -ed	-yd

Infinitives are in -e and also -y. Infinitives in -y include: *praysy* [OF *preiser*]; *profizty* [OF *profit*(1)er, *porfit*(1)er]; *croky* [OE **crōcian*, *crōcod*]; *straungely* [OF *estrangler*]; *veldy* [OE *fealdan*]; *dasewy* [related to 'dasen'; ON, cp OI *dasa-sk*, become weary or exhausted; *dasaþ-r*, exhausted or faint; OE **daswian*]. The English text of the XIV *Beatitudes* in this manuscript also has a number of infinitives in -i.

According to LALME this is a characteristic Southern treatment of verbs from Old French and of OE verbs in '-ian', as may be seen from the derivations indicated above.' *Feldy* and *dasewy* are presumably formed thus by analogy.

a- and *y-* prefixes are used with infinitives eg. *ysee*, *asee*. LALME lists this as typically Southern/South-Western form. For example, the *a-* prefix is located to Devon, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Somerset and Wiltshire.⁴

Further indications of a southern dialect are provided by:

i) present participles in *-ynge*.

ii) past participles in *-yd*, *-id*, *-ed*, also in *-e*. The *y-* prefix is common with past participles, but there are very few *-n(e)* endings.

3. Phonology

ā > *o*: *wā* > *wo/who*

nāne > *none*

Angl. *a* + *ld* > *o*: *eald* > *old*

healdan > *hold*

manigfealde > *manyfolde*

a/o + nasal: > *a* in *man*, *ansuere* [*ondsware*]

> *o* in *honde*, *-stonde*, *long(e, wombe*

ā (Gmc *ai*): > *e* in *dedys* [from *dād*]

before 'h' (palatal) *nēah* > *nyʒe*

hēah > *hyʒe*

and also *hīeran* > *huyre, hure*

eo > *e*: *heorte* > *herte*

eorþe > *eorthe, erthe* (prob. pronounced the same)

(smoothed before palatal): *weorc* > *werkys, worchyng*

workys

(before 'll' and 'l' + consonant) *feallen* > *'fall*

/o:x/ and *ō/x/* become *o(u)ʒ*: *brohte* > *brouʒte*

geþoht > *þo(u)ʒte*

sōhte > *sowʒt, besouʒt*

ȝ and ȝ > i and u: *synne* remains *synn(e)*

fȝr > *fuyre*

fyllan > *fulfill-*, *fulfull-*

4. Special Cases

There are a number of linguistic features which are particularly significant in locating this text.

i) ȝeo (*she*) discussed above. LALME indicates this form is found in Devon, Somerset and Gloucestershire.⁹

ii) OE þencen > þynge. LALME indicates this form is found in Worcestershire,¹⁰ although variants of this form (with 'th-', 'i' or without '-e') are widely found.¹¹

iii) OE hīeran > huyre. LALME indicates this form is found in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Sussex, Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Monmouthshire.¹²

iv) wolnoȝt. LALME indicates this form is found in Devon, Gloucestershire and Somerset.¹³

v) until (> ON und + til) not found. The following forms are found: in to (Somerset);¹⁴ in to tyme, in to tyme þat. The forms 'vnto-tyme-þat', 'in to þe tyme þat' and similar phrases involving 'tyme' are listed only for Gloucestershire.¹⁵

vi) OE dūne, ā-dūn(e > ModEng 'down'

don- LALME indicates this form is found in Gloucestershire.¹⁶

don LALME indicates this form is found in Gloucestershire,
Somerset and Surrey.¹⁷

vii) hafter LALME indicates this form is found in Essex, Somerset
and Staffordshire.¹⁸ It may be noted that there are a number of
occurrences of unetymological *h-* in this text (see LALME),¹⁹ including
'y ham' which LALME indicates is to be found in Devon, Essex and
Wiltshire.²⁰

viii) OE *weorc* > *worchyng*. LALME indicates this form is to be
found in Buckinghamshire, Devon, Herefordshire, Somerset and
Worcestershire and, with an *-e*, in Essex, Gloucestershire and Surrey.²¹

ix) OE *y* in *fyllan*: *fulfill-* LALME indicates this form is found in
Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hampshire, Middlesex, Suffolk, Sussex and
Worcestershire.²²

fulfull- LALME indicates this form is found in Berkshire,
Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Surrey and Sussex.²³

x) OE *ȝ* in *fȝr* > *fuyre*. LALME indicates this form is found in
Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Leicestershire,
Lincolnshire, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire,
Shropshire, Somerset, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, and West Riding
Yorkshire.²⁴

x1) OE þanon + adv > **thennys**. LALME indicates this is found in Devon, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Northamptonshire and Sussex.²⁵

xii) OE hwanon > **whannys**. LALME indicates this is found in Hampshire.²⁶

The initial vowel '-a-' is also recorded in LALME in the following forms: *wanne* Gloucestershire; *wannes* Devon, Kent and Worcestershire; *wannys* Devon; *whanne* Gloucestershire; *whannen* Gloucestershire and Wiltshire; *whannes* Berkshire, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Sussex; *whannes* Gloucestershire. These forms would suggest that this form is acceptable for the South-West Midlands area.²⁷

xiii) OE hwæþer > **whaþer**. LALME indicates this form is found in Devon, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire.²⁸

xiv) Features such as *ant* for *and* (LALME);²⁹ initial *v* for *f* and *wh* for *w* are all typical South-West features (LALME).³⁰

xv) þa for þat. LALME indicates this form is found in Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire.³¹

xvi) OE hwelc > **wech**(e). LALME differentiates, perhaps over-pedantically, between these two forms. **wech** is listed for the Isle of

Ely, Gloucestershire and Leicestershire; *weche* is strongly Southern and the list includes Gloucestershire, Devon and Worcestershire.³²

xvii) OE *ælc* > *echone* LALME indicates this form is found in Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Soke of Peterborough, Suffolk and Warwickshire.³³

> *euerychone* LALME indicates this form is to be found in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Norfolk and Warwickshire.³⁴

xviii) OE *sippan*, *seoppan* > *sybbe*, *sippe*. LALME differentiates between *i* and *y*, again rather pedantically. In this text the two are used interchangeably: there are five occurrences of *sippe* and two of *sybbe*.

LALME indicates *sippe* is found in the following areas: Devon, the Isle of Ely, Essex, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Somerset, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

Sybbe is listed as occurring in Devon, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Surrey and Warwickshire.³⁵

Thus there is an overlap of the following: Devon, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Warwickshire - predominantly South-West Midlands and West Country counties.

xix) OE *hwil* > *wyles* LALME indicates this form is found in Devon, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Surrey, Sussex and East Riding Yorkshire.³⁶

> *wiles* LALME indicates this is found in Buckinghamshire,

Essex, Northamptonshire, West Riding Yorkshire, but without -s it is recorded for South-West Midlands and the West Country.³⁷

> **whiles** is common.³⁸

> **wilys** This is not recorded in LALME, but **wyls** is listed (LALME)³⁹ for Devon, Surrey, and East Riding Yorkshire.

> **whilys** LALME indicates this form is found in London, Sussex and Worcestershire.⁴⁰

xx) OE **woroldlic** > **worldely**, **wordly**. The LALME references for this form are scarce and perhaps not to be relied upon.⁴¹

xxi) OE **tōgædere** > **to gadere**. LALME indicates this form is found in Gloucestershire and Somerset.⁴²

> **to gyder**. LALME indicates this is mainly eastern, but the form with medial -i- is found in Warwickshire and Worcestershire.⁴³

> **to gederys**. LALME indicates this form is to be found in Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Surrey and Sussex.⁴⁴

It is interesting that this text has many instances of detached prefixes: both **a-** and **be-** prefixes are frequently thus written. In the introduction to LALME, the authors suggest that this indicates a lack of stress on the first syllable, which may possibly be a feature of this particular dialect.⁴⁵

xxii) The various forms of *yield*

a) **ȝeldyȝ**, **ȝeldyȝth**: LALME indicates these forms are to be found in Oxfordshire and Somerset and **ȝeldith** in Oxfordshire.⁴⁶

b) *ȝeld*: LALME indicates this is found in Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Somerset, Surrey and Sussex.⁴⁷ *ȝelde* is common.⁴⁸

This is another problematic entry in LALME since there is no indication of what parts of verbs are listed under this entry.

On the basis of most of the features of the text it would seem that the dialect should be located to the South-West Midlands/West Country. There are a large number of features specific to the area covered by Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Devon, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. The majority of forms listed here are found in Gloucestershire and it may be that the dialect of this text can be located to the Gloucestershire/Somerset border and that the scribe was familiar with forms from surrounding counties. Since the likelihood is that this translation was produced for this manuscript or at only one remove from it, there ought to be little sign of dialect contamination and this would seem to be the case.

Footnotes: Dialect

1. I. A. Doyle A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953), Vol.I p.219 says these two manuscripts were 'probably of metropolitan provenance and ecclesiastical ownership'.
2. See J. B. Jenks, A Critical Edition of Meditations on the Passion: Michigan State University Manuscript 1 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University), 1954, pp.xix-xl.
3. In a doctoral thesis at the University of Birmingham.
4. L1 16 1.270.
6. LALME iv, p.10.
7. LALME iv, p.8.
8. LALME iv, p.324.
9. LALME iv, p.325.
10. LALME iv, p.8.
11. LALME iv, p.89.
12. LALME iv, pp.192-193.
13. LALME iv, p.219.
14. LALME iv, p.273.
15. LALME iv, pp.273-274.
16. LALME iv, p.318.
17. LALME iv, p.318.
18. LALME iv, p.52.
19. LALME iv, p.320.
20. LALME iv, p.204.
21. LALME iv, pp.89-90.
22. LALME iv, p.169.
23. LALME iv, p.169.
24. LALME iv, p.170.
25. LALME iv, p.263.
26. LALME iv, p.279.
27. LALME iv, p.278.
28. LALME iv, p.280.
29. LALME iv, p.320.
30. LALME iv, p.322.
31. LALME iv, p.315.
32. LALME iv, p.20.
33. LALME iv, p.24.
34. LALME iv, p.24.
35. LALME iv, pp.69-73.
36. LALME iv, p.76.
37. LALME iv, p.76.
38. LALME iv, p.75.
39. LALME iv, p.76.
40. LALME iv, p.76.
41. LALME iv, pp.86-87.
42. LALME iv, p.268.
43. LALME iv, p.270.
44. LALME iv, p.268.
45. LALME iv, p.xiii.
46. LALME iv, p.298.
47. LALME iv, p.298.
48. LALME iv, p.298.

Manuscript Origin

Little is known of the origins and early ownership of either Lichfield Cathedral 16 or Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789. There are no inscriptions indicative of original ownership in either of these manuscripts, and it is therefore necessary to turn to other qualities of the manuscripts and to various external sources of information to attempt to discover where these mss were produced and for whom. In the case of Bod 789 little will be said here. As I have indicated elsewhere, Doyle suggests this manuscript was 'probably of metropolitan provenance and ecclesiastical ownership'.¹ It would seem unlikely that any more specific deductions may be made concerning the origin of this manuscript and I refer the reader to the critical edition of Bod 789 currently being prepared by T. Hadyn Williams.² In the case of Li 16, there are three areas of enquiry which have the potential to shed some light upon the origins of this manuscript: the dialects of the various Middle English texts, the earliest known details of its ownership and an examination of extant medieval library records. In the event, whilst these enable some parameters to be established for the likely location of this manuscript, it has not been possible to draw any definite conclusions concerning the origin of Li 16.

The language of all three Middle English texts in Li 16 (the *Scire Mori* translation, the *Pricke of Conscience* and Chapter V of the *Dicta Anselmi*) has strong south-western characteristics, each text of course being written by a different scribe. I have suggested that the dialect of the *Scire Mori* translation would appear to be South Gloucestershire/ North Somerset.³ The *Pricke of Conscience* is written by two scribal hands and Lewis and McIntosh indicate that the first hand (which writes

ff35-82v and 92v-189v) is in 'a strong southwestern dialect, probably Somerset, South Gloucestershire or Wiltshire'⁴ and the second (which writes ff83-91v) demonstrates 'additionally a strong East Anglian dialect'.⁵ The chapter from *Dicta Anselmi* is apparently in a Gloucestershire/Herefordshire dialect. Together this evidence would suggest that a South-Western location, possibly within the Herefordshire/Gloucestershire/Somerset area, would seem most viable for this manuscript.

The earliest known owners of Lichfield 16 are the Seymour family. The manuscript was bequeathed to Lichfield Cathedral by Frances, widow of William Seymour, in 1673. I have not been able to trace any record of how it came into the possession of the Seymours, although one may speculate whether the extensive involvement of Edward Seymour, first duke of Somerset, in the dissolution of the monasteries may have provided an opportunity for the acquisition of such a manuscript. Edward Seymour acquired many monastic lands in Somerset and Gloucestershire, including Hinton and Glastonbury, as well as a large number of less well-known foundations.⁶

Although extant information related to the content of medieval monastic libraries in Gloucestershire and Somerset has been printed,⁷ it is again of little assistance in locating this manuscript any more precisely. Evidence in this area is somewhat piecemeal, and in cases where extensive records are available (as for instance, for Glastonbury),⁸ manuscripts containing English texts are rarely cited in any detail. There is no clear reference to this manuscript to be found in any such records although an examination of these records for foundations which may have possessed copies of the texts in Lichfield 16 has yielded slightly more information. Witham in Somerset, the first

Carthusian monastery in England, owned two manuscripts containing material related to Suso: Lambeth Palace, Lambeth 436, containing the full *Horologium* and British Library Sloane 2515, containing the *Scire Mori* chapter, both of which were donated to Withan by John Blacman. They are therefore too late to have provided exemplars for Li 16, being dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. Hinton, the other Somerset charterhouse, also owned a manuscript which contains extracts from the *Horologium*, Cambridge, St John's College 125,⁹ which may repay closer examination in relation to Li 16. Glastonbury Abbey owned a copy of the *Scire Mori* chapter (Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 497).¹⁰ The Latin text of *Scire Mori* in this manuscript has some textual similarities with that in Lichfield 16 but I have been unable to make a close enough comparison of the two manuscripts to draw any definite conclusions about any possible relationship between them.

Llantony Priory (Llantonia secunda),¹¹ a house of Austin friars near Gloucester, was said by T. W. Williams to have owned a manuscript of the *Pricke of Conscience*,¹² Oxford, Trinity College 16a (D.16). However, Lewis and McIntosh suggest that the dialect for this particular manuscript is South Shropshire which would seem to refute this attribution and thus render any relationship with Li 16 problematic.¹³

Early manuscripts of Anselm's works have been connected with the first Llantony in Monmouthshire, with Hereford Cathedral and with Gloucester Abbey,¹⁴ but it is unclear whether any link can be established between this particular chapter of the *Dicta Anselmi* and the works in circulation in this area. Hayles Abbey in Gloucestershire is recorded as possessing a copy of the Beatitudes, but it is not possible to determine which particular version of this work from the

catalogue entry.¹⁵

It is clear from such evidence as this that beyond locating L1 16 to somewhere within Herefordshire/Gloucestershire/Somerset on the basis of dialect (a not wholly unproblematic procedure), little more can be said at present concerning the place of origin and early ownership of this manuscript. It is possible a closer examination of the Latin manuscripts containing Suso's work or indeed of the Seymour family papers might yield further evidence and a further source of information may lie in the style of the illuminations,¹⁶ but such investigations lie beyond the scope of the current discussion.

Footnotes: Manuscript Origin

1. I. A. Doyle A Survey of the Origin and Circulation of theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th Centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1953) Vol.I p.219. See also Vol.II Note 20 pp.36-37.
2. T. Hadyn Williams, doctoral thesis at University of Birmingham, in preparation.
3. See section on language, pp.283-292.
4. R. Lewis and A. McIntosh, A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Pricke of Conscience, (Oxford, 1982) p.136.
5. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982) p.136.
6. Marjorie Blatcher, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission 58: Report on the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Bath, preserved at Longleat. Vol. IV: Seymour Papers 1532-1686, (London, 1968), p.376.
7. T. W. Williams 'Gloucestershire Medieval Libraries' in Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society 31-32 (1908-1909), pp.78-195, and T. W. Williams Somerset Medieval Libraries, (Bristol, 1897).
8. See T. W. Williams (1897) pp.45-98.
9. See Chapter II, p.3.
10. N. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain Second Edition, (London, 1964), p.91.
11. Llanthony Secunda was founded near Gloucester in 1136 because the the first Llanthony in Monmouthshire (now Gwent) was frequently raided by the Welsh. It became independent in 1205.
12. T. W. Williams, (1908-1909), p.173.
13. Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), pp.120-121. They say that this manuscript belongs to the Lichfield Sub-Group, which seems to suggest fairly conclusively that it cannot have been written in either Llanthony.
14. R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, Memorials of Saint Anselm (London, 1967), pp.4-17 (*De Humanis Moribus per Similitudines*), pp.27-28 (*Dicta Anselmi*).
15. T. W. Williams, (1908-1909), p.137: 'xxi: B. Anselmi: Archiepiscopi Cant. Libellus de 14 partibus Beatitudinem'.

Incipit tractatus qui scire mori appellatur.

f17r

"Sybbe al manere men desireth by kynde to haue konnyng & knewliche on þe, hyȝe and euere-lastyng Wysdom, & in þe þat ert prynce of al þynges & ordeynerer of kynde, on wham al tresoures of whysdome & konnyng leþ y-hyd, þat art fourmere of al þyngys, hauyng al konnyng and al þynges 5 byholding, I byseche þe, wiþ most desire of myn hert, þat þou fowchesafe¹ to schewe to me þe tresoure of þi konnyng & also þe knewliche of þy seyntis, & þat þou teche me & enfourme me on þy merueyls; and þat þou schewe to me nowe in þe bygynnyng þy materys þat beth ful sotyl & derke to myn vndirstondynge." 10

Whisdom to þis ansuereth, "Sone, desire þou noȝt to vnderstonde hyȝe þynges, but drede þou God. Huyre þou me & y schal teche þe þyngys þat beþ profyȝtable, & y schal ȝife þe a ȝifte of choyse. An doctrine schal be þy life. Therefore 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 15 whysdom. And y schal sey / hit to þe by ordure: first y schal teche f17v how þou schuldest deye, and aftirward how þou schuldest lyue, &, after þat, how þou schuldest resceyue me by sacrement, and, at þe last, how þou schuldest praysy me bysyli with a clene mynde."

To whom þe Discipule ansuerd, "Gracious lord, þat same haue y alwey 20 desiryd, & with al my wille y coueityd to seche hit. And God wold þat y had konnyng to vnderstond þis artys þat beþ so profyȝtable, þat is to seye, to deye blessidly, & to lyue wel & iustly, & to resceyfe þe spedefully, & to praysy þe deuouȝtly. And if y had konnyng to do wel al þis, what neded me to aske eny more? But y pray þe, seye þou to me, 25

The Lichfield Translation

what schulde þis doctrine of knowyng of deyyng profizty to me, siþþe that deþ is knowe to be no vesture neþer cloþyng, but a dispoylyng & a priuacioun?"

To þis Whysdom answered, "This konnyng to knowe for to deye, [t]his² is most profiztable konnyng abofe al manere knowliche, & this³ ys to 30 be preferred abofe al craftys of þe worlde. Hit is commune to euery man & woman to knowe þat þey / schulle deye, siþþe no man ne woman may f18r euerelyue, but ȝut þou schalt fynde fulle fewe þat kon haue knowliche to deye, for þat konnyng is an hyȝe excellent ȝift of God. The konnyng & knowliche for to deye is to haue aredy in al tymes bothe þe herte & þe 35 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 wiþoute eny taryyng, as þoȝ he abode & desiryd þe comyng to him of eny frend þat he loued specialy. But alas, þou schalt fynde ful many persons, as wel among religious as among men þat beth y-ȝife to þe uanitees of þe world, þat 40 so litel reccheth of deth þat vnneþe þey wolle þynke þerupon. They wolnoȝt go out of þis worlde for þei haue noȝt leryd ȝut how þei schulde deye. They spendyþe mucche of here tyme in ydil spechis & iapys & rybawdrye, & in oþer such vnþriftynes, and þerfore, anone whan deth cometh, forbycause he fyndyþ hem vnredy, he raueschyth þe soule fro þe 45 body ful wrecched & ledeth hire to helle. And þe same / brydel deth had f18v afore þis tyme oft yput upon þe, and wolde haue lad þe wiþ him, ne had þe power of þe mercy of God wiþstand hit. Therefore forsake þou worldely vanitees to hem þat louyþ hit, and take þou gode hede to my doctrine, þe weche schal profizty more to þe þan eny puryd gold, & more þan powndes 50 & al riches þat men hauyþ on eorthe. And forbycause þat my doctrine

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schuld meoue þe þe more feruently, & þe more stedefastly be prikyd on þy herte, y schal schewe þe þe mystere of þys doctrine vnder a sensible & felyng ensample, þe weche schal hugely profizty to þe both to þe bygynnyng of helthe, and also it schal make þe profizt as to a stabil 55 fundament of al vilrtuys.⁴ Therefore byhold <þou now yn þi syt>⁵ a similitude of a man whan he deyeth spekyng to þe."

Whan þe Discipule herde þat, he wythdrowe al his þoȝtys þat he had towarde þe worlde wiþyn hymself, & byganne to by-holde by gode a-visement wiþyn hymself a likenys of a dede body þer streyȝt forthe. The 60 symylitude þerof was as hit had be of a feyre ȝonge man sodeynly y-take with deth, þat schuld / a-none be dede, and had no manere þyng disposyd *f19r* for his soulis helthe. Þe weche byganne to crye wiþ a ful wrecchyd weylyng vois, seyyng þus: "The weylyngys & sorwes of deth hauyþ compased me al aboute, & þe sorwes of helle hauyth bisegyd me on euery 65 side. Alas, euerelastyng God, ful wo his me! Werto was y ybore in to þys worlde? Wy ne had y be dede as sone as y whas bore of my modres wombe? Byholde & se: þe bygynnyng of my life was with wepyng & sorwe, and nowe myn ende & my passyng beth wiþ wrecchyd weylyng and drede! Alas þou Deth, ful bitter is þe mynde of þe to a myri hert þat is al 70 ynfourilschyð⁶ in lustys & lykyng! Thi presence is ful dredful to him þat is ȝonge of age, & myȝty in strengthe, & hath al prosperite at his owen desire. I wende ful lytil þat y schulde haue deyde so sone, but nowe, þou wrecchyd Deth, þou hast sodeynly falle on me as þoȝ þou haddist ley on a whayte for me. Thou hast now y-take me & with a 75 þousand cordys þou hast bounde me, & now þou drawyst me wiþ þe wyþ cheynys of yren, as a dampnyd man / is wont to be draw to turnement of *f19v* euere-lastyng deth. Now þer-fore y wrynge myn hondys to-gadere for

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sorwe, & weyle & wepe, desyryng to fle deth, & no place is þat y may
ascape to. I beholde on euery side and my conseylar fayleþ wiþoute help. 80
My tyme is asignyd & may noȝt be chaunged. I huyre nowe þe dredful
vois of deth sownyng & seyng þus: 'Thu art a child of deth, & nowe schal
no riches, neþer resoun, neþer kynrede, neþer frendes deliuere þe' fro
my hondes. Thyn ende is y-come! Þyn ende is y-come! Þe dome is yȝife:
hit mote nedis be do.' O gloriouse God, schal y nedys deye? May noȝt 85
þis sentence be chaungyd? Schal y nowe passe oute fro þis world? O
Deth, ful hyȝe is þi crwelnes & ful veniable is þi wrecchyd wriþl⁸. I
be-seche þe, spare þou ȝut! Spare þou to my ȝowthe! Spare þou to my age
þat is noȝt ȝut y come! Do þou noȝt þis cruelly to me, neþer drawe þou
me fro þis liȝt vnauysed!" 90

Whan þe Disipule hird þes wordes, he turnyd to him & seyde þis: "Frend,
hit semyth to me þat þy wordys sow/neth noȝt into whysdome. Knowyst f20r
þou noȝt þat þe dome of deth ys euyn y-lyke to euery creature?" Hit
exceptyth none manere persone, hit sparith no creature: but hit diuidith
to al men & wemen euyn y-like. Neþer hit hath mercy on ȝonglyngis 95
neþer on olde folke. Hit reuerensith no gret persons, neþer hit
schameþ¹⁰ neþer dredeþ myȝty persons. Hit þrowith adown as wel riche
as pore folke, & ofte tymes ful many beth take a-weye long a-fore þe
complete age of here ȝerys. Trowest þou þat deth schuld only spare þe,
& be aferde to entre in þy feyned tabernacle? Byþynke þou þat holy 100
prophetys beth dede!"

Than ansueryd¹¹ þe symylitude of þe body deyying & seyde þus,
"Trewly þou art an heuy conseyloure, for þy wordes sowneth no þyng in
whisdome. ffor wiþoute dowte þey beth worþi to be demyd for folys, þat
lyuyth wyckydly in to here lyfes ende, þat haue also y-do suche þynges 105

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whar-fore þey beth worþy to be dampnyd, & þat dredeþ noȝt deth comyng
so / sodeynly upon hem. Thes þat beth of suche condicioun beth y-lyke *f20v*
to vnresonable bestis þat knowyth noȝt here last ende, & þat seeth noȝt
a-fore suche þyngys þat schulle come aftyr here deth. I wepe noȝt þe
dome of my deth, but y bewepe þe sorwys of my deth þus sodeynly y-come 110
to me. I wepe noȝt þat y schal passe oute of þis worlde, but y weyle &
wepe þe lost of my dayes, þe weche beth y-spende vnprofitably and
wiþout eny gode fruite of godnes growyng. Also I weyly & 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 115
sonne of vndirstondyng sprong noȝt on me. I am feynted & wery ymad,
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
profitȝth now to me my pryde, or what hath bostyng or rychesses a-
vayled now to me? Alle suche þynges beth pas/sid a-vey as hit were a *f21r*
schade, and as a messenger þa¹² swiftly renneth; and as a schippe þat 121
roweþ by a flowyng water, whos curse may noȝt be founde aftir hit is
passid, neþer þer may no man see þe pathe of þe trace þerof in þe flode;
and as a bryd þat fleeth in þe ayre, of whos flyȝt may no wey [beth]¹³
aftirward seye, and ȝut hit betyȝth þe ayre wyth wyngys and fleeth forþ, 125
but aftirwarde þer is no sygne of eny wey y-founde in þe ayre; and as
an arwe þat ys 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 þis same manere, anone as y
was bore y beganne to faile, for y myȝt schewe no manere sygne of 130
strengþe ne of vertu <on>¹⁴ me. Now y am co<nsumyd yn myn>¹⁵ owen

The Lichfield Translation

wickydnes, and myn hope is nowe as a lowe þat is lifte up wiþ þe whynde,
and as smal vome þat is cast vp of a ryuer, & as smoke þat is sprad / f21v
a-brode wyth þe wynde, and <as>¹⁶ þe mynde of a geste¹⁷ a-bydyng on a
place but on daye. And þerfore my wordes beþ nowe al in bytternys, & 135
ful of sorwe & weylyng, & þerfore myn herte is ful heuy & myn yȝen beþ
þerfore y-dasewyd. Ho may grante me nowe þat y myȝt be as y was
sumtyme, whan y was cloþyd wiþ a stole of feyrnys & of strengthe, &
whan [y had]¹⁸ many ȝeris a-fore me, þat y myȝt knowe al þis sorwys þat
falleþ to me in þis tyme? At þat tyme y þoȝt ful lityl hereupon, for y 140
ȝafe my silfe to vanitees & coueytyse of worldly lustys, & so y lad my
life in to ydelnes & vanite of þe world, for y trowed my silf to haue be
as fre as is an herte þat is wilde. But now y am cawȝte in þis tyme
þat is sodeynly come to me, ryȝt as fysches¹⁹ beþ take wiþ a croke and
as briddes beth be-gylyd wiþ a gryne. Now is my tyme a-passid þat 145
[may]²⁰ noȝt be <aȝen>²¹ callid of no man lyuyng. This tyme come so
sodeynly / þat þe howre was so schorte þat y myȝt noȝt byȝe spiritual f22r
lucrys, þe weche ouer-passeth by here valowre as erthly ryches to a-
mendement of my synnys. Therefore now ful who ys my mynde, & nowe for
sorwe my yȝen droppeth & myn yȝen-ledes floweth wiþ water, bicause y 150
may noȝt calle aȝene my tyme þat is a-passid. O glorious God, why haue y
be þus negligent? Whi haue y þus y-taryed? Whi haue y þus forȝete my
silfe? And whi haue y þus y-spend so gracious dayes & so many dayes in
so gret ydel spekyng? And why haue be þus negligent to my silf? Alas
nowe, my weylyng þat y haue beth vnable to be tolde! Whi haue y þus y- 155
besyd my silfe on uanitees, and why lernyd y noȝt to deye in al my lyfe
tyme? Be-holde me ȝe al þat beþ present, and be ȝe wel a-whare þat
seeth me, þat <hauyþ>²² floure of ȝouthe & þat <hauyþ> now²² comenabile

The Lichfield Translation

tyme; þenke ȝe on me & haue ȝe on mynde my wrecchidnes, & leue ȝe ȝoure
synnys, seyng nowe þe perel þat y am on. Spende ȝe ȝoure þouȝte in 160
goddys seruyce & occupie ȝe ȝoure /tyme in holy dedys, last ȝe suffre f22v
þat þat y do, if ȝe do as y dede. Alas, why haue <y þus>²³ y-lost þe
grace of my ȝouth? O glorious God, to þe y playne bicause þat y suffre
þis muche sorwe. My wilde ȝouth hatyd wordys of correctoun & þerfore
y wolde noȝt obeye to hem þat taȝt me, & dispisyd to bowe myne ere to 165
hem þat mekely warnyd me. I cursid alwey instructling²⁴ & techyng, and
myn herte wold neuere a-corde to rebukyng. Þerfore nowe, gloriouse God,
y am falle into a depe dyche & y am take wiþ þe gryne of deth. Hit
hadde be muche better to me þat y had neuere be bore and þat y deyed
on my modires wombe, þan y had þus vnprofyȝtabily y-spend þe tyme of 170
penance y-grantyng to me, þe wyche tyme y haue al y-spende in vanite &
in pryde."

Than ansuerde þe Discipule & seyde þus: "I wote þat alle we schul
<dye>²⁵ ant slyde away, as doþ water upon erthe þat comeþ neuere aȝene
after hit is passid, but <ȝut>²⁶ God wol noȝt spille þe soule, but he 175
taryeth hire, þynkyng þoȝ þat þe soule be cast fro him for a tyme, þat
ȝeo <schalnoȝt be>²⁷ / spille. And þerfore huyre þou now my voys and f23r
do þou penance for þy synnys þat beth a-passid, and turne þou [tol]²⁸
oure Lord God ful of myȝt, for he is boþ meke & mercyful, & if þyn ende
be gode, hit sufficyth to þy saluacoun." 180

To þes wordys þe symylitude aforsayde ansueryd, "What is þys sermone
þat þou seyst to me? Schal y nowe do penance? Schal y nowe turne me
fro my synne? Seest þou noȝt howe þe anguysche of deth þrasteth me
adoun? Certeynly [y]²⁹ am so sore aferde þorw drede & gastnes of deth, &
y am so ybounde wyth <þe bondys>³⁰ of deth, & my mynde is so ouercome 185

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wiþ ouere-gret anguyschys þat y knowe noȝt what is for to do. But ryȝt
as a partryg is myndeles for fere of deth whan [ȝeo] is vnder þe talonys
of an awke & schal be yȝete anone, ryȝt in þe same manere al my whyȝt
is a-passyd me fro, noȝyng þynkyng but only þus: if y myȝt by eny
manere wey a-scape þys sentence of deth, þe wyche y may noȝt scape, and 190
þerfor y am ful wo. This sentens of deth þrastyth me adown & þis
bitter departyng hurteth me. Lord, / trowyst þou noȝt þat þis bitter f23v
deth wolnoȝt depart fro me? O glorious God, ful blessid ys penance and
ful sykry is repentance þat is take on tyme, but he þat puttyth him silf
late to penance, he schal be late in doȝt & vncertayne wheþer he haue 195
fulfullyd hit truly or feynnyngly. Alas, þerfore now wo is <me>,³¹ for
as long tyme as y wolde noȝt a-mende my life, <al þe menetyme y taryyd
my helthe>³² of my soule! Alas, þis taryyng of amending of my lyfe was
ouerelong! Why was y so negligent of my soule? Gode purpose wiþoute
bygynnyng, gode wille wiþoute dede-doyng and gode byhestys wiþoute 200
worchyng hauyd destroyed me. O þou day, to-morwe! to-morwe! ful long
hast þou taryed, and in tristyng of tomorwe þou hast draw me into helle!
Thu hast disceyfyd me & now y [am]³³ disceyfyd. Trowyst þou þat þis
wrecchydnes ouere-passith al wrecchidness of þe worlde? Trowyst þou
noȝt þat myn herte is noȝt hyȝely yturmentyd here vpon, & my soule ful 205
hyȝely woun/dyd? Alas, al my dayes beth a-passid: þrytty yeres of my f24r
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 & and in excersise of gode virtues, so
commendably & pefyȝtly as y myȝt and schuld haue do. And y knowe 210
noȝt þat euere y dede in al my life tyme eny plesabile seruyce

The Lichfield Translation

acceptable to God, as my state askyd þat y schuld haue do. Alas for
sorwe þerof now e y am ful who. Al my whyttes beth a-stonyd; þerfore, al
glorious God, y schal stond ful bare at þe dome a-for þe and al þy
seyntys, whan y schal be constreyned to ȝelde a-countys of my synnys 215
þat y haue done. What schal y now more sey? My tribulacoun is nyȝe y-
come whare on y schal passe oute fro þis world. I praye þow take ȝe
diligently gode hede to me. I had leuere now & more ioye hyt schuld be
to me þat y myȝt haue so / schort a space whare on y myȝt deuoutly sey f24v
by mysilf o short orison, as is þe 'Aue Maria', þan to haue þousandys of 220
poundys of golde & of siluer. O gloriouse God, how many gode dedys
haue y forȝite by negligence? How³⁴ is þis now e falle to me þat y ne
had seyn hit afore tyme, whyles y hadde gode leyser þerto? I haue lost
ful many howrys þat neuere wole come aȝene, & many þyngys y haue
medlyd wiþ in tretyng þat now ful lytyl profyȝtyth me. And þat tyme y 225
set ful lityl of many gode þynges & precouse þat wold hyȝly now e haue
a-vayled me. I occupied mesilf oft tymes a-boȝt nedys of þe world, but
y forsoke necessaryes þat were nede ful to be do to helpe of my soule.
I made mysilf besy to helpe oþer men more þan nede was and more þan
hit was spedeful to me, & þerfore y forsoke mysilf by negligence. To 230
hem y dede al my power but mysilf y kowde no þyng helpe. And, þerfore,
I knowe now for/soth þat gode warde &³⁵ kepyng of myn hert and al of f25r
myn whyttys schulde more haue profyȝtyd 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 235
for me, þoȝ eny frende of myn wolde contynwe and fulfulle hit by þe
space of þritty ȝeres. And muche more mede schulde y haue had for myn
owen dede þan <y>³⁶ schulde haue þerfore. Therefore I pray ȝow þat ȝe

The Lichfield Translation

hure me & þat ȝe take gode a-visement³⁷ al ȝe þat seeth me now in myn
angwis, for, as ȝe may wel asee, my tyme passeth fast aweye. I haue go 240
to al my frendys and y haue sowȝt hem euerychone upon wham y had ful
gret hope and triste, and y be-souȝt hem of here spiritual almys³⁸ & of
habundance of here gode werkys, as for to helpe me in myn nede & for
emendacion of my trespasse. And of hem al y was clene refusyd, ffor þey
seid to me þus: 'We wolle ȝife þe no þyng of / oure godys, last we lac f25v
þerof whan we haue nede.' Therefore, gloriouse God, wech art most mekest 246
fader of mercy, by-holde þou þys, and haue þou rewthe on me þat suffre
al þys sorwe. Alas, gloriouse God, ful muche godenes myȝt y haue do in
my tyme so long as y lyuyd, wiles y had helthe of body, & y dede no-
þyng þat plesyd þe. And ful many tresures of spirituale & heuynly 250
ryches y myȝt haue gadered to-gyðer, but ful negligent þer-of <y was.
A>³⁹ gloriouse God, ful hyȝely acceptable þe lest workys satisfactoun
schule be nowe to me, þat desire to be refreschyd wyþ þe crowmys þat
falleþ fro lordys bordes,⁴⁰ & no man⁴¹ ȝeuyth hem to me.⁴² O ȝe, al
creatures þa⁴³ lyuyth on eorth, haue ȝe compassyon and mercy on me! And 255
þerfore, whiles ȝe haue myȝt and strengþe & couenable tyme in erthe
abydyng, gadere ȝe togadere into ȝoure barnys heuynly tresures, þat,
whan ȝe deyeþ, þey maye receyfe ȝow into euere-las/tyng tabernaclis, & f26r
þa⁴⁴ ȝe be noȝt forsake lere of gode dedys in þat houre þat schalle come
to ȝowe, as ȝe seeth me nowe boþe lere & voyde of al gode dedys." 260

Then ansueryd þe discipule asone seying þus: "Dere frende, y see wel
þy sorwe þat is ouere-passyng cruelle in angwys, and þerfore y haue here
compassion & rewthe þerof in myn herte. And þerfor y conlowre þe by
almyȝty God þat þou ȝefe conseile to me, þat y falle noȝt in þe perel of
so sodeyne deth so vnausyd as þou art now." 265

The Lichfield Translation

Therto þe forsaide ymage ansueryd þus: "The best conseile & hyȝest wisdom & most forsyȝt þat may be þer-on is þat þou dispose þysilf, whilys þou art hole & strong of body, <by trew contricion>⁴⁵, by pure & hole confession, & by worþy satisfaccoun. And cast þou away fro þe al uyȝous þynges þat beth lettyng & drawyng þe abakward fro euerelastyng 270 heilth, and so kepe þe bysily þysilf at al tymes, as þoȝ þou schuldest passe oute fro þis world þis same day wiþin þe space of an howre, or to-morwe, or, at / þe ferþyst, wiþin þe woke. Thyng⁴⁶ þou alwey in þyn f26v herte as þoȝ þy soule were in purgatorie, & suffryd þer in peyne brennyng X ȝerys in þe fuyre of a forneys alwey brennyng for þin 275 trespasse. & þynge⁴⁷ þou þat þys ȝere present is granttyd to þe in helpyng of þy silf. And þan byhold þou ofte vpon þy soule brennyng bytwene þe lemys & brondys of fuyre, & take þou gode hede to þe wrecchud voys of hire cryying & seyyng to þe þus: 'O þou man, most bilouyd of al frendys, helpe þou þyn owen wrecchyd soule! Thynke now on me þat am in 280 prison & help þou me þat am forsake! Suffre me to be turnementyd no lenger in þys derke prisone, for y am forsake of þys worlde! 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 owen gode for him silf & forsaketh me, stondyng a-lone in myn angwysschys.' " 285

Here to þe Discipule ansueryd, seyyng þus: "Wiþoute dowte þis doctrine were most / profyȝtable as þou seyste, if hit wer so þat a man myȝt f27r haue hit by experyence & prefe as þou hast. But þoȝ þy wordes be hyȝely meouyng & scharpe to mannys mynde, ȝut þey profyȝtyth ful litel to many men. They turnyþ away here face for þey wold noȝt see here 290 ende. They haue yȝen & ȝut þey wol⁴⁸ noȝt see, & eerys þey haue & ȝut

The Lichfield Translation

þey wole noȝt hure, & þey troweth to lyue longe tyme, & þerfore þey
dredeth no sodeyn deth, for þey haue dispizte to haue mynde of here
deth. Whan sikenes þat is messenger of deth is come, þan comyth frendis
& felowes to-gadere to visite þe syke body. They behote hym al gode 295
þynges hoppyng to-ward his lif, but þey tellyth hym noȝt þat deth is come
to hym, neþer þey byddeþ him to drede deth by no weye, neþer þey spekeþ
to him of no perel þat is comyng to hym, but þey seyeth þat hit is a
sykenes þat wole passe away, or sum collectoun of humorys, or sum
opilacoun of membris or of synewys, þat / wol passe away wiþyn a f27v
schorte tyme. And in þis manere wise, þey þat beth frendys to þe body 301
beth made enemyes to þe soule and disceifiþ boþe body and soule: for
wilis þe sykenys wexith in euery howre more & more, and þe syke body
hoppyþ euere to haue helthe, & at þe last, whan he is consumyd, he deyth
vnaused & ȝeldyþ <up>'' his wrecchyd spyrit, stonðyng bare wiþoute eny 305
fruȝt of helthe. And, in þe same manere, þey þat herkeneth to þe &
lyuyth aftyr falsnes & slythe of mannys wysdom, þey castyþ þy wordes
byhynd here bakke & wol noȝt consente to þyn holesum conseile."

Therto þe forsaide ymage of deth ansueryd, "Therfor þey schul crye
after grace & mercy whan þey beth y-cawȝt in þe gryne of deþ, & whan 310
sodeyne departyng 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 f28r
huyre my conseile. And as þer beþ ful fewe y-founde þoȝ þat þey be
compuncte þorw my wordes þat amendeth here life, ȝut þer beth fewe men 315
y-founde þat beth profyȝtly disposyd to deth, by-cause of malice of here
tyme þat þey haue lyuyd, & for defawte of spiritual loue for contynuaunce
of wyckydnes of þe worlde beyng alwey enclynnyng into euyl, þat beth

The Lichfield Translation

nowe in such deuocioun of hert & in wille of forsakyng of her synnes
þat coueyteth to deye for desire of euere-lastyng lyfe, & þat desireþ 320
wiþ al here ynnest affeccion to be wiþ Crist. And þerfor, whan þey beþ
asaylyd wiþ bitter deth, þey beth founde vndisposid as y stonde now at
þys tyme. And þerfore þey beth constreynyd to go to wrecchidnes of
euerelastyng peyne for þe disseyuable lustys þat þey had on hemsilfe
wyles þey lyuyd. And if þou wolt knowe þe cause of þe perel þerof þat 325
is so comune to þe most party of þe pepul, / take þou gode hede & y f28v
schal sey þe why hit is. Unordynat desire of worschip, & gret wast &
superfluite of þe body, & ouere-much loue of eorthly godys, & ouere-
grete bysines of syngular lustys blyndeth þe hertes of muche pepul, &
bryngeth hem to þis peril þat y am on at þis tyme. But if þou desyryst 330
to be sauyd fro þys perel of þys sodeyne deth, huyre þou my conselle, &
put þou a-fore⁵⁰ þyn yȝen my persone þat þou seest now ful sorwful &
bare, & ofte reduce þou þat on þy mynde, & if þou do so, þou schalt fele
þat my techyng schal most profyȝty þe afore al þynges þat euere was
conseyleyd to þe. And þou schalt profyȝty þer þorw þat þou schalt nowȝt 335
only drede to deye, but þou schalt also abyde & resceyfe wiþ al þe
desire of þyn herte deth as fore and ende of þy laboure, þe weche deth
is ful dredful to al men lyuyng on eorthe. And haue þou hyȝely me on
þy mynde: þynke⁵¹ bysyly on my wordes & wryȝte hem wysely on þyn herte.
And haue þou hyȝely me on þyn herte. And whan þou hast by gode 340
auisement / y-seyȝe my sorwys & angwischys, byholde þou & þynke þou f29r
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 mynde on þys nyȝt
whare on þou seest me sooffre al þis sorwe! O blessid þou art, what- 345

The Lichfield Translation

euere þou be, þat hast alwey þis houre a-fore þyn yʒen! And ful blessid
is he þat God schalt fynde wakyng whan he comyth & knockyth at þe ʒate,
and ful glad schal he be wham oure lord schal fynde a-redy in þat howre,
& ful blessidly schal he dey, þoʒ þa⁵² he be hyʒely turmentyd wiþ
ouerehyʒe bitternysses of deth. And what <owre þat hit be þat>⁵³ suche 350
a man or woman be take wiþ deth, he schal be sette on reste: he schal be
trewly y-purified & y-broʒt to þe syʒt of þe ioie of God. & he schal be
kepte of angelys, & he schal be lad of heuynly cytesence, & vndirfange
of al þe felowschype of heuyn. Blessid schal his entryng be whan his
soule schal come to þylke heuynly courte! / But nowe alas, who is me f29v
awrecche! Alas, where trowist þou þat my spiryʒt schal a-bide þis nyʒt? 356
Ho schal undirfang my wrecchyd soule? Where schal ʒeo abyde & where
schal ʒeo rest þis nyʒt, and what beþ þey þat schuld receife hire in
þilke regioun þat is unknowe to me? Alas, my soule ys ful bare & clene
forsake & cast away fro al gode soules! Ho is now þat comfourteth me, 360
and ho is þat may & wole nowe helpe [me]?⁵⁴ ffor þis cause y haue so
gret compassioun upon mysilf þat y wepe so sore among my bitter wordys,
þat y cast out terys fro myn yʒen, as þoʒ hit were a ryuere. But nowe
here aftirwarde what schal hit avayle me to wepe or for to speke eny
more suche heuy & bittour wordys? The conclusion is y-mad & may noʒt 365
be chaungyd. Myn enemye hath concluded my weyes, & is made a ligger on
a-wayte for me, & hath fulfilled me with bitternysses as lyʒt fulfulleth a
derk place, & nowe he hath brouʒt my soule in to the gryne of deth. O
glorouse God, now y make an ende of my wordys.⁵⁵ / Now may y mak no f30r
more sorwe neþer weylyng. Now is myn houre y-come þat wole drawe me 370
fro þys world. Alas nowe y am ful who! Now y see & nowe y fele þat y

The Lichfield Translation

may lyue no lenger, for deth cometh nowe anone. By-hold myn hondys
bygynneth to veldy & croky a-dounward; my face wexith wanne; my syzt
bygynneth to dasewy, & myn yzen draweth donward into myn hede & turnyth
upsodon. Alas now, who is me! For now alle þe bitter peynes of deþ 375
comþasith me al aboȝte, & now by-gynnyth þei to straungely my febyl
herte. O gloriouse God, ful huge beth þis angwischys of myn herte & of
þys þrastyng don of deth. O gloriouse God, now my pows bygynnyth to
faile of his strokys, & my breth failleth þat y secche hit adoun on my
body. Now haue y lost þe syzt of þis worlde, for myn yzen beth al 380
consumyd. & now y be-gynne to beholde a-fore my mynde þe state of
anoþer worlde. O gloriouse God, ful wrecchyd is þis siȝt! Alas now
horribile bestys & þe dredful facys of deue/lys & fendys wiþoute f30v
noumbre þat beth disfygured goth abouȝt me on euery syde, lyȝyng on
whyte & a-bydyng my wrecchyd soule whan ȝeo schal passe, if þey myȝt 385
receyfe hyre for to be turmentyd. O gloriouse God, most streȝtyst
domysman of al creaturys, þou hongist ful hevy in my dome, & ȝut þer
beth ful fewe folke þat þynkeþ on þy domys by-cause þou suffrest hem on
here lyuyng to haue here frechoyse. Now is þe swete y-come to me þat
preschyth my membrys, & þat is a signe þat my nature is ouercome & 390
schal nowe be dede. O gloriouse God, ful dredful is þe siȝt of þe þat
art most ryȝtfullyst iuge, þe weche siȝt is nowe present to me by drede
& sone schal hit come sodeynly by⁵⁶ dede doying. Now felowys & most by-
louyd frendys, fare ȝe wel, for y schal go hennys, & now y turne þe syzt
of my mynde to purgatorie wheder y schal be lad, & þennys schal y noȝt 395
come into tyme y haue payed & ȝeld aȝene þe lest verthyng þat y am dew
to paye. Now y beholde wiþ þe yzen of myn herte þe wrecchidnes & sorwe
& peynes & þe manyfolde / turnementyng þat is þeron. Alas, wo is me f31r

The Lichfield Translation

now a synful wrecche! I see nowe lemys of fuyre arise up among al oþer
peynes þat beth in þat place, & y behold soules of wrecchyd creatures 400
þat beth y-turnyd up & doun in þilke fuyre, & þei rennyth up &
<co>meth^s doun aȝene in þe myddys of þe brennyg lemys as hit were
sprankeles brennyng. And þei beth bore up & doun in þe fuyre & smoke
as þycke as sparkeles of fuyre arisyth whan a gret toun is sette al a
fuyre. And for sorwe & angwysche of here turmentes þey weyleth & 405
cryeth & seith þus: 'þe þat beth oure frendes, haue ȝe now rwthe^s &
mercy on vs! Where beth nowe þe gode byhestys of kynnysfolke & of
oþer, by whas vnordynat syȝt we forȝate vssilf, louying hem more þan vs-
silf, & þerfore we haue y-purchasid to vs nowe þis peyne? Alas why
haue we y-do þus muche for hem & noþyng for vs silf? We haue 410
laborid^s & trauayled, desiryng & wilnyng to plesse hem, & nowe we beth
ful euyl rewardyd for we brennyth & ful gret turment suffreth, & we
receyfeth no help, neþer refres/shyng of hem. Alas, why ordeynynd noȝt f31v
we in oure lyf-tyme sum manere help & sokyr þat myȝt nowe haue a-
vayled us? The lest peyne & turment þat we suffreth in þis place 415
ouerepasseth al turmentys & sorwes of þe worlde. The cruelnes of
suffrance of þys peyne on howre þat we nowe suffreth is more greuous
þan alle þe peynes þat beth on erth wold be to eny man, þoȝ he lay and
suffred hem echone to-gederys an hundred ȝerys. But ȝet þe absence of
þe blessyd syȝt of þe face <of gode &>⁶⁰ of <his>⁶⁰ godhede greuyth us 420
more þan al þ<ys>⁶¹ horrible, dredful & gastful turmentys þat we
suffreth. I now stondyng in my last ende reche þis to þe, by-cause þou
schuldist haue hit euer wilys þou lyuyst in þi mynde. & nowe y make in
þis wordys an ende, & fare wel: y ham dede."

Whan þe discipule had hirde þis wordys & sawe þe body ded, he byganne 425

The Lichfield Translation

to weyle hyzely, & al his body schoke for drede. & at þe last, whan he
myȝt speke, he seyde wyþ whepyng terys to oure Lord þus: "O gloriouse
God, whare is now Whisdom þat euere-lastyth? Lord gloriouse God, hast
þou forsake me as for þi seruant? Lord, þou seidest þat þou woldest
teche me wysdome, & nowe am y broȝt anone to deth. O glorious God, / f32r
þe presence of þis body þat y haue now y-seyȝe deyȝyng hugely makeþ me 431
a-ferde! This ymage & lykenys of þes dede body haþ so raueschyd al my
whyȝtys, þat y wot noȝt in soþe whaþer þis þat y haue seye be do on
dede or in symylitude. O gracious God, Lord of al lordys, þat art ful of
drede & mercy, y þonke þe hyzely & y make a byhest of amendement of my 435
lif, for in soþe y am y-put now in ful gret dred. I knew neuere in al
my lif-tyme so euydently þe perel of deth of men þat disposith noȝt for
hem silf, as y do in þis howre. And þerfore y by-lefe for soþe þat þis
dredful syȝt þat y haue seie schal hyzely a-vaile alwey to my soule.
Now knowe y for certayne þat we haue here in eorthe no cytey of 440
abydyng, & þerfore y coueyte & desire to come with al my myȝt to þilke
state of my soule þat neuer schal be changed, þat is, to þe blisse of
heuyn. An now here aftirward y þynke & purpose to lerne for to deye, &
y wolle no more differre my penance, neþer her haftirward drāwe hit &
tarrye hit but do hit a-none as y am eniwnyd þerto. And syþþe y am so 445
sore a-ferde of þe mynde of þis dede body þat is a-passed, allas, what
schal y do whan deth þat is so dredful comyþ / & assaileþ me? Nowe f32v
after þis tyme y wol forsake al manere hesye & nesche ornamentys of my
lylyȝngl⁶² in beddys, & gret precousnysl of⁶³ araye of cloþyng, & also
þe gret pleser⁶⁴ þat y had in slomeryng & slepyng þat lettyd hugely my 450
mynde. But alas, sibþe y am þus aferd & tormentyd, & in my soule þus

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ouer-come for smale & litel trespassys þat y haue done, þan what
rekenyng schal y ȝefe for my gret & ouer-passyng synnys? And siþþe y
may ful euyl suffre esye & litel peynes, alas how schal y þan suffre so
ouere-passyng sorwys & tribulacouns as beth ordeyned to synneful 455
creatures? God wold þat y had deyd 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
satisfactioun þat y had do lyuyng in eorthe for my synnys. But now y
knowe what y schal do: I þynke þat y wolde noȝt suffre my soule þat y 460
loue so wel to spille in þis manere, but y schal ordeyne a-fore for hire
in such manere in þis transitorye & schort tyme, by suffrance & labores
& trauales & exersise of gode uertuys, þat ȝeo may fynde helthe & reste,
& noȝt peyne, in þe houre of deth whan ȝeo is passid fro þe body. O
gracious & mercyful sauour of mankynde, / bytake þou noȝt me to suche f33r
a bitter deth! I falle down knelyng a-for þe, & y pray þe wiþ wepyng 466
terys þat þou punysche me here in my life for my synnys after þyn owen
lust, & be þou noȝt wroth with me, neþer kepe þou noȝt my synnys
vnpunyschid into my last ende after my deth, to be þus y-turmentyd in
suche horrible peynys. In þat horrible & dredeful place is muche 470
wrecchidnys & sorwe þat no creature lyuyng hath neþer whyȝt neþer myȝt
to telle hit, for þe magnitude þerof. Alas, y haue be an hyȝe fole into
þis tyme, & y merueyle þat y had so lytel mynde on þys sodeyn deth and
on þe peynes of purgatorie. But now y knowe for certeyne þat hit is an
hyȝe wisdom to haue þis alwey afore a mannys mynde. And þerfore, siþþe 475
y am þus y-warnyd, y cast up myn yȝen and hugely y drede deth sodeynly
þus comyng."

Then answered Wisdom & seid þus to hym: "My dere Sone, haue þou ofte

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bys þat þou hast seye on þy mynde, & whiles þou art ȝong & hole &
stronge & myȝty, a-mende þou þy lyue. And whan þou schalt come to þys 480
houre of deyyng, if þou hast mynde þat þou hast y-do contrarye aȝens
Goddys comaundementys, þan committe þou þi silf only to þe mercy of God,
and / putte þou his passioun bitwene þe & his dome, & triste þou to be f33v
only yholpe þorw his mercy. And þerfore, now þou þat art so sore
aferde, be þou now here hafterward in rest of þy soule, & drede þou God, 485
for drede of God is þe bygynnyng of whysdome. Seche þou in holy wrytte
and þou schalt fynde þat mynde & þouȝt of mannys deth bryngeth ful
muche grace & godenys to hym þat þynkeþ þer upon. The wyse man
Salomon seith þat if a man lyue many ȝerys & hath had ful gret
prosperite & gladnys in al his tyme, he schuld þynke & haue mynde of þe 490
derke tyme & of so many daies þat beth to comyng, for whan deth is
come, þe vanyteys þat men haue do schul be punyschyd. Therfor þynke þou
on þy sauoure in daies of þy ȝouth, or þe tyme of turmentyng come &
or þy ȝerys be endyd, of þe weche ȝerys seye þou þus: 'My ȝerys plesith
me noȝt into tyme þat powdir be turnyd in to eorthe whannys hit come 495
and þat þe soule go to hym þat made hit.' Therefore now blesse þou þy
Lord God of heuyn wiþ al þyn herte, & kepe þou þy silf clene & hold þe
apayed, but ful fewe þer beth þat haueþ þys virtue. And perceife þou þe
vnstabilnys of þis tyme alwey, both wiþ þyn eerys & wiþ þyn herte, &
haue þou on / mynde also in al tyme þe disseyte of deth þat lyth on a- f34r
whyte for þe, and þynke þou on þe blesidnys of þe contreye of heuyn þat 501
euere schal dure. And lifte up þyn yȝen & loke þou diligently abouȝt, &
þou schalt see þat <þer>^{as} beth ful many þat blyndyd on here mynd &
closyþ here yȝen, by-cause þey wold noȝt see, & stoppeþ here eerys for
þey wold noȝt huyre, & wolle noȝt be conuertyd neþer y-helyd, and 505

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þerfore her perdicoun wole sone come after þat to hem.⁶⁶ And,
furþermore, bihold þou þe multitude þat is wiþoute noumbre of h~~e~~m þat
haue deyð vnauisyd>,⁶⁷ and noumbre þou hem if þou mayst in a summe of
what noumbre þey beth. By-þynke þou þat ful many beth dede in þy tyme
þat lyuyd here with þe & beth take fro þis worlde, & beholde þou how 510
gret multitude of broþeres & systors, & of oþer of þy knowliche haue
passyd in a fewe ȝerys & haue lafte þe here a ȝonge man. Biholde þou
hem & speke þou in þy mynde wiþ hem. & trowe þou þysilf as forto be as
on of hem. Aske þou of hem & seche þou of eche of hem, & þey schul
ansuere to þe wiþ whepyng & whelyng, seyyng þus: 'O ful blessid is he 515
þat is wel disposid, and / seeth & þenkeþ on his last ende and þat is f34v
wel aware of his synnys, & þat doth after my conseyle and þat disposith
hymself alwey to be aedy at þis howre.' Therefore put þou alwey here
afterwarde al wordly vanyteys & ordeyne þou for þyn owen soule, & make
þy silf euere aedy for to deye, for þou knowist noȝt in certayne what 520
tyme deth schal come, neþer how nyȝe he is come and haply deth is at þi
ȝate. And þerfore, ryȝt as a man þat wole passe ouere þe see a-bideth a
gode wynde to brynge his godes & his schippe to ferre contreys whare he
myȝt haue a gode purpos of his viage, whare þorwe he myȝt be hyȝely
fourthered, in same manere so be þy lyuyng and þy doying y-gouernyd here 525
in eorthe, þat þou may haue a blessid ende whan þou schalt deye & come
to þe hyȝe blisse & loye þat is in heuyn. Amen."

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ 7 fowchesafe] 'fo' faint but readable.
- ² 29 [t]his] his.
- ³ 30 this] thit.
- ⁴ 56 v[il]rtuys] vrtuys.
- ⁵ 56 <þou now yn þi syȝt>] hand one illegible; the reading adopted is that of hand two.
- ⁶ 71 ynfourilschyd] y(set). yn...schyd may be read with the aid of ultra-violet light. This reconstruction is supported by the Latin text which reads 'enutrito'.
- ⁷ 83 deli<uere þe>] hand one illegible; the reading adopted is that of hand two.
- ⁸ 87 wroþ] Hand 3 writes '-eth' and obscures the reading of hand 1. This reconstruction is supported by the one other occurrence of this word in this text when it is spelt 'wroth'.
- ⁹ 93 euery creature] euery [man] creature - [man] expuncted and crossed out in red ink.
- ¹⁰ 96 schameþ] sparieþ (altered by hand 3) the ms is extensively altered at this point and the original reading is problematic. The Latin cannot be used here.
- ¹¹ 102 before 'ansueryd' there is an erasure by hand 1 or 2, the original reading is indecipherable.
- ¹² 121 þa] þ* - hand 2; restored in interest of dialect.
- ¹³ 124 beth] (be sene) added by hand 3, obscures original reading.
- ¹⁴ 131 vertu <on> me] supplied by hand 2.
- ¹⁵ 131 co<nsumyd yn myn>] hand one illegible; the reading adopted is

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that of hand two.

- ¹⁶ 134 And as þel 'as' added by hand 1, above the line.
- ¹⁷ 134 geste] gyste; hand 2.
- ¹⁸ 139 y had] omitted. L 'habebam'.
- ¹⁹ 144 fysches beþ take] fyshes [fisshes] - erasure by hand 1 or 2;
by scraping.
- ²⁰ 146 [may]] omitted. L 'potest'.
- ²¹ 146 <a3en>] hand 1 indecipherable; corrected by hand 2.
- ²² 158 <hauyþ>...<hauyþ>...<now>] corrected by hand 2.
- ²³ 162 <y þus>] corrected by hand 2.
- ²⁴ 166 ~~instructling~~] instructinge - the ms appears to have been
damaged here and 'instructinge' added by a later hand (4?).
The original reading cannot be reconstructed and there is no
equivalent in the Latin.
- ²⁵ 174 <dye>] hand 1 or 2; added above the line.
- ²⁶ 175 <3ut>] hand 1 or 2; added above the line.
- ²⁷ 177 <schalno3t be>] the reading of hand 2; original reading indeci-
pherable.
- ²⁸ 178 [to] omitted.
- ²⁹ 184 [y] omitted.
- ³⁰ 185 <þe bondys>] the reading of hand 2; hand 1 indecipherable.
- ³¹ 196 <me>] hand 1 or 2; added above the line.
- ³² 197-8 al þe mene tyme y taryyed my helthe] addition by hand 1
in margin.
- ³³ 203 [am] omitted.
- ³⁴ 222 How is þis] How [many] is þis; erasure by hand 1 or 2; by
expunction.

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- 35 232 ms unclear; 'warde' supported by the Lat. 'sollicita
custodia cordis'.
- 36 238 þan <y>] corrected by hand 2; hand 1 indecipherable.
- 37 239 avisement] a[hed]visement - erasure hand 1; crossed out in
red and underlined.
- 38 242 almys[l] [grace] almys(e) - the initial erasure is crossed
out in red and expuncted - the 'e' is also over an
(illegible) erasure; probably hand 1.
- 39 252-3 <y was A>] original reading indecipherable; the reading is
that of hand two.
- 40 254 lordys bordes] lordys [bordyses] bordes; erasure by hand 1
by scraping.
- 41 254 man] 'n' altered from 'm' (mam); hand 1 or 2.
- 42 254 to me] to [hem] to me - erasure of 'hem' by hand 1. I have
omitted the second 'to'.
- 43 255 þa] hand 2 corrects to þ^t: for þa see LALME iv p.315.
- 44 259 þa] hand 2 corrects to þ^t.
- 45 268 <by trew contricion>] original reading indecipherable;
corrected by hand 1 or 2.
- 46 273 Thynges] thynke - hand 2; restored in interest of dialect.
- 47 276 þynge - this dialect form supports the reading above.
- 48 291 þey wol] þey [] wol - erasure by hand 1; by crossing out in
red and expunction.
- 49 305 <up>] added above the line; hand 1 or 2.
- 50 332 afore] [of] afore - erasure by hand 1 or 2.
- 51 339 þynke] [on] þynke - erasure of 'on' by hand 1; crossed out.
- 52 349 þa] þ^t - hand 2 restored in interests of dialect.

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- 53 350 <owre þat hit be þat>] original reading indecipherable;
corrected by hand 1 or 2.
- 54 361 [me] omitted. This is a mistranslation of the Latin.
- 55 369 ...of my wordys· now may...] ...of my wordys· [nowe y make/an
hende of my wordes]· now may... erasure by hand 1 crossed
out in red.
- 56 393 sodeynly by dede doynge] sodeynly [by] by dede doynge:
erasure is not by hand one but would appear to be hand four.
- 57 402 <co>meth] original reading indecipherable; hand 1 or 2.
- 58 406 rywthe] rwthe; probably erasure by hand 1. MED lists
'ruth(e)' as a possible spelling of this word and as elsewhere
this scribe uses 'w'='u', this would be a possible spelling
by him. However elsewhere the spelling 'rewthe' is used so
it is possible further emendation is required.
- 59 411 laborud] laborid - 'i' altered to 'u'; assumed to be by hand 2.
- 60 419 <of gode &>...<his>] - added by hand 1 in the margin and
above the line respectively.
- 61 421 þ<ys>] original reading indecipherable, hand 1 or 2.
- 62 448 lyȝyng] ly(eng) altered by hand 3; original reading unclear.
- 63 448 precousnys of] ms very unclear at this point but this
reading is supported by the Latin.
- 64 449 pleser] ms very unclear at this point. With ultra-violet
light the ms does appear to read this, although the Latin
does not support this reading.
- 65 503 <þer>] original reading indecipherable; corrected by hand 1
or 2.
- 66 506 [ho] (t)hem] 'ho' crossed out, 't' added, later hand.

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67 507 h<em þat haue deyð vnauisyd>] original reading
Indecipherable corrected by hand 1 or 2.

Appendix A

The following conventions of presentation are used in this appendix:

- i) square brackets indicate the erasure of the enclosed letter(s).
- ii) round brackets indicate the addition of the enclosed letter(s).
- iii) italicisation equals restored/problematic reading
i)

LINE	HAND THREE	HAND FOUR
12	huyre] hiyre	
50	profizty] profizt	
53		<i>marginal annotation: priuyte glossing mysterye</i>
55	profizt] profit	
64	weylyngys] waylyngys	
65	hauyth] hauth	
67	wy] why: h added above the line	
71	ynfourilschyd] yset	
72	3onge] yonge	
72	strengthe] strength	
77	[?] turnement] turment	
81	huyre] hyre	
87	wr[oþ]] wreth	
88	3owthe] yowthe	
94	none manere] no manere	
95	ylike] like	
96	schameþ] sparieþ	
100	feyned] fayned	
102	symylitude] symilitud	
124-125	[??]...seye] be sene... [] erasure under be sene is unreadable	
133	vome] fome	
137	ydasewyd] ydasellyd	
139	y had added above the line between whan & many	
141	silfe] selfe	
145	gryne] gyne	
145-6	may added above the line between þat & no3t	

Appendix A

147	howre] owre	
151	apassid] passid	
155	weylyng] waylyng	
156	silfe] selfe	
166	instructinge added in text u/v[...] (i?)ng can be read with ultra- violet light.	
169	had added above the line between þat & y deyed	
177	huyre] hyre	
178	to added above the line between þou & oure lord	
180	'o' added above 'o' of gode	
184	y added above the line between Certeynly & am	
187	þeo] she	
188	awke erased: in margin hawke	
188	yþete] y ete	
188	whyȝt] wyt	
203	am added above the line between y & disceyfid	
203		not added above the line between Trowyst þou & þat
206		marginal annotation thurti glossing þrytty
213	whyttes] wyttes	
224	howres] owres	
226	precouse] preciouise	
227	silf] self	
227		between my and silf is ^ and in margin selfe
232	warde &] wolde	
233	whyttes] wyttes	
233	magnitude] magnitud	
239	hure] hire	
240	asee] see	
242	almys[?] almyse	

Appendix A

246		<i>mark by rewthe and in the margin thought</i>
258	deyeþ] deye	
262	here] her	
263		<i>the 'i' of coniowre has 'j' added above; coniure is written in the margin</i>
267	forsyȝt extensively altered	
270		<i>uyȝous glossed above line by vicious</i>
270	abakward] bakward	
275	fuyre] fyre	
275	hu? altered to thi	<i>'þi' added in margin</i>
278	fuyre] fyre	
289	meouyng] meuyng	
291	yȝen] yen	
291	eerys] erys	
308	holesum] holsum	
310	gryne] grene	
311	unawhare] unaware	
314	huyre] hyre	
315	fewe men] fewer	
321	beþ] be	
322	beth] be	
323	beth] be	
331	huyre] hyre	
347	shalt] shal	
361	me added above the line between helpe & for	
371	veldy] veld	
374	dasewy] daselly	
374	myn] my (second in this line)	
376	straungely] straungel	
378		<i>pulsis in margin against pows</i>
371	adoun] doun	
385	ȝeo] ȝee	

Appendix A

388	domys] dom	
389	ycome] com	
392	ryȝtfullyst] ryȝtfull	
394	fare ȝe well] fare ye well	
394	hennys] henns	
399	fuyre] fyre	
401	fuyre] fyre	
403	fuyre] fyre	
404	fuyre] fyre	
405	fuyre] fyre	
408	vu silf] vu altered, probably from vs ?hand 3 or 4 silf] self	
408		hem] them written above
408-9		vs silf] our written above
409	y purchasid] purchasid	
410		our alteration over erasure
410	silf] self	
411	wilnyng] willing	
412	brennyth] brene	
412	suffreth] suffre	
413	receyfeth] receyfe	
417	howre] owre	
417	suffreth] suffre	
418	beth] be	
419	ȝet] yet	
422	suffreth] suffre	
422	I...ende reche þis to þe by cause þou] ende is to þe by cause þou	above the þe is the; above þou is thou.
423		þou] thou written at side.
426	weyle] weyl	
427		he sayde wyþ whepyng terys] w* in margin
431	seyȝe deyȝyng] se deyyng	
432	dede] ded	
432		body haþ] hath above

Appendix A

433		whaþer] what þer: t added
434	symylitude] symylitud	
435		þonke] thanke written above
436	yput] put	
440	eorthe] erthe	
444	haftirward] aftirward	
445		eniwnyd] minded is written in margin
448	hesye] esye	
449	lyy3ng] lyeng	
449	precousnys of extensively altered to precos	
450	pleser extensively altered to pluer	
459	eorthe] erthe	
463	3eo] it	
464	3eo]it	
471	why3t] wyt	
472	hy3e] y3e	
494	3erys...3erys...3erys] yerys...yerys...yerys	
495	eorthe] erthe	
495	whannys] whan	
502	abou3t] about	
505	huyre] hyre	
508		between a and u of vnauisyd is added d (above the line), in margin vnadvisid
517	awhare] aware	
510	howre] owre	
526	eorthe] erthe	

To Kunne Deie

Here bigynneþ þe mooste profitable sentence to deedli men in þe *f123r*
whiche þei moun leerne forto knowe to deie.

To kunne deie is to haue þe herte and þe soule, þat is, þe
understondynge and wil, redi in al tyme to heuenli þingis, þat whanne
euer deþ come / it fynde a man redi to receyue it wiþouten ony *f123v*
wiþdrawynge, as he þat abidiþ þe comynge desirede greetli of his 6
dereworþe felow. But alas! in summe religius, as in veyne men of þe
world, þou schalt fynde ful manye þat wlaten so muche þis deef þat
vnneþe þei wolen receyue ony mynde þerof. Þei nylen departe fro þis
worlde for þei han not learned to deie. But þei han spendid muche of 10
hire tyme in veyn spechis and in pleies and harlotries and oþer lijk
voide þingis and þerfor whanne deef comeþ sudeynli on hem, for it fyndeþ
hem [yuell] redi, it rauyschiþ þe wrecchide soule fro þe bodi & ledeþ it
to helle, as sum-tyme, 3e ful ofte in hap, þou redere deef wolde haue
sette / [his bridil on þe and haue ledde þe a weie wiþ hit, 3if þe honde 15
of Goddis mercie had not aȝenstonde. Therefore leue þou nowe veyne
þinges to veyne men and vndirstonde þis lickenes whiche I sette forþ to
þe. Sett þou bifore þe a lickenes of a ful faire yonge man þat was
bifore taken of deef & shulde diȝe in ful schorte tyme & had no þinge
disposid for þe helþe of his soule, whiche yonge man cried wrechidly wiþ 20
suche a vois:

'The waylynges of deef han compassid me; þe sorowes / of helle han
compassid me. My God, wo to me! Whereto was I bore in to þis worlde?
Whanne I was borne oute of my moders wombe, whi perisshe I not anone?
Lo! þe bygynnyng of my life was wiþ wepyng and sorowe, and nowe myne 25
ende and oute goynge ben with careful weylynge & mournynge. A þou

deep! hou bitter is þi mynde to a myrie herte and norisched in delices. Forsoþe þi presence is horrible to hym þat is yonge in age and miȝti in bodili strenghþe and haþ prosperite and richesse & bodily helþe. A! hou ful litil bileeuid I þat I shulde diȝe so soone. But nowe, þou careful 30
 deep, þou haste fallen on me sodenly as oute of a buschement, & haste take me and bounden me wiþ a þousand ropis, & þou drawest me in yren cheynes as he þt̃ is dampned is wonte to be drawen to þe turment of deep. Nowe sobely for sorowe of deep I bete my hondes to / gidre and send oute rorynge and ȝellyng, and I coueite to fle deep, and þere is no 35
 place to fle. I loke a-boute to euery coste, & a counfortour and helper failiþ, & I se þe sentence of deep is sette stedfastly & may not be chaungid. I here þe horrible vois of deep þundrynge and seiinge: 'Þou art þe sonne of deep. Neiþer richesse, neiþer resoun, neiþer cosyns, neiþer frendes shullen delyuere þe fro my honde, for þe ende is comyn: 40
 it is determined & it mote be done'. A, my God, nowe I mote diȝe, as I se þis sentence may not be chaungid. A, þe grete cruelte of deep! A, þe vnpite & wrecchidful indignacioun! I biseche þe, spare þou to youþe! Spare þou to age not ȝit ripe! Do þou not so cruelly, neiþer drawe me a weie fro þis life so vnwarly!"

But to þis man þat so miche dredith in veyne þe deep, a man miȝt answer⁴⁵
 and seie:

'Wotest þou not þat þe dome of deep is riȝtful and takiþ no persone & spariþ / noone, but departiþ it self euenly to alle men? It haþ no mercie neiþer of ȝonge neither of eelde. It knowiþ not noble men; it 50
 dredith not myȝti men. It lesiþ in like manere a riche man as a pore. Certis, many ben taken oute of þis life bifore þe parfite fillynge of her ȝeres. Wheþir gessist þu þat deep shal spare þe aloon and durste not

entre in to þine erþly tabernacle?

The lickenes of deef answerid and seid: ' Truli, þou art an heuy 55
 counfortour! Myne wordis sownen noone vnwisdom, but raþer þei shullen
 be demid like vnwisemen þat lickeden lyueden wickedly till² / to þe deef, *f124r*
 and diden þingis worþi þe deef, and neþeles dreden not deef neiþ. For
 þei ben blynde and þei ben³ maad lijk unwise beestis, & purueyn not
 [her]⁴ laste þingis & þo þingis þat schulen come aftir deef. Soþeli I 60
 biwepe not þe doom of deef, but I biwepe þe harmes of deef unpurueid. I
 biwepe not þat I schal go out of þis lijf, but I biweille and bimoorne þe
 harmys of daies þat ben passid vnprofitabli and wiþouten any fruyt. Wo
 to me! Hou haue I lyued? I haue errid fro þe way of treuþe and of
 riȝtwisnesse, and þe sunne of understandinge roos not to me. I was⁵ 65
 weri in þe way of wickidnesse & of perdicion, & I haue go harde weies,
 but I knew not þe wei of / þe Lord. Allas, allas, what haþ pride *f124v*
 profitid to me? What haþ þe boost of pride ȝoue to me? Alle þo þingis
 ben passid as a schadewe þat passib away, and as a schip þat haþ passid
 ouer þe flowynge water, of whiche is not to fynde a step whanne it is 70
 passid, eþer as an arwe schet out in to a certeyn place, and as eir
 departid is closid aȝen anoon, þat þe passynge þerof be not knowen. So
 and I was born and failide anoon to be, and miȝte schewe no signe of
 uertu, but I was wastid in myn owene wickidnesse. Myn hope is as þe
 seed of a þistil, which is born away of þe wynd; and as a litil froþ, þat 75
 is scaterid a-brood of þe tempest; and as smoke þat is spred abroad of
 þe wynde; and as þe mynde of a gest of o / day passynge forþ. And *f125r*
 þerfor now my þouȝt is in bitternesse and my wordis ben ful of sorwe.
 Þerfore myn herte is maad sorweful and myn elȝen ben maad derke. Who
 ȝiueþ to me þat I be as I was sumtyme, whanne I was cloþid in a-roobe 80

To Kunne Deie

of strenþe and of fayrnesse, and hadde ful many ȝeris bifore me, þat I
 miȝte bifore knowe þe yuelis þat han falle on me in þis hour? I
 chargide not þe grete preciouste of tyme but I slakide þe bridel of
 coueitise and ledde forþ mi daies in uanite. Soþeli I vnderstood not þe
 preciouste of tyme but I gesside me born free as a wilde asse. But now, 85
 as fischis ben taken wiþ an hook and as briddis ben taken wiþ a snare,
 so I am taken in yuel tyme þat cam on me sodeynli./ þe tyme is f125v
 passid and sliden a-way & may not be clepid aȝen of any man. Þere was
 noon hour so schort in which I miȝte not bie goostli wynnyngis, þat wiþ-
 outen comparisoun in here ualu passen alle erþeli þingis. Wo to me, 90
 wrecche! Þerfor now myn eiȝe droppeþ for sorwe and myn eiȝe lides
 flowen wiþ watris, for I may not aȝenclepe þat þat is passid.*

A, mi God! whi haue I be reccheles? Whi haue I taried? Whi haue I
 dissymylid? Whi haue I spendid so gracious daies in ful longe and
 ueynest speches and disseyued mi-silf so muche? A! þe weilingis of 95
 myn herte þat moun not be tolde out! Whi studiede I aboute uanyte, and
 whi in al mi lijf lerned not I to deie? Lo [ȝe all]* þat / been present f126r
 and seen mi wrecchidnes,* which han loye ȝit of þe flour of ȝongþe and
 han ȝit couenable tyme: biholde me and see mi wrecchidnessis, and bi mi
 pereil eschewe ȝe ȝoure harm. Spende ȝe wiþ God þe flour of ȝoure 100
 ȝongþe - þat is, in Goddis seruice occupie ȝoure time in holi werkis -
 leste in ȝongþe ȝe do lijk werkis and suffre lijk peynes. Allas,
 plesaunt ȝongþe! how haue I lost þee? A, God wiþoute bigynnyng &
 endyng, to þee I pleyne for mi wrecchidenesse which I suffre. Wilde
 ȝongþe!* hatide wordis of blamyng; I nolde acoorde neþer assente to hem 105
 þat tauȝten me; I disspiside to bowe myn eere to hem þat monestiden
 feiþfulli. I wlatide techinge and chastisyng and myn herte assentide / f126v

To Kunne Deie

not to blamyngis, þat I nolde amende mi lijf for any resonable and
charitable blamyng. Allas, allas, mi God! now I haue falle in to a deep
diche; I haue runne in to þe snare of deep. It hadde be bettere if I 110
hadde nouȝt be born and hadde perisschid in my moderis wombe, þan þat I
hadde spendid so vnprofitabli þe time þat was grauntid to me to
penaunce and þat I mys uside it in pride.'

But in hap an vnprofitable counfortour¹¹ seiþ: 'Lo, alle we dien
and we sliden away in to erþe as watris þat turnen not aȝen. And God 115
wol not þat a soule perische, but wiþdrawiþ and þenkiþ þat he perische
not al out which is cast-away. Þerfore, here þou mi vois and do
penaunce for alle þi synnes and necligencis þat ben passid. Turne þou / f127r
to þi Lord God, for He is benigne & merciful, and if þe eende be good it
sufficiþ to helpe & saluacioun.'

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Þeforseid leeknesse of¹² deep answeride to þese þingis: 'What is
þis word whiche þou spekist? Schal I repente? Schal I conuerte me?
Seest þou not þe angwisschis of deep þat ouer leiþ me? Lo, for drede
and hidousnesse of deep I am so greetli a-feerd, and I am bounden with
þe boondis of deep and mi mynde is oppressid greetli wiþ angwisschis, 125
þat outirli I see not what owiþ to be don. But as a partrich, whanne it
is pressid to gidre to be alto rasid under þe clees of an hauk, is maad
bloodles eþer wiþoute feelynge for angwisch of deep, so al my witte is
goon away fro me and I þenke on no þing, no, but how I may ascape þe
pereil / of dep, and neþeles I may not ascape þe pereil of deep. Þe f127v
lordschipe of deep oppressiþ me and biter departinge hurtiþ me. A! 131
blesside penaunce and ripe conuersioun, eþer in duwe tyme, for it is
siker. But he þat ȝiueþ him-silf late to penaunce is douteiful and
vncerteyn, for me woot not wheþer he repente uereili eþer feynyngli.
Woo to me!¹³ for I delaiede so longe to amende mi lijf; for I tariede so 135

longe myn helpe. A, þe ouerlonge wiþdrawyng of myn amendinge! How
 haue <I>¹⁴ dispendid my lijf! A! a good purpos wiþoute bigynnyng, wil
 wiþoute worching, good biheste wiþouten executioun han lost me. A, to-
 morwe! to-morwe! hou long a wiþþe hast¹⁵ þou maad and hast drawe me in
 to þe depþe of deep in tariyng in to / to-morwe. For þou hast *f128r*
 disseyued me and I am disseyued. Wheþer þis sorwe of me passiþ not al 141
 þe sorwe of þis world, wheþer myn herte is not turmentid skilfulli on
 þese þingis and my soule is woundid? Lo, alle mi daies ben passid;
 þritti ȝeer of myn age ben sliden away¹⁶ and lost and been perischid
 wrecchidli, for þei ben passid so recchelesli þat I woot not wheþer I 145
 haue spendid o dai of alle þese to þe wille of God, eþer in usyng of
 uertu so preisabli and parfitli as in hap I miȝte and ouȝte, eþer wheþer
 I euere ȝaf plesaunt seruice to my makere, so plesaunt and acceptable as
 my staat axide. Woo to me! for I lefte so longe mi lijf vnfruytful!
 Allas, for sorwe! for whi þis it is wherof alle myn entrailis ben / *f128v*
 woundid. 151

A, God wiþoute bigynnyng & eendinge, how schamefulli schal I
 stonde bifore þee and alle þi seyntis at þe doom, whanne I schal be
 constreyned to ȝelde rekenyng of synnes passid & of goode werkis left,
 whiche I scholde haue do. And what schal I seie ȝit? My tribulatioun 155
 is in þe nexte þat is I go out of þis worlde.¹⁷ Now taak heede to me, I
 biseche þe diligentli. Lo! in þis hour I wolde make moore ioie of a
 schort praier as of þe aunglis gretynge, þat is Aue Maria, deuoutli seid
 for me, for of oo discrete almes dede for mel,¹⁸ þan on þousand poundis
 of golde and siluer. A, my God! how many goodis haue I lost bi 160
 recchelesnesse? How yuel bifeld it to me þat I purueide not þese þingis
 whanne I miȝte wel haue purueied? Hou / many houris þat schulen neuer *f129r*

turne aȝen haue I lost? Hou litil dedis and vnprofitable bisynessis
 haue I do, and I haue dispisid so manye and precious goodis. I wlapide
 me in bysynessis not needful and I lefte needful bisynessis 165
 and profitable. I ȝaf tent to þe <help of oþer>¹⁹ men more þan nedide
 eþer more þan spedide to me and I dispiside mi-silf. Alle ȝe þat ben
 present in my wrecchidnessis, hereþ!²⁰ heereþ! for tyme failiþ to me. A,
 God, moost ful of pitee, mooste mylde fader of mercies, now see and haue
compassioun on me, þat suffre þus harde! Allas, how many goodis miȝte 170
 I haue do in so muche tyme and hool bodi, & dide not. A, my God, hou
 couenable and plesaunt schulden be to me now þe leeste²¹ / werkis of *f129v*
 satisfioun! A, alle ȝe, haue compassioun on me [and haue mercie on
 me],²² and as longe as strengþis sufficen and tyme lastiþ, gadre ȝe
 heuenli tresours in to heuenli bernis, þat whanne ȝe failen ȝe be 175
 receyued in to euerlastinge tabernaclis and þat ȝe be not left voide in
 such an hour to comynge to ȝow, as ȝe seen²³ me voide and priued of
 alle goodis.'

Þanne sum freend of his seide to him, 'Dere freend,²⁴ I se þat þi
 sorwe is ful greet and þerfore of herte I haue compassioun on þee. And 180
 I coniure þee bi almiȝti God þat þou ȝiue an holsum counseil to me, þat
 I renne not in to pereil of lijk deeth vndisposid and so sodeyn'.

Þeforsaide ymage of deeth answeride to þese þingis: 'Þe beste
 counseil, þe heieste / wisdom and þe mooste puryaunce stondiþ in þis: *f130r*
 þat be verrey contricioun²⁵ and clene and hool schrift þou dispose þee 185
 while þou art hool in bodi & strong, and þat bi worþi satisfaccioun þou
 caste a-way fro þee alle noyeful þingis þat wiþdrawen and letten fro
euerlastinge helpe, and þat þou holde so þi-silf in al tyme as ȝif þou

schuldist departe fro þis worlde to-dai in þe space of o dai, eþer
 tomorwe, eþer at þe lengeste in þis woke. Sette in þin herte as if þi 190
 soule be now in purgatorie and haue receyued x ȝeer þe furneis of fiȝr
 brennyng in peyne for þi synnes and þat þis present ȝeer al oone be
 grantid in to helpe of þi-silf. Þerfore þus biholde ofte þi soule
 brennyng among / gobetis of flawme and perseyue þe wrecchide vois of f130v
 þi soule, cryng & seiynge: "A, þou, mooste dereworþe of alle freendis, 195
 help now: haue merci on þi soule! Haue mynde on þe prisounferl;²⁶ haue
 merci on me and help þe desolaat soule, eþer left aloone eþer
 discounfortid! Suffre me no lengere to be turmentid in þis derke
 prisoun, for I am forsakyn of þis world. Þere is noon þat schewiþ þe
 feiþfulnesse; þere is noon þat dressiþ þe hond to þe nedi. Alle men 200
 sekyn hire owene þingis & forsaken me desolate in ueniable flaumes."

His freend answeride to þese þingis: 'Outirli²⁷ þis techinge were
 moost profitable, if ony man hadde it bi experience eþer assaiynge as
 þou hast. And þouȝ [þi]²⁸ wordis semyn ful stiryng & / scharpe, f131r
 neþeles þei profiten litil at many men. For þei turnen away hire face 205
 þat þei see not into þe eende. Þei han eiȝen and seen not; þei han eeris
 and heeren not; þei demyn þat þei schulen lyue longe and for þei dredyn
 not deē vndisposid þerfore þe wrecchis dispisen to bifore see þe harmes
 þerof. And whanne²⁹ þe messegeer of deē, þat is, greuous sijknesse,
 comeþ, freendis and felowes comen togidre to þe sijk man for cause of 210
 uisitynge, and alle biheeten in profecyng hire owene þingis and
 witnessen not þat deē comeþ but seyn outirli it is not for-to drede,
 neþer ony pereil neiȝer but it is a passyng flix, eþer sume [oþer]³⁰
 mys ordeyned stiringe of humours, eþer sum stoppyng of membrs / eþer f131v
 of senewis þat schal passe in schort tyme. And þus³¹ þe freendis of þe 215

bodi been maad enemyes of þe soule and disseyuen þe wrecche, for þe while þe sijknese wexiþ greuou in euery moment eþer schort tyme, þe sijkman hopiþ euere of rekyuerynge, and at þe laste he is wastid in þe ynnere þingis and failiþ and wiþ-oute fruyt of helþe he ȝeldiþ þe wrecchide soule. So and such hereris of þee þat tristen on mannys 220
prudence casten þi wordis bi hynde hire bac and assentyn not to þin helpful counseil.'

þe ymage of deef answeride to þese þingis: ' þerfor, whanne þei been taken in þe snare of scharp deef & whanne sudeyn wracchidnesse falliþ on hem and whanne perischynge comeþ as a tempest / þei schulen f132r
crie and schulen not be herde, for þei hatiden wisdoofm³² & dispiciden 226
to here my counseil. And as ful fewe ben founden now þat ben compuncte eþer repentaunt bi my wordis & amende here lijf in to betere, so treuli for þee malice of tyme and for defaute of goostli feruour, þat is hertli desire, & for wickidnesse of þe world wexynge olde, ful fewe ben founden 230
so parfitli disposid to þe deef, which stoonden in so greet drawynge away fro þe world & deuocioun of herte, þat for^{þe} desir of euerlastinge lijf þei coueiten to dele and desiren with alle here entrailes eþer affectiouns to be wiþ Crist, but þei ben bifor taken with bitter deþ and ben founden vndisposid, as also I am bifore taken. And þerfore / þei f132v
goon not out of þis lijf so myche as þei ben raueschid bi uiolence. And 236
if þou wolt³³ knowe þe cause of so greet and comyn pereil: lo, þe unskilful desir of onour,³⁴ superflue bisynesse of bodi, &³⁵ erþeli loue and ouer myche bisynesse of housholde blynden diuerse heertis of many men and bringen to þese perillis. 240

To Kunne Deie

Sopeli, if þou wiþ fewe men desirest to be saued fro þis pereil of
deþ vndisposid, here mi counseil, and ofte sette bifore þin eiȝen³⁶ þis
sorweful persoone of me whiche þow seest and bisili bringe it to þi
mynde, & anoon þou schalt feelee þat mi techinge is moost profitable to
þee. For [bi it]³⁷ þou schalt profite þat not oonli þou drede not to die 245
but also þou schalt abide deef, which is feerdful to alle lyuynges men, as
eende / of trauaile and as bigynnyng of euerelastinge blisse, and þou f133r
schalt take deef wiþ desir of þin herte. Oonli do þou þis, þat þou
þenke deepli on me ech dai, and diligentli perseyue my wordis, and write
þo in þin herte, and of þe sorwis and angwischis whiche þow seest in me, 250
biholde and þenke þo þingis þat schulen come to þee in ful neiȝ tyme.
Haue mynde on my doom, for so³⁸ schal be also þin: ȝistirdai to me & to-
dai to þee. Loke on me and haue mynde on þis nyȝt as longe as þou
lyuest.

Hou blessid art þou Arcen, þat³⁹ haddist euer þis hour bifore þin 255
eiȝen! Blessid is he whom þe Lord fyndiþ wakyng whanne he comeþ &
ryngeþ at þe ȝate! Blessid is he wham þis our / of deef fyndiþ wel f133v
redi, for he schal passe blessidli þouȝ he be turmentid in greet
bitternesse of deef. For in what euer hour he be bifore occupied in
deef, he schal be in refreischinge. He schal be purgid and be brouȝt to 260
þe siȝt of þe glorie of God. And he schal be kept of hooli aungelis and
he schal be receyued of heuenli citeseyns and of glorie of heuene; for
whi þe goyng out of his spirit schal be entringe of euerlastinge
cuntre.

But wo to me wrecche! Whar gessist þou mi spirit schall⁴⁰ lyue in 265
þis nyȝt? Who schal receyue mi careful soule? Where schal it be
herborwid eþer where schal it dwelle þis nyȝt? Eþer hwo schulen þei be
þat schulen receyue it in þat vnknown cuntre? / A, how desolat schal f134r

mi soule be þanne! A, how forsaken and out-cast ouer alle soulis! Eþer
 who is he þat is present wiþ it feiþfulli and þat wole loue it spedili? 270
 Þerfore in hauynge compassioun of mi-silf I schedde out teeris as a stif
 streem bitwixe bittere wordis. But what auayleþ it þat I wepe aftir þis
 tyme and hepe moost bitter woordis? It is concludid: it may not be
 chaungid. Þe enemy haþ closid mi weies; a spier is maad to me, as a
 lioun in hid place; he haþ fillid me and maad me drunken wiþ bitternesse; 275
 he haþ brouȝt mi soule in to þe lake of deeþ.

A, mi God, now I sette an eende to mi wordis: I may no more weile.
 Lo, þe our comeþ þat takiþ me away fro erþe! Wo to me! / now I se, now f134v
 I feele þat I mai nomore liue⁴¹ and þat deeþ is neiȝ. Lo, þe feble
 hondis bigynnen to be coolde; þe face bigynneþ to wexe paale; þe siȝt 280
 bigynneþ to daswe and þe eiȝen to be deepe sette and turned outward.
 Wo to me, wrecche! þe prickyngis of moost bitter deeþ cumpassen me and
 enforsen to strangle þe feble herte. A, þe angwischis of herte and deedli
 oppressyngis! Lo, þe pows bigynneþ to be feble; þee breeþ bigynneþ to
 faile and to-gadre hit-silf as of depþe. I see nomoore [þel⁴² liȝt of þis 285
 worlde and lo, now I bygynne to biholde wiþ eiȝen of soule, as in
 þenkynge, þe staat of þe toþer world. A, my God! how careful is þe
 biholdinge! Lo, blodī beestis, viseride facis of feendis, / blake f135r
 ethiopiens vnnoumberable cumpassen me, aspiynge and abidyngē mī
 wrecchide soule to go out in [full⁴³ schort tyme, if in hap it be taken 290
 to hem to be turmentid.

A, moost streit iuge, a þi doomes be most⁴⁴ cleere! How muche
 chargist þou in demynge me wrecche, ȝhe þo þingis whiche for
 [liltilnesse]⁴⁵ of hem-silf fewe men chargen. A, þe fertful siȝt of þe
 [riȝtfull]⁴⁶ iuge, now present to me bi drede & sudeynli to comynge bi 295

3yuyngē in dede. Now fare wel mi mooste dereworþe felowis and freendis,
for now I þat schal go out of þis worlde turne þe eiȝe of soule to
purgatorie, whider I schal be brouȝt now, and I schal not go out fro
þennes⁴⁷ til I paie þe laste ferþing, þat is, suffre fulle payne for þe
leeste synne.

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Þere with / eiȝe of herte I biholde wrecchidnesse & sorwe, muche *f135v*
peyne and turment. Wo to me,⁴⁸ wrecche! Þere, amonge oþer peynes dewe
to þat place, I see flawmes of fiȝr risen up and wlappe in and dippe in
aȝen summe soulis of wrecchis, whiche as sparclis fleyngē in þe flawme
rennen aboute in þe myddis of þe fiȝr brennyngē, as whanne a greet toun *305*
is al sette afire sparclis ben born up and doun in þe fier and in þe
smoke, and ech of þese soulis ȝelliȝ & criep for sorwe of turment and
seilȝ:⁴⁹ "Haue merci on me! Haue merci on me, namli ȝe mi freendis!
Where is now þe helpe of mi freendis? Where ben þe goode biheestis of
kynnes-men and of oþer men, bi whos vnskilful affecciouȝ we han *310*
deceyued us-silf and / han encreessid to us-silf þis payne? Whi didn *f136r*
we þuse þingis? We traualiden sore, wilnyngē to plese hem, and we ben
yuel rewardid. We brennen and ben roostid, and we receyuen noon help of
hem. Allas! whi purueide we not to us-silf of oure helpe? Lo, þe
leste⁵⁰ turment of þis [purgatorie]⁵¹ which we suffren passiȝ al turment
of þat temporal worlde; þe scharpnesse & bitternesse of oon our of þis *316*
peyne which we felen is gessid to haue in it-silf an hundrid ȝeer of
wrecchidnesse of þis passyngē world. But ouer alle oþer kyndis of
turmentis þe absence of þat mooste blisful face of God hirtiȝ us ful
muchē." I þat am sette in þe laste striȝf leue þuse þingis for mynde to
þee, and whanne I haue / seid þuse þingis I deie in traueilyngē.' *f136v*

At þis siȝt anoþer freend of his greetli weilide and alle his *321*

boonys quakeden for drede, and wiþ teeris he turnede to God and seide:
 'A, my God! hou muche feriþ me þe presence of deef seizen! Þe ymage of
 deef haþ so me al rauyschid þat vnneþe I knowe not wheþer þis þat I
 seize is doon in dede eþer in licesse. A, lordli Gouvernour, ferdful Lord 325
 & merciful, I zelde þankynge to þee! I biheete amendis for I am aferde
 wiþ greet drede.⁵² For in al my lijf I⁵³ perseyuede neuer so opynli þe
 pereil of deef vndisposid as in þis hour. Þerfor I bileue for certeyn
 þat þis hydouse siȝt schal auaille euere to mi soule.⁵⁴ Now I knowe moost
 certeynli þat we han not here a citee dwellynge and þerfore / wiþ al mi f137r
 miȝt I coueite to strecche forþ me to þe <vn>chaungeable⁵⁵ staat of 331
 soule þat is to come.

I purpose to learne to deie.⁵⁶ I myl delaie panaunce; I wol not
 drawe alonge mi turnynge to God. I dispose to amende my lijf wiþoute
 tariynge. And if I am so greetli aferd of þe mynde aloone of deef 335
 vndisposid, what schulde be doon of þe presence þerof? Now tak⁵⁷ away
 fro me þe softnesse of beddis, þe precioustē of cloþis and slouþe of
 slep þat lettiþ me. Wo to me if I schulde depaarte now sodeynli out of
 þis lijf; how greet mateer schulde þilke fijr fynde in me for þe
 multitude of synnes and unfillid satisfaccioun. Now I woot what I schal 340
 do, for I schal not suffre mi dereworþe soule [to]⁵⁸ perische so, but in
 þis pas/singe time and moost schort here I schal purueie bi suffringe of f137v
 traueillis and bi usynge of uertues þat in þat laste our it fynde not
 peyne, but reste.

A, þou holi and merciful Sauour, giue not me to so bittir deef! 345
 Lo, I knele bi-fore þe and am al bisched wiþ teeris, and axe þat þou
 punische me heere at þi wille and þat þou be not wroþ in to þe eende

To Kunne Deie

and kepe myn yuelis til in to þat hydous place, where is so greet
wrecchidnesse & turment þat noman sufficiþ to seie. A,⁵⁹ hou vnwys haue
I be til to þis time, þat I chargide so litil undisposid deef and þe 350
greete peyne of purgatorie, and how greet wisdom it is to haue þuse
þingis ofte in mynde!

And þou/, mooste dereworþe freend, þe while þou art ȝit ȝonge and f138r
hool and stronge & maist amende þi lijf, haue a mynde on þis in alle
time. But whanne in treuþe þou comest to þis our & maist in noon oþer 355
wise be helpid, þanne no þing is left ouer, no, but þat þou bitake þe to
þe merci of God aloone, and þat þou sette þe passioun of oure Lord
Ihesu⁶⁰ Crist bitwixe þe and his doom, leste þou drede þe riȝtfulnesse
of God moore þan⁶¹ it nediþ and falle doun fro þin hope. And now þou
[þat]⁶² art aferd bi ouer muche drede, be of betere cumfort, and wite 360
wel þat þe drede of þe Lord is þe bigynnyng of helþe. Seke holi
scripturis and þou schalt fynde hou many goodis þe mynde of deef
bryngiþ to a man. Þe wise/man seiþ: "If a man liue many ȝeeris & is glad f138v
in alle þuse he owiþ for-to þenke on þe derke time and on þe yuel daies.
For whanne þe daies comen, þingis passid schulen be repreued of 365
uanyte. Þerfore haue þou mynde on þi creatour in þe daies of þi ȝongþe,
bifore þe time of turment come."

Blesse þou God of heuene of al⁶³ þin herte and be þou kynde, for
it is of ful fewe men to perseyue wiþ eere of herte þe unstableness of
þis time and þe geleafnesse of deef, euere liggyng in awayte, and þe 370
blisse of heuenli cuntre þat schal euer dwelle. Reise þin eiȝen, and
loke abouten diligentli & see⁶⁴ how many men ben blyndid in soule and
closen hire iȝen þat þei seen not in to þe eende. Þei makyn heuy / hire f139r
eeris leste þei heren and be conuertid and be maad hool, þat is, saued,
whos perdicioun schal not tarie. And see now þe unnumbrable cunpanye of 375

hem whiche þe pereil of deef haþ lost now. Perseyue how many men ben
þat dwelliden to-gidere wiþ þee, and ben dede and taken away fro erþe.
How greet multitude of breþeren and felowis [and]⁴⁵ of oþer men knowen
to þee ȝeden bifore þe ȝit a ȝong man in so fewe ȝeeris, whiche leften
þee a litil time after hem and deiden. Bihold hem and spek to hem; axe 380
alle, enquere of ech; and wiþ wepynge & weilynge þei schullen teche þee,
and schullen answere and seie to þee: "A, how blessid is he þat bifore
seef þuse laste þingis & kepiþ him fro synnes and in al time / disposiþ *f139v*
him to þis our." Þerfore putte bihinde alle þingis þat wiþdrawen þee,
and dispose þin hous and make þe redi to þe [hour]⁴⁶ of deef, for þou 385
wost not for certeyn in what our it schal come and how neiȝ it is. Lo
it is in þe ȝatis! And þerfor al þi lijf and þi doynge be dressid to þis
poynt: þat þou gete good deef, and come to þe place of undeedlinesse and
of euerlastinge blisse.'

Heer eendiþ þe mooste profitable science to deedli man, þat is, to 390
kunne deie.

Footnotes

1. 13 [yuel] redi] un redi; 'yuel' supplied from GH 496. See P. Künzle, Heinrich Seuses Horologium Sapientiae (Freiburg, 1977), p.527, l.24 'male paratos'.
2. 15-57 [his bridil...wickidly till] supplied from GH 496, ff164v-166r. *The omission is between f123r and f124r.*
3. 59 utinam saperent & intelligerent ac nouissima puruiderent in margin.
4. 60 [herl] here for þe 'her' supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.529, l.14 'sua'.
5. 65 was] was <not>; see Künzle, (1977), p.529, ll.19-20, 'lassatus sum'.
6. 92 nota de obliuione dierum in margin.
7. 97 nota in margin.
8. 97 [þe all] alle þe 'þe al' supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.530, l.29 'Eya vos omnes'.
9. 98 wrecchidnes] wrecchidnessis singular form found in GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.530, l.29 'meam miseriam'; nota de iuuentute in margin.
10. 105 nota of ȝouþe in margin.
11. 114 nota de adulatore in margin.
12. 121 nota in margin.
13. 135 nota bene in margin.
14. 137 <I> added by this scribe above the line.
15. 139 wiþþe hasti] wippe haast; see Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.7 'quam longam restem fecisti'. 'Wippe' means whip (OE) and is therefore correct; hasti' would appear to be a scribal error.
16. 144 nota de tempore male expenso in margin.
17. 156 nota in margin.

18. 159 [or of...for me] supplied from GH 496.
19. 166 <help of oþer> the scribe writes into the margin at the end of the line.
20. 168 here[þ]! heereþ] here, heereþ! See Künzle, (1977), p.533, 1.8, 'Audite, audite': GH 496 reads 'heere! here!.
21. 172 nota in margin.
22. 174 [and haue mercie on me] supplied from GH 496.
23. 177 nota in margin.
24. 179 nota de consolatore in margin.
25. 185 nota of counseil in margin.
26. 196 prisoun[er] prisoun See Künzle, (1977), p.534, 1.9, 'incarcerati'; GH 496 reads 'prisoner.
27. 202 nota in margin.
28. 204 [þi] wordis] þis wordis 'þi' supplied from GH 486; see Künzle, (1977), p.534, 1.17 'verba tua'.
29. 209 nota de nuncione mortis in margin.
30. 213 sume [oþer] sume supplied from GH 496 (summe oþer) See Künzle, (1977), p.534, 1.25 'qualumcumque'.
31. 215 nota in margin.
32. 226 wisdoo[m] widoon.
33. 237 nota bene in margin.
34. 238 nota de superfluis expensis & honoribus in margin.
35. 239 &] & [of] with of crossed out by scribe..
36. 242 nota of deþ in margin.
37. 245 [bi it] but 'bi it' supplied from GH 496.
38. 252 nota de morte in margin.
39. 255 nota of arcen in margin.
40. 265 schall] schat.

41. 279 nota de fine uite *in margin*.
42. 285 þe] þe [þe] second 'þe' crossed out by scribe.
43. 290 [full] supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.536, 1.28 'in proximo'.
44. 292 nota de iudicato dei *in margin*.
45. 294 [lililnesse] lijnesse supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.536, 1.31-2 'modicitate'.
46. 295 [riȝtfull] ferdful supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.2 'iusti iudicis'.
47. 299 nota de satisfactione in [purgatorium] *in margin*; purgatorium' erased by blacking out, probably by a post-Reformation scribe.
48. 302 nota of peynis of purgatorie *in margin*.
49. 308 nota de misericordia amicorum *in margin*.
50. 314 nota de tormentis [purgatorie] pene temporarie *in margin*.
'Purgatorie' erased, probably by a post-Reformation scribe and 'pene temporarie' added.
51. 314 [purgatorie] erased in text (blacked out), probably by a post-Reformation scribe.
52. 327 nota de periclo mortis *in margin*.
53. 327 lijf] lijf [an] 'an' crossed out by scribe.
54. 329 < & to many oþere > added by scribe in bottom margin; see Künzle, (1977), p.538, 11.7-8.
55. 331 <vn>chaungeable 'vn' added by scribe above the line.
56. 333 nota bene mortem *in margin*.
57. 336 nota *in margin*.
58. 341 [tol perische] perische 'to' supplied from GH 496.
59. 349 nota de memoria mortis *in margin*.
60. 358 nota of þenkynge *in margin*.

61. 359 nota de timore domine in margin.
62. 360 þou [þat] art] þou art 'þat' supplied from GH 496.
63. 368 al] al [all] crossed out by scribe.
64. 372 nota in margin.
65. 378 felowis [and] felowis 'and' supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.539, l.29, 'sociorum ac ceterorum'.
66. 385 [hour] hoom 'hour' supplied from GH 496; see Künzle, (1977), p.540, l.6 'ad horam mortis'.

The Variant Readings: Bod 789 and GH496

Listed here are those variant readings from GH 496 which have not been adopted in this edition; readings from the edition of Bod 789 are given first, and the Latin text cited where appropriate to illustrate the process of emendation. < > are used to indicate scribal additions, square brackets to indicate scribal erasures.

3. To Kunne deie] To Kunne to diþe.
7. in summe] summe - See Künzle, (1977), p.527, l.18 'in nonnullis'.
11. in pleies] pleyes.
12. deeþ] þe deeþ.
14. þou redere] þou, riþir.
63. daies] þe daies.
63. passid] passeþ.
64. and] and and.
68. profited to me] profited me.
70. whiche is] whiche it is.

71. a certeyn] uncerteyne - See Künzle, (1977), p.530, 1.3 'in locum destinatum'.
74. myn owene] my - See Künzle, (1977), p.530, 1.6 'In malignitate... propria'.
78. þerfor now] þerfore - See Künzle, (1977), p.530, 1.9 'Et ideo... nunc'.
78. þouȝt] worde - See Künzle, (1977), p.530, 11.9-10 'sermo meus... verba mea'.
82. han falle] fallen.
85. born] to be borne.
87. on me] ouer me - Künzle, (1977), p.530, 1.19, 'supervenit'.
91. droppeþ] droppen.
- 93-94. Whi haue I taried? Whi haue I dissymylid] GH 496 omits.
94. so] of.
95. disseyued misilf] haue dispised me - See Künzle, (1977), p.530, 1.27 'neglexi'.
96. studiede] studie - See Künzle, (1977), p.530, 1.28 'studui'.
99. wrecchidnessis] wrecchidnes - See Künzle, (1977), p.531, 1.2 'measque miserias'.
102. in ȝongþe] GH 496 omits. Künzle, (1977), p.531, 1.4 has no parallel.
106. monestiden] monestiden me - See Künzle, (1977), p.531, 1.7, which has no 'me'.
108. þat] þat is - Künzle, (1977), p.531, 1.8 has no parallel.
111. hadde perisschid] had be perished.
115. away in to erþe] aweie to þe erþe.
119. He] GH 496 omits.
121. þese] þe.

127. al] GH 496 omits.
133. late to penaunce] to penaunce late - Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.2
'tarde paenitentiae'.
134. me woot] I wote.
137. dispendid my lif] dispised myself - Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.5
'qualiter me neglexisti'.
139. wiþþe hasti] wippe haast - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.7 'quam
longam restem fecisti'.
140. þe depþe] depþe.
141. Wheþer þis...not] Wheþer not...
146. haue spendid] spendid.
148. euere 3af] 3aue - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.15 'umquam'.
153. þi seyntis] þe seintes - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.19 'sanctis
omnibus' (L1 16 adds 'tuis').
155. schal I] I shal.
156. þat is] þat.
158. as of] of.
158. Aue] þe Aue.
159. for me] of a trewe cristen man - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.24
'per me'.
164. bisynessis] bisines - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.27 'modica
facta'.
165. I wlappide] And I wlappid - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.28 no
'et'.
165. bysynessis] bisines - See Künzle, (1977), p.532, l.28 'negotiis'.
165. bisynessis] bisines - See Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.1, 'necessaria'.
168. wrecchidnessis] wrecchidnesse - See Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.9
'miseriis'.

168. to me] me.
170. many] gret - See Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.16 'quanta bona'.
173. on] of.
177. to ȝow] on ȝou - See Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.24 from
'superventura'.
- 179-180 sorwe is] sorowes ben - See Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.27 'dolorum
tuum'.
182. pereil] þe peril.
183. þeforsaide] Therefore þe seid - See Künzle, (1977), p.533, l.30 'Ad
haec imago praedicta...'.
183. answeride] and aunswerid.
185. clene and hool shrift] confessioun - See Künzle, (1977), p.533,
l.32 'puram ac integram confessionem'.
188. ȝif] euer.
190. at þe] atte.
191. x] ten.
191. þe] bi - See Künzle, (1977), p.534, ll.4-5 'fornacem ignis
ardentis'.
195. þi] þis - See Künzle, (1977), p.534, l.8 'ipsius'.
196. þi] my - See Künzle, (1977), p.534, l.9 'animae tuae'.
198. to be] be.
208. þe harmes] harmes.
211. biheeten] byhetynges - See Künzle, (1977), p.534, l.23 'promittunt'.
- 216-7. for þe while] for while.
218. at þe] atte.
219. ȝeldiþ] ȝeldiþ up.
222. helpful] heelpful.
224. þe snare] a snare.

225. comeþ] comeþ on hem - See Künzle, (1977), p.534, l.34 - p.535, l.1:
'et interitus quasi tempestas ingruerit'.
227. fewe] fewe men - See Künzle, (1977), p.535, l.5 'pauci'.
230. & for] and and for.
230. wickednesse] þe wickednes.
230. wexynge] wexiþ - See Künzle, (1977), p.535, l.6 'senescentis'.
236. not] GH 496 omits - See Künzle, (1977), p.535, l.10 'non'.
249. deepli] - GH 496 omits. See Künzle, (1977), p.535, l.24
'profunde'.
255. Arcen] - GH 496 omits. See Künzle, (1977), p.535, l.29, 'Arseni'.
255. haddist euere] euer haddist.
257. at] GH 496 omits.
260. be brouȝt] brouȝt.
262. of glorie] to þe glorie - See Künzle, (1977), p.536, l.4 'a
caelesti curia suscipetur'
263. entringe] entre - See Künzle, (1977), p.536, l.5 'introitus'.
265. schat] schal - scribal error by the Bodleian scribe.
269. be] ben.
281. turned] turne - See Künzle, (1977), p.536, l.19 'transverti'.
283. deedli] GH 496 unclear.
292. most cleere] clere - See Künzle, (1977), p.326, l.30 'severissima'
296. mooste dereworþe felowis and freendis] frendis and mooste
dereworþe felowis - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, l.3, 'socii et amici
carissime'.
298. go out] go.
303. wlappe in and dippe in] wlappen and dippen - See Künzle, (1977),
p.537, l.9 'involvere et reimpingere'.
- 304-306 fleynge...sparclis] GH 496 omits.

308. mi] GH496 omits. See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.14 'amici mei'.
311. deceyued] dispised - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.17 'negleximus'.
311. þis peyne] peyne - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.17 'hanc poenam'.
315. þat temporal] al þat temporal - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.22
'illius mundi temporalis'.
- 315-6. þis peyne] þe peyne - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.21-22 (no
article).
316. hundrid] C.
318. blisful] blessid - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.25 felicissimae.
321. greetli weilide] weilid gretli - See Künzle, (1977), p.537, 1.27
'valde ingemuit'.
324. so me al rauyschid] so rauisched me al - See Künzle, (1977),
p.538, 1.2 'sic me totum imago mortis rapuit'.
325. lordli] lord - See Künzle, (1977), p.538, 1.3 'dominator domine'.
326. þankynges] þankynges - See Künzle, (1977), p.538, 1.4 'gratias'.
330. citee] certeyne - See Künzle, (1977), p.538, 1.9 'civitatem'.
333. to leerne] lerne.
333. penaunce] no penaunce.
340. synnes] my synnes - See Künzle, (1977), p.538, 1.20 has no 'my'.
340. what I] 'I' in GH 496 unclear.
346. bisched] bissette - See Künzle, (1977), p.538, 1.26 'cum lacrimis'.
350. til to] til.
351. it is] is it.
354. and hool and stronge] & strong & hool - See Künzle, (1977),
p.539, 1.5 'sanus ac robustus'.
354. a mynde] mynde - No direct parallel in Latin.
358. his dome] þe dome - See Künzle, (1977), p. 539, 1.8. However, the
change of speakers in the exemplar for this translation means

that the Latin in Künzle does not offer much guidance.

365. *commen*] *comme*þ.

365. *repreued*] *proued* - See Künzle, (1977), p.539, 1.15 'arguentur'.

371. *cuntre*] *courte* - See Künzle, (1977), p.539, 1.21 'patriae'.

375. *now*] *þou* - No parallel in the Latin. (Künzle, (1977), p.539, 1.23).

386 - 387 *Lo it is*] GH 496 omits. See Künzle, (1977), p.540, 1.7
'...prope est. Ecce in ianuis est'.

387. *And þerfor*] *therfore*.

387. *be dressid*] *dresse it* - See Künzle, (1977), p.540, 1.9 'dirigatur'

389. *Amen*] In GH 496 to close the text.

Introduction to Glossary

This glossary covers both the editions of Lichfield 16 and of *To Kunne Deie*: the former of these two has been labelled as text 1, the latter as text 2, and line references follow this convention. The glossary is not comprehensive: it assumes a reasonable working knowledge of Middle English.

Certain conventions have been followed:

i) Where *y* is vocalic (ie represents *j*), it is treated as *j*; where it is consonantal, it is treated as *y*. Where *i* is consonantal (ie represents *j*) it is listed under *j*.

ii) Where *u* and *v* are vocalic, they are treated as *u*; where consonantal, as *v*.

iii) *ȝ* is listed after *g* and *ȝ* after *t*.

Where there is significant difference in the spelling of various occurrences of words, cross-referring has been employed. Words are generally listed under their first alphabetical occurrence, or, in the case of verbs, where possible under the infinitive form. Where relevant, readings from *Scire Mori* are cited to elucidate definitions.

Abbreviations

A Anglian dialect (of OE)	NF Northern French
acc. accusative	Nhb Northumbrian dialect (of OE)
adj. adjective	Norw. Norwegian
adv. adverb	OA Old Anglian
AF Anglo-French	OE Old English
AL Anglo-Latin	OF Old French
Chr. Lat. Christian Latin	OFris Old Frisian

conj. conjunction	OI Old Irish
CF Central French	OHG Old High German
ger. gerund	ON Old Norse
gerv. gerundive	ONhb Old Northumbrian
imp. imperative	ONF Old Northern French
inf. infinitive	pa. past tense
infl. inflected	pa. p. past participle
intrans. intransitive	pl. plural
It Italian	pop. L. popular Latin
Kt Kentish dialect (of OE)	pr. present tense
L Latin	pres. p. present participle
LOE Late Old English	pron. pronoun
MDu Middle Dutch	refl. reflexive
ME Middle English	sg. singular
med L medieval Latin	subj. subjective
Merc Mercian dialect (of OE)	v. verb
MLG Middle Low German	vr. variant
n. noun	WS West Saxon dialect (of OE)

abide *inf.* wait for, await 1/336, 2/246; *pr.3.sg* **abideth** 1/522, 2/6;

pa.3.sg. **abode** 1/38; *pres.p.* **abydyng** 1/385, 2/289; *inf.* remain (in a place), stay, sojourn, live, dwell 1/356, 1/357; *pres.p.* **abydyng** 1/134, 1/257 [OE *ābīdan*]

abydyng *gerv.* *in phrase* of ~ eternal (L *manentem civitatem*; See Hebrews 13:14) 1/441 [from *abide*]

a-brode *adv.* so as to cover a wide space, widely; 1/66, 1/125; **a-brood** 2/76-77 [from on *brōd(e)*]

acorde *inf.* agree, assent, consent (*usually with to*) 1/167, **acoorde** 2/105 [OF *acorder*]

affecon, *n.* emotion, feeling 1/321, *pl.* **affectionous**, 2/234; love, friendship, goodwill, 2/310 (1/321, 2/234 L *totis visceribus*) [OF and L]

al out *adv.* utterly, completely, 2/117 [from *adv. phrase*]

alto *adv.* completely, utterly, 2/127 [from *phrase al to*: cp. *al out*]

amende *inf.* correct, emend 1/197, 2/108, 2/135, 2/234; *pr.2.sg.* **amende** 2/354; *imp.2.sg.* **amend** 1/480, *pr.3.pl.* **amendeth** 1/315, **amende** 2/228 [OF *amender*, from L *emendare*]

amendement *n.* reparation, redress, 1/148-9; correction; betterment, 1/435 [OF]

amendynge *ger.* moral improvement, 2/136 [from *amende*]

amendis *n.sg.* reparation, amends, 2/326 [OF]

anone *adv.* at once, instantly; shortly, soon, 1/44, 1/62, 1/128 etc; *in phrase* ~ as as soon as 1/129, 1/445 [from on *nōne*]

apayed *pa.p.* *in phrase* holden (oneself) ~ to feel satisfied, be content or pleased, 1/497 [OF *apaiier*]

apassid *pa.p.* passed, vanished 1/145, 1/151, 1/206; finished, accomplished (L *transactis*) 1/178 [OF *appasser*]

ascapyd *pa.p.* slipped away 1/207 [CF *eschaper*]

askyd *pa.3.sg.* required as appropriate or necessary, called for 1/212;

pa.3.sg. axide 2/149 [OE *āscian*, *ācsian* and *ge-*]

aspiyinge *pres.p.* lying in ambush for, waylaying, 2/289 (*trans. L*

insidiantes) [from *aspian* (AF and CF *espi(i)er*)]

assaiynge *ger.* experience, 2/203 [from *assaien* (AF; CF *essai(i)er*)].

astonyd *pa.p.* dulled 1.213 [Formed on AF *pl.*; cp. CF *eston(n)é*]

avisement *n.* in phrase by *gode* ~ with a clear view, clearly, 1/59-60,

1/340-341; in phrase take *gode* ~ to take thought, consider, ponder

1/239 [OF]

azen callid *pa.p.* recall, call back 1/146 [*azen-* prefix + *callen*, v.]

azenclepe *inf.* call or bring back, restore, 2/92 [*azen-* prefix + *clepen*

v. (OA *cliopian*)]

azenstonde *pa.p.* opposed, prevented, 2/16 [Modelled on L *re-sister*; ob-

stare etc]

bare *adj.* stripped of means of defence, unprotected 1/214, 1/305, 1/333,

1/359 [OE *bær*]

begylyd *pa.p.* lured, 1/145 [from *gīlen*, (OF *guiler*)]

beheete *pr.1.sg.* to promise 2/326; *pr.3.pl. biheeten* 2/209; *pr.3.pl.*

bihote 1/295 [OE *behātan*]

beseche *pr.1.sg.* to beg, entreat, often with *of/for* of the thing being

asked for 1/88, 2/45, 2/157; *pa.1.sg. besouȝt* 1/242 [OE *besēcan*]

biholdinge *ger* the act of looking 2/288 [from *biholden* v. (OE

bihealden)]

bisched *pa.p.* suffused, 2/346 [From OE *shēden*, *shed*]

bisegyd *pa.p.* besieged 1/65 [from *as)segen*]

bytake *imp.2.sg.* to assign or allot (sth.) 1/465; *pr.2.sg. bitake* to

commend (to God), 2/356 [from *tāken*]

blamyng *ger.* the act of criticising, disparaging, reprimanding, or censuring, 2/105, 2/108, 2/109 [from *blamen*, v. OF *bla(s)mer*]

bowe *inf. in phrase* ~ **the ere** turn the ears, give ear, listen, 1/165, 2/106 [OE *būgan*; also influenced by OE *boga*, noun]

brennyth *pr.1.pl.* to be consumed by fire, burn, burn down, 1/412;
pr.1.pl. brennen 2/313; *pres.p. brennyng(e)*, burning; suffering torture by fire 1/275 (2nd), 2/305 [from OE *inf. biernan*, cp. OE *brynne*, fire etc. ME *brennen* is chiefly from ON, cp. OI *brenna*, ppl. *brent*]

brennyng *gerv.* on fire, fiery, burning 1/275 (1st), 1/277, 1/402, 1/403, 2/192, 2/194; **brennyg** 1/402 [see above]

brondys *n.pl.* flames, 1/278 [OE *brond*, brand]

buschement *n.* ambush, ambuscade, 2/31 [Vr. of *embushement*]

byhest *n.* a promise or pledge, 1/435; **biheste** 2/138; *pl. byhestys*, 1/200, 1/407, **biheestis** 2/309 [OE *behās*; ME *bihēst* has the suffix *-t* of the synonym *hight*]

bysyli *adv* eagerly, devoutly 1/19, 1/271, 2/243 [from *bisi*]

bysines *n.* concern, interest, 1/329, 2/238, 2/239; *pl. bisynessis*, activities, work, enterprises, 2/164, 2/165 [from *bisi*]

cam *pa.3.sg. in phrase* ~ **ouer** came upon, 2/87 [OE *cuman*]

careful *adj.* wretched 2/26, 2/30, 2/266, 2/287 [OE *carfull*]

cast *pr.1.sg. in phrase* ~ **out** shed 1/363; *pr.3.pl. castyþ*, **casteþ** discard, reject; 1/317, 2/221 *in phrase* ~ **up myn yȝen** raise my eyes 2/476;
in phrase ~ **up** wash (sth.) up on the shore 1/133; *in phrase* ~ (away) **fro** drive out, expel, (fig.) banish from grace, 1/176, 1/360, 2/187; *in phrase* ~ **away** abandon (sin etc), give up 1/269 [ON; cp. OI *kasta*]

cast-away *pa.p.* thrown away, abandoned, 2/117 [see above]

cause *n.* reason, cause 2/237; accusation, charge 1/457 [OF *cause* and L *causal*]

ceesyng *ger.* ending, coming to rest 1/312 [from *cesen*, verb: OF *cesser*]

chargist *pr.2.sg.* accuse, lay blame 2/293, *pr.3.pl.* **chargen** 2/294; *pa.1.sg.*

chargide pay attention to 2/83, 2/350 [OF *charg(i)er*]

charitable *adj.* benevolent, kind, 1/108 [OF]

choyse *n.* in phrase of ~ excellent 1/13. [chois, n.]

clees *n.pl.* A claw or talon, 2/127 [OE *clawu*, *clēa*]

clene *adj.* morally clean, righteous, innocent, 1/19, 1/497; completely, altogether 1/244, 1/359, 2/185 [OE *clæne*]

closid *pa.p.* concluded, ended, 2/274 [from OF *clos(e)*, ppl. of *clore*]

collectoun *n.* the accumulation (of morbid matter); a swelling, 1/299 [L and OF]

comenable *adj.* appropriate, opportune, favourable 1/158, **couenable** 1/256, 2/99, 2/172 [OF *covenable*]

comyn see **commune** below

commendably *adv.* in a manner worthy of approval of admiration, commendably, 1/210 [from *adj.* & *n.*; L]

commune *adj.* of characteristics, destiny etc: common (to all), 1/31, 1/326, **comyn** 2/237 [OF *com(m)une* and L *commun* -is.]

composith *pr.3.pl.* surround 1/376, *pr.3.pl.* **cumpassen** 2/282, 2/289; *pa.p.* **compased**, **compassid** 1/65, 2/22-23 [AF *cumpasser*, CF *com-*]

compuncte *pa.p.* conscience-stricken, overcome with remorse or regret; moved (to forsake worldly pleasures, to lead a better life etc); remorseful, contrite, 1/315, 2/227 [L]

concluded *pa.p.* to bring (sth.) to a close, make an end of 1/366, 2/273 [L *concludare*]

conlowre *pr.1.sg.* to charge or urge solemnly or earnestly 1/263, **coniure**

2/181 [L and OF]

consente *pr.3.pl.* comply 1/308 [L *consentire*, OF *consentir*]

conseile *n.* council, advice, instruction. 1/264, 1/266, 1/308 etc; 2/184,

2/222, 2/227 etc [L *consilium*]

conseyleyd *pa.p.* advised 1/335 [AF *cunseiler*]

conseyler *n.* a counselor or advisor, 1/80, **conseyloure** 1/103 [AF

cunseiler]

constreyned *pa.p.* compelled, forced, 1/215, 1/323 [OF *constreign-* stem

of *constreindre*, from L *constringere*]

consumyd *pa.p.* wasted away 1/304, 1/381; destroyed 1/131 (L *consumptus*)

[L and OF]

conuerte *inf.* convert, reform 2/122; **conuertyd** 1/505, 2/374 [L and

OF]

coste *n.* in phrase **euery** ~ everywhere (*coste* lit. shore, coast, here

translates L *plagam*), 2/36 [OF]

couenable see **comenable**

coueyte *pr.1.sg.* desire strongly 1/441, 2/35, 2/331; *pr.3.pl.* **coueyteth**

1.320, **coueiten** 2/233 [OF *coveit(i)er*]

coueytise *n.* immoderate desire for acquiring worldly goods or estate;

covetousness, 1/141, 2/84 [OF *coveitise*]

craftys, *n.pl.* skills, arts 1/31 [WS, Nhb *cræft* and Merc, Kt *-creft*]

croke *n.* a fish hook, 1/144 [OE **crök*, cp. *crōcod* ppl; and ON, cp. OI

krōkr]

croky *inf.* to become bent, twisted, crippled, 1/373 [OE **crocian*, *crōcod*]

crwelnes *n.* fierceness, austerity, severity, 1/87, 1/416 [from *cruel*, *n.*

(OF *cruel*, from L *crudel* -em)]

cytesence *n.pl.* a freeman or inhabitant of a country or region; a

denizen of heaven 1/353; **citeseyns** 2/262 [AF citesein, citezein; cp.
CF citëain, -eien]

dasewy *inf.* grow dim, fail 1/355, *inf.* **daswe** 2/281 ; *in phrase* **ben
ydasewyd** are dimmed 1/128 [Akin to **dasen** (from ON)]

deedli *adj.* subject to death, mortal, 2/1, 2/283, 2/390 [OE **dēadlic**]

defawte *n.* *in phrase* for ~ for lack of something 1/317, 2/229 [OF]

delices *n.pl.* sensual pleasures; delightful things, luxuries 2/27 [OF]

demyn *pr.3.pl.* think, assume 1/207; *pa.p.* **demyd** judged 1/104, 2/57 [OE
dēman]

demynge *ger.* judging 2/293 [from **deme(n)** above]

depart *inf.* go away, depart 1/193, 2/19, 2/189, 2/338; **departyd** *pa.p.*
divided, parted 1/128, 2/72; portion out, distribute 2/49 (L
condividit) [OF **departir**]

departyng *ger.* death, departure from the world 1/192, 1/311, 2/131 [see
above]

dereworþe *adj.* beloved, dear 2/7, 2/195, 2/296 etc [OE **dēorwyrþe**]

derke *adj.* dark, dismal 1/282, 1/378, 2/198; hard to understand,
mysterious 1/10; dark, dismal 2/79; gloomy, dismal 1/491 (L
tenebrosi temporis) [OE **deorci**]

dippe *pr.3.pl. in phrase* ~ in dash, descend on 2/303 [OE **dyppan**]

disceiflþ *pr.3.pl.* deceive, lie to, be false to, 1/302, **disseyuen** 2/216;
pa.p. **disceyfyd** deceived, 1/203, **disseyued** 2/95, **disceyued** 2/141
deceyued 2/311; *pa.p.* **disceyfid** overcome by deceit 1/203, **disseyued**
2/141 [AF; cp. CF **decevoir**]

discounfortid *pa.p.* discouraged, disheartened, dismayed, 2/198 [OF
desconforter]

discrete *adj.* displaying wisdom, 2/159 [OF **discré** and L **discretus**]

disease *n.* physical hardship or suffering, tribulation, 1/284 [OF *desaise*,
disease]

dispisen *pr.3.pl.* scorn or refuse (to do sth.), 2/208, *pa.1.sg* **dispisyd**
1/165, 2/106, *pa.3.pl.* **dispisid** 1/313, **dispiciden** 2/226; *pa.1.sg.*
dispiside disregarded, neglected 2/167; *pa.p.* **dispisid** looked down
on, had a low opinion of, had little respect for 2/164 [OF *despis-*,
stem of *despire* and *despisier*]

dispiȝte *n.* a feeling or attitude of contempt or disdain 1/293 [OF]

dispose *pr.1.sg* resolve 2/334; *pr.2.sg.* **dispose** to prepare oneself, get
or be ready (refl.) 1/267, 2/185, *pr.3.sg.* **disposith** 1/517, 2/383,
pr.3.pl. **disposith** 1/437, *pa.p.* **disposid** 1/516; *imp.2.sg.* **dispose**
prepare 2/385; *pa.p.* **disposyd** to make provision (for) 1/62, 2/20; *in*
phrase **be ~** be prepared (to do sth.) 1/314, 2/231 [OF *disposer*]

dispoylyng *ger* plundering, theft (L *privatio*) 1/27 [from *despoilen*, v.
(OF *despoillir*)]

disseyte *n.* deceit, treachery 1/500 [AF; cp. CF *deçoite*]

disseyuable *adj.* not to be depended on, unreliable, deceptive
misleading, 1/324 [AF; cp. CF *decevable*]

dissynylid *pa.p.* failed to take note or act; 2/94 [L and OF]

dispendid *pa.p.* wasted, squandered, 2/137 [OF *despend-re*]

doctrine *n.* doctrine or principle; instruction, advice 1/13, 1/49, 1/51,
1/53, 1/286 [L *doctrina* and OF *doctrine*]

dome *n.* sentence, esp. the judgement at death 1/93, 1/110, 1/214, 1/342,
1/343, 1/387, 1/483, 2/48, 2/61, 2/153 2/252, 2/292, 2/358 [OE *dōm*]

domysman *n.* one who has the power to render judgement; the Supreme
Judge; said esp. of Christ who is to judge man on Judgement day,
1/387 [from *phrase*]

drawyst *pr.2.sg* take, lead, carry, 1/76, 2/32, *pa.p.* **draw(e** 1/77, 1/202,

2/139, *drawen*, 2/33; *inf.* drawe delay, put off, 1/444; *pr.3.pl.*
draweth contract, shrink, 1/374; *in phrase* ~ *fro/for* take, lead,
 carry, drag (from) 1/89, 1/370, 2/44; *in phrase* draw alonge prolong
 (L *prolongare*) 2/334; *pres.p.* drawyng pulling, drawing (L
retrahentia) 1/270 [OE *dragan*]
drawynge *ger.* pulling 2/231 [from *drawen*, above].
dressid *pr.3.sg.* turn (sth. in a direction); direct (L *porrigat*) 2/200;
pa.p. dressid directed, applied 2/387 [OF *drecier*]
droppeth *pr.3.pl.* to exude moisture, shed tears 1/150, 2/91 [OE *dropian*]
dure *inf.* to continue, last 1/502 [L *durare* and OF *durer*]
dwellynge *gerv.* lasting, abiding or permanent; eternal (see above,
abydyng) 2/330 [OE *dwellan*]

emendacion *n.* recovery, redress, 1/244 [L *emendation* -em]
enclynyng *pres.p.* having a natural inclination or propensity 1/318 [OF
encliner, L *inclinare*]
encreesid *pa.p.* augmented, enhanced, increased, 2/311 [AF *encreiss-*,
encress-, CF *encroiss-*; L *increscere*]
enforsen *pr.3.pl.* try, attempt, strive or make an effort (L *nituntur*),
 2/283 [OF *enforcier*; *enforcir*]
enfourme *subj.2.sg.* train, educate or instruct 1/8 [OF *enfo(u)rmer*; L
informere]
eniwnyd *pa.p.* ordered, directed, 1/445 [OF *enjoindre*, L *injungere*]
ensaumple *n.* something spoken to teach a lesson 1/54 [AF *ensample*]
entrailis *n.* The viscera as the seat of the emotions, esp. mercy and
 pity: hence, emotions, thoughts, 2/150, 2/233 [OF *entraille*, medL
intralia]
entryng *ger.* the act or fact of entering, (into a state or condition),

1/354, 2/263 [from *entren*, verb: OF *entrer*]

eþer conj. either; either...or 2/128, 132, 134 etc [OE *ægþer*]

euenly adv. equally, evenly (L *aequaliter*), 2/49 [OE *efenlice*; *emlice*]

euyn adj. impartial (L *aequum*) 1/93 [OE *efen*, *efn*]

euyn adv. in equal degree or measure (L *aequaliter*) 1/95 [OE *efen*, *efne*, *efn*-]

euydently adv. clearly 1/437 [from *evident*, adj. (OF and L *evident-em*)]

euyll adv. disastrously, wretchedly, 1/412; with difficulty, scarcely, hardly, 1/454, *yuel* 2/13 [OE *yf(e)le*]

executioun n. performance (of an act), 1/138 [L *ex(s)ecution-em*, AF *execucioun*]

faile inf. lose or lack the power to function, to cease functioning 1/379; *pr.3.sg. fayleþ* fail or disappoint in trust or expectation; withhold expected aid from, (a person), forsake (a person) 1/80, 2/37; *pr.3.sg. failiþ* cease to exist or to function, come to an end, lapse, vanish, pass away, 2/168, 2/219, *pr.3.sg. faileth* 1/379, *pr.2.pl. failen* 2/175, *pa.1.sg. failide* 1/73 [OF *faillir*, *failir*]

feerdful adj. inspiring or causing fear 2/246 awe-inspiring 2/294, 2/325 (but also with first meaning) [?from *ferd(e)*, noun: prob. from phrase for *fer(e)d* 'for being frightened, for fear']

feipfulli adv. loyally, faithfully, 2/107, 2/270, [from *adj. n.* (AF *feid* (early) and *fei*, *fai* (from L *fidem*)]

feruently adv. ardently, passionately 1/52 [From *adj.* OF & L *fervent-em*]

feyned pa.p. from *feinen*, made, created (L *fictile*) 1/100 [OF *feindre*, L *fingerel*]

feynnyngly adv. falsely, hypocritically, 1/196, 2/134 [From *p.pl.* of *feinen*]

feynted pa.p enfeebled, faint, 1/116 [from adj. feint; cp. OF *feintir*]
fillynge ger. the fulfillment or consummation (of a desired end, a
 prophecy) (L *completionem*), 2/52 [from *fillen*: OE (ge-)fyllan]
fleynge pres.p. flying 2/304 [from *flien*, verb [OE *flēogan*, *flīogan*]
flix n. a pathological flowing of blood (or humours, excretions,
 discharges) from any part of the body, 2/213 [OF *flux* (whence *flix*)
 and L *fluxus*]
flode n. a body of water, 1/123 [OE *flōd*]
floure n. blossoming time. fig. the prime of life, the height of one's
 glory or prosperity, 1/158, 2/98, 2/100 [OF *flour*, *flor*, *flur*]
folys n.pl. a foolish or ignorant person, 1/104; sg. 1/472 [OE *fol*]
for whi conj. wherefore, therefore, 2/150, 2/262-3 [OE *for-hwi*]
forsake inf. abandon (a custom, habit, practice, way of life), 1/448,
imp.2.sg. 1/48; *pr.3.sg.* *forsaketh* abandon (to destruction) 1/285,
pr.3.pl. *forsaken* 2/201, *pa.1.sg.* *forsoke* 1/230, *pa.p.* *forsake* 1/429;
pa.1.sg. *forsoke*, desisted from, abandoned 1/228; *pa.p.* *forsake* left
 helpless, abandoned 1/259, 1/281, 1/282, 1/360, *forsakyn* 2/199,
 2/269, [OE *forsacan*]
forsaking ger. renunciation (of worldly goods, sin etc), 1/319 [see
forsake above]
forȝate pa.1.pl. refl. ignored or neglected 1/408, *pa.p.* *forȝete* 1/152,
pa.1.pl. *forȝate* 1/408; *pa.p.* *forȝite* to neglect or disregard, 1/222,
pa.p. *forȝete* 1/208 [A *forge(o)tan*, WS *forgitan*]
foundament n. the cause or source of an action; a cause of vice or
 virtue, a source of faith or religion, 1/56 [OF, and L *fundament-um*]
fourmere n. creator, 1/5 [from *formen*, v. and OF *fourmeur*, (L *formator*)]

gastful *adj.* causing or inspiring fear, terrible, terrifying, 1/421 [from
gast, *adj.*: from *pa.p.* of gasten]

gastnes *n.* threat, terror, 1/184 [from gast, *adj.*]

gelefulnesse *n.* deceitfulness, treachery, 2/370 [from gileful, *adj.* (from
gile, *n.* (OF guile)]

gessist *pr.2.sg.* assume, suppose 2/53, 2/265; *pa.1.sg.* **gesside** 2/85;

pa.p. **gessid** 2/317 [Cp MDu gissen, gessen]

gobetis *n.pl.* lumps, masses, 2/194 [OF]

godhede *n.* goodness, 1/420 [from gōd, *adj.*]

goostli *adj.* spiritual 2/89, 2/229 [OE gāstlic]

y-gouernyd *pa.p.* governed, controlled, regulated 1/526 [OF governor]

grace *n.* attractive or admirable quality, beauty, charm 1/163; God's
grace, God's gift or favour making men or angels fit for heaven
1/310, 1/488 [OF grace].

gracious *adj.* of God: good, merciful, benevolent 1/20, 1/434, 1/465;

favourable, well-disposed, kindly (L gratiosos) 1/153, 2/94 [OF
gracios and L gratiosus]

gryne *n.* a snare or trap for catching animals, birds, fish, 1/145; fig.
trick, deceit, 1/168, 1/310, 1/368 [OE grīn]

ȝeden *pa.3.pl.* gone 2/379 [OE ge-eōde]

ȝelde, *inf. in phrase* ~ a-countys give a reckoning 1/215, 2/154; *pr.1.sg.*

ȝelde give 2/326; *pr.3.sg.* **ȝeldeþ** (up), **ȝeldiþ** give up 1/305, 2/219;

pa.p. **ȝeld** (aȝen) repayed 1/305, **yeld aȝene** 1/396 [OA gēldan]

ȝeo *pron.* she, 1/177, 357, 385 etc [OE nom. and acc. sg. fem. hēo, hīe,
hī, hīo, hīu, hȳ, hīa, hēa]

ȝet *adv.* besides, also 1/419, 2/155 **ȝit** [OE gīet]

ȝiue *pr.1.sg.* give 2/181, *imp.2.sg.* 2/345, *pr.3.sg.* **ȝiueþ** 2/80, 2/133;

pa.1.sg. ȝaf 2/66, 2/148; *pa.p. ȝoue* 2/68 [OE *gifan*]
ȝyuyng *ger* giving 2/296 [from *ȝiue*, above]
ȝongȝe n. youth (ie lack of years) 2/98, 2/101, 2/102 etc [OE *geong*
adj.]
ȝonglyngis n.pl. youths, young people 1/95 [OE *geongling*, OHG *jungeling*]

haply adv. perhaps, possibly, probably, 1/521 [from *hap*: ON; cp. OI *happ*;
also cp.OE gehæp, adj.]
in hap adv. perhaps 2/14, 2/114, 2/147 etc [phrase from *hap*]
harlotries n. evil conduct; sexual immorality (L *scurrilitatibus*) 2/11
[from harlot, noun]
haste in adv. phrase on ~ speedily, in a hurry, 1/342 [From *hast(e)*: OF
haste, heste, from Gmc]
haue imp.2.sg. in phrase ~ in hert remember (sb. or sth.) 1/340 [OE
ge)habben]
helpful adj. of benefit to the soul, salvific 2/222 [from *hēle*, noun: OE
hælu and *hæll*]
helȝe n. bodily health 1/249, 1/304; spiritual health or well-being 1/55,
1/198, 1/271, 2/20, 2/136, 2/120 2/313, 2/361; prosperity,
happiness 1/463, 2/188, 1/360 (NB *The use of helȝe is often*
ambiguous and may embrace any or all of these meanings) [OE *hælp*,
hælpōl]
hepe pr.1.sg. to heap up, 2/273 [OE *gehēapian*, and A **gehēpan* (cp WS
gehȳpan)]
here to adv. in reply to this 1/286 [from *her*, adv., and to prepl.
herborwid pa.p. sheltered, 2/267 [from *herberwe*, n. Also cp. late WS
(12th century ms) *herebeorgian*]
hertli adj. heartfelt, genuine, serious, unfeigned, devout, 2/229 [cp *adv*

and hert, noun]

heuy *adj.* troublesome, bothersome, irksome, 1/103, 2/55; of great or grave importance, 1/365; dejected, sorrowful, sad, 1/136; (make) heavy, useless (L *aggravant*) 2/373; (weigh) heavily (L *ponderas*) 1/387 [OE *hefig*]

holde *pr.2.sg.* conduct oneself or behave, 2/188 [OE; cp. A. *haldan*; WS *healden*]

hole *adj.* healthy, 1/268, 1/479, 2/186; lacking no part, complete 1/269, 2/185 (L *integrale*) [OE *hāl*]

hol-sum *adj.* spiritually beneficial; of counsel, teaching: beneficial, helpful 1/14, 1/308, 2/181 [OE **hālsūm*]

hongist *pr.2.sg.* judge, 1/387 [OE *hangian* & *hōn*; & ON (cp. OI *hengja*)].

housholde *n.* domestic affairs, 2/239 [from *hous* and *hold*]

huyre *pr.1.sg.* hear 1/81, *pa.3.sg.* *hird*, 1/91, *herde* 1/58, *pa.p.* *hírde* 1/425, *inf.* *hure*, 1/292, *huyre*, 1/505; *inf.* **huyre** listen to, 1/313, *imp.2.sg.* **huyre** 1/12, 1/177, 1/331; *subj.2.pl.* *hure* 1/239 [OE]

humorys *n.* fluids which produce ulcers, disease etc. 1/299, 2/214 [L *h)umor* & OF *umor*]

hyȝe *adj.* admirable, honourable, noble (L *summa*) 1/2; great 1/472, 1/475, 1/527, *superlative* **hyȝest** 1/266; lofty, deep, abstruse, 1/11; heinous, grave, serious, dire, 1/87; *intensive* (L *permaximum*) 1/34 [OE; A *hāh*, WS *hēah*]

hyȝely *adv.* very, very much, 1/205, 1/252, 1/289, 1/426, 1/435, 1/439, 1/524; principally, especially 1/226; devoutly, earnestly, (L *profunde*) 1/338, 1/340; seriously, grievously 1/206 [from *heigh*, *adj.* & OE *hēalīcel*].

ȳdīl *adj.* in phrase **ȳdīl spechis** foolish or sinful speeches 1/43 [OE
īdeġ]

indignacioun *n.* wrath, anger, displeasure 2/43 [L and OF]

ynnere *adj.* inside the body, internal 2/219 [OE innera, in(n)ra]

iapys *n.* a frivolous pastime, amusement [L iocis] 1/43 [from japen, v:
prob. from OF japer, to howl]

kepe *imp.2.sg.* keep, retain 1/478; *imp.2.sg. refl.* keep oneself, remain
1/497; in phrase **kepte of** take care of somebody personally, look
after, watch over, attend 1/353, 2/261 [OE cēpan]

kepyng *ger.* protection (L custodia), 1/232 [from kepe, see above]

kynde *n.* the universe; the physical world (L naturae) 1/4; sorts,
2/318; in phrase **by ~** naturally, by innate disposition, 1/2 [OE
cynd]

kynde *adj.* thankful 2/368 [OE gecynde]

kynrede *n.* kindred, kinsfolk, blood relations, 1/83 [Late OE cynrede]

knewliche *n.* knowledge, learning; spiritual perceiving or understanding;
1/1, 1/8, 1/35, **knowliche** 1/30, 1/33; familiarity with a person,
friendship between or among persons, acquaintance 1/511 [from
knouen, v. (OE cnāwan, on-, ge-, to-) and -lēche, suffix]

knowyng *ger.* knowing how to do (sth.), ability, skill, 1/26, [from knouen,
see above].

kon *pr.3.pl.* know how to do sth, 1/33, *inf.* **kunne** 2/3, 2/391 [OE cunnan]

konnyng *ger.* knowledge, understanding, information, learning, erudition,
1/2, 1/3, 1/5, 1/7, 1/24, 1/29, 1/30, 1/34, 1/34; ability to
understand, intelligence, 1/22 [from konnen, v. (see kon above)]

kunne: see above kon.

laborid pa.p. worked hard, toiled, 1/411 [OF laborer]
laboure n. work, esp. hard work, (pl.) 1/462; *toil* 1/337 [L and OF]
last adj. last, final, 2/160, 2/229, 2/319, 2/343, 2/383; *in phrase at þe*
 ~ finally, in the end 1/18, 1/304, 1/426, 2/218; ~ *ende* death
 1/36, 1/108, 1/422, 1/469, 1/516; *in phrase laste þinges* the four
 'last things' ie death, judgement, heaven and hell 2/60, 2/383
 [Prob. from adv. Also cp. OE *læt* adj. and *lætemest*]
last conj. that not, lest; for fear that (sth. will happen or will not
 happen), 1/161, 1/245; *leste*, 2/358, 2/374 [OE *þȳ* (þē) *lāsþe*; late
 (rare) *þē lǣstel*]
late adv. after the proper time, tardily, 1/195, 2/133 [OE *late*, Merc.
 **leatal*]
late ?from *laten*, v. to delay, tarry; to remain, exist, 2/195 [OE *læt*,
 infl. *late*; Merc **let*, **lætel*]
ledde pa.1.sg. in phrase ~ forth passed (my) life, 2/84 [OE *lǣdan*]
left adj. [erroneous form of *lest(e)* smallest, least; also a single, any,
 any at all, 2/155 [lest(e) from OE *lǣst(e)*]
lemys n.pl. flames 1/278, 1/399, 1/402 [OE *lēoma*]
lere adj. empty-handed, without possessions, 1/259, 1/260 [OE *gelār*]
leryd pa.p. learnt, 1/42 [OE *lāren*]
lesiþ pr.3.sg. kill, slay, 2/51 [OE cp *forlēosan*].
lettīþ pr.3.sg. hinder, impede 1/450, 2/187, 2/338 [OE *lettan*]
lettyng ger. hindering 1/270 [from *letten*, above]
lickeden pa.3.pl. liked 2/57 [OE *līcian*]
ligger n. a robber *in phrase* ~ on *awayte* a highwayman 1/366 [from *lyth*,
 below]
likenys n. appearance, guise, shape 1/60, 1/432; *lickenes* 2/17, 2/18,
 2/55, *leeknesse* 2/121, 2/325 [OE *gelīcnes* & also ONhb *licness*]

line *n.* limit, end 1/312 [?L limes]

lyth *pr.3.sg. in phrase* ~ on a **whayte** lie in wait, in ambush 1/500, *pa.p.*

ley 1/75; *pres.p.* **lyȝyng** 1/384, **liggyng** 2/370 [OE licgan]

lordschipe *n.* power, rule; the power, authority or rule of a feudal lord

(used figuratively) [L imperium, 2/131 [OE hlāfordschipe]

lore *n.* erudition, knowledge, information, spiritual wisdom, 1/15 [OE lār]

lowe *n.* ?fluff (L lanugo) 1/132 [?]

lucrys *n.* spiritual gain, advantage, 1/148 [L lucrum; also cp OF (C15)

lucre]

lust *n.* wish, will 1/468; *pl.* **lustys** pleasures, 1/71, 1/141; desires

1/324, 1/329 [OE lust]

lykyng *ger.* a feeling or experience of sensual pleasure, 1/71 [OE

licung]

magnitude *n.* immensity 1/472 [L]

malice *n.* wickedness 1/316, 2/229 [OF]

manere *n.* kind(s of, sort(s of 1/414; *in phrases* al ~ every kind of, all

kinds of, 1/2, 1/30, 1/448; ~ **wise** way, ways, kind(s) of way, 1/301;

no (non) ~ {of} no kind of (sth.) whatever, 1/62, 1/130; **no** ~

person no person whatever, 1/94; **in suche** ~ in such a way, thus

1/456, 1/462; ~ **wey** ways, means, kind of way, kinds of way, 1/190;

way, method, *in phrase* **in þe same manere** 1/188, 1/306, 1/343, **in**

þis same manere 1/129; **in same manere** 1/525; **in þis manere** 1/461;

in phrase **in like manere** in the same way, likewise, 2/51 [OF

maniere]

mede *n.* reward 1/237 [OE mēd].

medlyd *pa.p. in phrase* ~ **wilþ** been concerned with, dealt with, engaged

(myself) in, 1/225 [OF medler]

membris *n.pl.* bodily limbs or organs, parts of the body, 1/300, 1/390,
2/214 [OF]

meoue *inf.* affect (sb) emotionally; move or prompt (sb) to some state
or action, 1/52 [OF *moveoir* & AF *moveir*, *muve(i)r*: cp L *moverel*]

meouyng *gerv.* inspiring, affecting, moving (emotionally) 1/289 [see
meoue above]

merueyls *n.pl.* wonders, 1/9 [OF *merveille*]

mynde *n.* the human mind as the seat or instrument of memory, thought,
reason, will, imagination, emotion etc. 1/19, 1/149, 1/185, 1/289,
1/381, 1/395, 1/451, 1/475, 1/503, 1/513, 2/125, 2/244; a
particular memory or thought (often with 'of') 1/70, 1/134, 1/446,
1/487, 2/27, 2/77, 2/335, 2/362; a reminder 2/9, 2/319 *in phrases*
have ~ consider that (sth. is so) 1/481; *have on, in ~ to have*
(sb. or sth.) in one's memory, thought, or concern 1/159, 1/339,
1/423, 1/479, 1/500, 2/366, 2/352; *have ~ of, in, on to remember*
(sb. or sth.); also, think of, reflect (upon) 1/344, 1/473, 1/490,
2/252, 2/253, 2/354; *haue ~ of, on to remember* (sb. or sth.)
favourably, feel or show concern for 2/296; *reduce on ~ bring or*
bring back (sth.) to one's memory 1/333; *for ~ of, in (into) ~ of*
in memory or remembrance of (sb. or sth.) as a memorial to or a
reminder of 2/319 [OE *gemynd*]

myndeles *adj.* senseless, irrational, 1/187 [from *mind(e n.* & cp. OE
gemyndlēas]

nysordeyned *pa.p.* mis-regulated 2/214 [from *ordeinen*, v.]

mon *pr.3.pl.* may 2/2, **moun** 2/96 [OE *mæg*]

monestiden *pa.3.pl.* warned, gave warning, exhorted 2/106 [OF *monester*]

note *pr.1.sg.* have to do sth; must, 2/41 *pr.3.sg.* 2/41 [OE **mōtan*]

nature *n.* the vital or physical powers of man 1/390 [L *natura* & OF *nature*]

nede *n.* a necessity or need, what is required, wanted or desired; wants or needs 1/227, 2/243; *in phrases* *haue* ~ need (sth) 1/246; ~ **was**; was necessary or needed [OE cp A, K *nād*, WS *nīed*, *nȳd*, *nēod*].

nedis *adv.* *in phrase* **mote** ~, **schal** (y) ~ have to do something; be necessarily obliged, required or compelled 1/85, 1/85 [OE *nāde*, *nīede*, *nēande*, *nēode*]

neded *pa.3.sg.* *in phrase* **what** ~ what was the need for 1/25; **it nedeth** it is needed, it is necessary, 2/359 [from *nede* (e noun, and late OE *ge)nēodian*].

nedeful *adj.* necessary, useful 1/228, 2/165 [from *nede*, noun. Also cp. OE (late, rare) *nēodful* necessary].

nesche *adj.* physically soft in texture; of beds: well-cushioned and comfortable to lie on, 1/448 [OE *hnesce*, *adj.*]

in þe nexte *adj.* immanent, 2/156 [OA *nehst*]

nylen *pr.3.pl.* will not 2/9 [OE *nyllan*]

noumbre *imp.2.sg.* count, take a census 1/508 [OF *nombrer*]

noyeful *adj.* harmful, injurious 2/187, [from *noi*, n. shortened form of *anoi*]

o *adj.* one (weakened form of *ōn* num. used before consonants. Often difficult to distinguish from the indef. article) 2/77, 2/146, 2/189; **oo** 2/159 [OE *ān*]

opilacoun *n.* obstruction or blockage in a wound, the gall-bladder etc, an obstruction or obstructed condition of a nerve etc 1/300 [L *oppilatio* & OF *opilacion*]

oppressyngis *ger.* afflictions, 2/284 [from *oppressen*, (OF *opresser*,

oppresser)]

opynli *adv.* plainly, clearly, distinctly 2/327 [OE openlice]

ordeyne *inf.* prepare 1/461. *imp.2.sg.* 1/519, *pa.3.pl.* ordeyned 1/413, *inf.* ordeyne 1/461; *in phrase* beth ordeyned be allotted to (sb.) 1/455 [OF ordener & L ordinare]

ordeynerer *n.* maker (L auctore) 1/4 [OF ordenēor, ordener forms show influence of ME ordeinen, v.]

ordure *n.* prescribed method or sequence 1/16 [OF ordrel]

orison *n.* a prayer, 1/220 [from OF oraison]

ornamentys *n.pl.* trappings 1/448 [OF ornement, pl. ornemenz]

out-cast *pa.p.* rejected, abject, contemptible 2/269 [from casten, verb]

ouer-leiþ *pr.3.pl.* oppress, 2/123 [OE oferlecgan, ME leien, v]

ouerepasseth *pr.3.sg.* surpasses 1/416 [from passen, below]

outerli *adv.* utterly, completely; solely, exclusively, 2/126, 2/202, 2/212 [from outre, adj.]

owip *pr.3.sg.* be supposed, ought, should 2/126, 2/364 [OE āgan]

passe *inf.* die; of the spirit, soul: depart 1/385, 2/258 *pa.p.* passyd, 1/512, 2/258; *in phrases* ~ oute fro/of þis world 1/86, 1/111, 1/217, 1/272, *pa.p.* passed 1/456; fro þe bodi 1/464; *in phrase* ~ away pass away, die 1/120, 1/240, 1/299, 1/300, 2/69; *pr.3.sg.* passiþ surpass, exceed 2/141, 2/315, *pr.3.pl.* passen 2/90; *in phrase* ~ ouer to travel over, traverse 1/522, *pa.p.* passid 2/69-70; *pres. p.* passing 2/77 [OF passer]

passyng *ger.* the passing of the soul, death 1/69 [from passe, above]

passynge *gerv.* transitory, fleeting 2/213, 2/317, 2/342 [from passe above]

playne *pr.1.sg.* complain, make moan, lament; complain to (sb), 1/163,

pleyne, 2/104 [OF plaindre]

pleies *n.pl. in phrase in ~ in* disports, in pleasures, 2/11 [OE; cp. WS

plega, infl. plegan; A plægal]

plesibile *adj.* capable of pleasing, pleasant 1/211 [OF plaisable]

plerer *n.* feeling of pleasure, enjoyment, liking, 1/450 [OF plaisir]

powndes *n.* a pound (sterling), 1/50 [OE pund, sg and pl; from L]

pows *n.* (pulse). the rhythmical throbbing of the blood in the arteries,
pulse, beating of the heart 1/378, 2/287 [OF pous, pulse and L
pulsus]

precious[nys] *n.* preciousness, richness, costliness, 1/449 [From *adj.*
(from OF precïos)].

preciouste *n.* preciousness, value 2/83, 2/85; costliness, richness 2/337
[OF precïosetêl]

prefe *n.* personal or practical experience, 1/287 [OF cp CF preuve, preve,
proeve; AF preve, preovel]

preisabli *adv.* ?commendably, properly, 2/147 [from preisable, *adj.* (from
preisen, *v.* also cp OF prisable, preysable)]

preschyth *pr.3.sg.* press hard, assail 1/390 [OF presser, preser & L
pressare]

pressid *pa.p. in phrase ~ to-gidre* squeezed, 2/127 [from pressen, *v.*; OF
presser, preser]

prikyd *pa.p.* inscribed, recorded, 1/52 [OE prician]

prikyngis *ger.* tormentings 2/282 (L puncturae) [from *v.* see above]

pruacioun *n.* an instance of deprivation, destruction 1/28 [OF privacion
& L privatio. -ionis]

prived *pa.p.* bereaved, deprived of, 2/117 [OF priver & L privare]

profeciynge *ger.* prophesying, foretelling, 2/211 [from *v.* (OF profeciier)]

profiȝt *n.* benefit, advantage 1/55 [OF profit & L profectus]

profy3table *adj.* yielding spiritual or moral benefit 1/13, 1/22, 1/30,
1/287, 2/166, 2/203, 2/244 [OF profitable]

profy3ty *inf.* be spiritually beneficial or helpful 1/335, **profite** 2/245,
profiten 2/205 *pr.3.pl.* **profy3tyth** 1/255, *pr.3.pl.* **profy3tyth** 1/289;
in phrase ~ **to** to benefit (sb., oneself, the soul, the church etc)
spiritually or morally) *inf.* **profy3ty** 1/26, 1/50, 1/54, 1/334 *pa.p.*
profy3tyd 1/233, *pa.p.* **profited** 2/68; *in phrases* **what profi3tyth**
what good does (it do) 1/119 [from profit(e noun & OF porfit(i)er,
profit(i)er]

profy3tly *adv.* profitably 1/210, 2/316 [from n.]

y-purchasid *pa.p.* acquired, obtained 1/409 [AF purchaser & CF
porchacier]

purgid *pa.p.* purified, cleansed (of sin), 2/260 [AF purger, cp CF pugier
& L purgare]

purueie *inf.* (with **þat** clause) ordain (that sth be done), provide (that
sth) happen 2/342; *pr.3.pl.* **purueyn** make preparations (for) 2/59;
pa.1.sg. **purueide** prepared, made ready 2/161 (L providi), *pa.p.*
purueied 2/162 (L providere); *pa.1.pl.* **purueide...to** (with of clause)
why did we not make provision for ourselves for our (spiritual)
health [AF purveier & CF porvēior, Also cp. OF perir]

puruyaunce *n.* prudence, wisdom; foresight (L providentia) 2/184 [AF
purvēauncel]

puryd *pa.p.* refined, purified, 1.50 [ppl. from puren, OF purer]

rasid *pa.p.* broken, torn, 2/127 [from rasen, v. (OF raser)]

raueschyth *pr.3.sg.* steal, take away from, 1/45, **rauyschiþ** 2/13, *pa.p.*

raueschid taken away, 1/432, 2/236; *pa.p.* **rauyschid** devastated

2/324 [verb: from OF raviss-; extended stem of raviī, p.ppl. raivī]

reccheles *adj.* heedless, imprudent 2/93 [OE *rācelēas*]
recchelesli *adv.* heedlessly, imprudently, 2/145 [OE *rācelēaslice*]
recchelesnesse *n.* imprudence, heedlessness 2/161 [OE *rācelēasnes*]
reccheth *pr.3.pl.* care, heed, 1/41 [OE *rēcan, reccan*]
reche *pr.1.sg.* say, speak; expound 1/422, [OE *reccan*]
reduce *imp.2.sg.* *in phrase* ~ *on mynde* recall (sth); bring (sth) to
mind, 1/333 [L *reducere*, & OF *reducier, reducer*]
refreischinge *ger.* spiritual relief, remedy, rest or comfort, 2/260 [from
refreshen (from OF *refreschir*)]
rekyuerynge *ger.* recovery from illness, restoration of health, 2/218
[from *recoveren* (OF)]
renne *pr.1.sg.* run, 1/121, 2/182 (figurative) [from two sources: OE
rinnan; OE *rennan*]
repreued *pa.p.* demonstrated, made manifest, 2/365 [OF *reprover*, AF
repruver]
rest *n.* freedom from toil and care in the future life; the eternal rest
of heaven, 2/344; *in phrase* *in rest* in rest, at peace, in
tranquillity, 1/485 [OE *rest, ræst*, LOE *reste, ræstel*]
reste *inf.* take repose; remain in a place 1/385 [OE *restan*]
rewthe *n.* pity, mercy 1/247, 1/263, 1/406 [from ON (cp OI *hrygþ*) with
vowels and diphthongs influenced by OE *hrēow*]
ripe *adj.* (*fig.*) mature, 2/44; timely, appropriate 2/132 [OE *ripe*]
roostid *pa.p.* roasted 2/313 [OF *rostir, roistir*]
roweþ *pr.3.sg.* of a vessel, to move by means of oars; to go, proceed,
venture etc. 1/123 [OE *rōwan*]
rybawdrye *n.* debauchery, dissipation, ribaldry, 1/44, [OF *ribauderie*]

satisfactioun *n.* expiatory works of prayer, self-denial and of charity

enjoined upon a penitent after confession; penance, reparation

1/252, 1/269, 1/459, 2/173, 2/186, 2/340 [OF satisfac(c)ion, L

satisfactio, -ionis]

schade *n.* a shadow 1/121 [OE sceadu]

schemeþ *pr.3.sg.* regard (sb., sth.) with awe or reverence; fear (sb or

sth) 1/96 [OE sceamian]

schamefulli *adv.* with feelings of shame or contrition, 2/152 [from

shameful(le, adj.)

scharpe. *adj.* sharp, harsh, cutting, 1/289, 2/204; fierce, ferocious;

harsh, severe 2/224 [OE]

schet *pa.3.sg.* shot, 2/71 [OE scēotan, sceōtan]

schrift *n.* confession to a priest, 2/185 [OE scrift, LOE scryft]

seche *inf.* investigate (sth.), examine, study 1/21, *imp.2.sg.* 1/486;

pr.1.sg. **secche** look for (sth. or sb), to search, search about

1/379, *pr.3.pl.* **sekyn** 2/201; *imp.2.sg.* **seche** ask a question, 1/514,

seke 2/361 [OE sēcan, sēcean, sēocian]

seȝen *pa.p.* seen 2/323 [OE or LOE sēon, sion]

seyn *pr.3.pl.* say 2/212 [OE secgan, sæcgan]

send *pr.1.sg.* *in phrase* ~ out emit, 2/35 [OE sendan, sændan]

senewis *see below synowis*

sensible *adj.* capable of being sensed or felt; apparent to the senses,

perceptible 1/53 [OF sensible, L sensibilis]

set *pr.1.sg.* ~ at litil: regard sth. as worthless, dispise 1/226; *pr.1.sg.*

sette forþ express (sth.) openly, express (sth.), declare 2/17;

pr.1.sg. assign, 2/277, *pa.p.* sette assigned 2/37; *imp.2.sg.* sett

place, bring to mind 2/18, 2/190, 2/242, 2/357; *pa.p.* set(te placed

1/312, 1/351, 2/15, 2/319; ~ a fuyre set on fire 1/404; deepe-

sette deep-set 2/281 [OE settan]

sykyr *adj.* secure, spiritually safe 1/194, **siker** 2/133 [OE sicor, from L securus]

similitude *n.* appearance, guise, form or image; a mental image, 1/57, 1/61, 1/102, 1/181; 1/434 [OF similitude & L similitude]

synewys *n.pl.* sinews 1/300; **senewis** 2/215 [OE seonu sin]

syngular *adj.* private, personal, selfish 1/329 [OF singuler, singulier, singulaire & L singularis]

sipþe *conj.* subsequent to the time that etc; because, inasmuch as, seeing that 1/2, 1/26, 1/32, 1/445, 1/451, 1/453, 1/475 [from OE sipþan, conj.]

skilfulli *adv.* with good reason, deservedly, justly (L merito), 2/142 [from skilful, *adj.* etc]

slakide *pa.1.sg.* loosened, 2.83 [OE slacian, cp MDu; MLG slaken]

slouþe *n.* indolence, slothfulness, sluggishness, 2/337 [from slou, *adj.*, perh. modelled on sleuth(e (from OE slæwþ))]

slyde *inf.* escape, vanish, pass away 1/174, *pr.3.pl.* **sliden** 2/115, *pa.p.* **sliden** 2/88, 2/144 [OE slidan].

slythe *n.* trickery, deceit [from sleight, noun 1/307 [ON cp OI slægþ]]

so and *literal translation of Latin sic et* 2/72, 2/220

sokyr *n.* aid; support, also spiritual comfort, 1.414 [from socours, *n.* (taken as pl.) & AF soccour (OF secur)]

sore *adv.* bitterly, sorely, 1/362; exceedingly 2/312; (as an intensive) to a painful degree 1/184, 1/446, 1/484 [OE sāre]

sotyl *adj.* sophisiticated, refined; intricate, involved (L subtilissimas) 1/10 [OF sotil]

sōþeli *adv.* truly, in truth, 2/34, 2/66, 2/84, 2/241 [OE sōþlice]

sownen *pr.1.sg.* show, indicate, reflect, express 2/56, *pr.2.sg.* sowneth

1/103; *pres.p. sownyng* sounding (L intonantem) 1/82 [OF soner, AF siner, sonir, & L sonare]

spare imp.2.sg. have mercy on, 1/88; *in phrase ~ to* refrain from punishing, 1/88, 2/43, 2/44 [OE sparian]

sparkeles n.pl. fiery particles, sparks; *sparkeles* 1/404, *sparclis* 2/304, 2/306 [from spark(e *n.* and -el suf. also cp sparklen *v.*)]

sprankeles n.pl. sparks, cinders 1/403 [cf MDu sprancle]

spedeful adj. beneficial, advantageous 1/230 [from sped, *n.* (OE spēd)]

spedefully adv. advantageously, efficaciously 1/24 [from adj.]

spedide pa.3.sg. be good or useful; be of benefit 2/167 [OE spēdan]

spedill adv. MED defines this adverb as relating to speed; as adj. the form means beneficial, profitable [from spēd *n.*] ? profitably 2/270

spier n. one who waits in ambush (L insidiator) 2/274 [from spien]

spille inf. condemn to perdition, damnation 1/175; perish 1/461, *pa.p.* *spilde* 1/177 (L pereat) [OE spillan]

sprong pa.3.sg. rose 1/116 [OE springan]

staat, staate see below state

stabil adj. constant, steadfast 1/55 [from OF estable, AF stable, stabel, L stabilis]

state n. position in society, rank, (spiritual) state 1/212, 2/149, 1/381, 2/287; 1/442 [OF estat]

step n. the trace of something no longer present or intact, 2/70 [OE stæpel]

stif adj. strong, swift, violent in force or intensity, 2/271 [OE stif]

stiringe ger. motion, movement; flowing, 2/214 [OE styrung, sterung, & ME stiren, *v.*]

stondip. pr.3.sg. is 2/184; *pr.3.pl. stoonden* are 2/231 [OE standen, stonden, etc]

stoppyng *ger.* obstruction of bodily fluid, humour, blood etc; a

blockage, an obstructed condition in a nerve or part of the body

2/214 [from *stoppen*]

strecche *inf.* to *strecche* forþ me direct (my) course, stretch, extend

(fig.) (L *extendere*) 2/331; **streyȝt** *pa.p.* in phrase ~ forth lying

dead 1/60 [OE *streccan*]

streit *adj.* severe, rigorous 2/292; *sup.* **streyȝtyst** 1/396 [AF, chiefly

AF *e*)*streit*, *estreite* etc vars of OF *estroit*]

strokys *n.pl.* the beating of the pulse 1/379 [OE **strāc*]

sufficyth *pr.3.sg.* in phrase h)it sufficyth it is adequate, that is

adequate, 1/180, 2/120; *pr.3.sg.* **sufficiþ** to is capable of, is able

to 2/349; *pr.3.pl.* **sufficen** suffices, is adequate 2/174 [OF *suffis-*,

souffis-, *sof(f)e-* (extended stem of *sofire*)]

suffrance *n.* the undergoing of hardship, affliction, punishment

etc, suffering, 1/417; the patient endurance of hardship, affliction

etc 1/462 [OF *sofrance*, AF *suffrauns*, *sufferans* and L *sufferential*]

summe *n.* amount 1/508 [OE *sum*]

superflu *n.* extravagance, immoderation 2/238; **superfluite** 1/328 [OE

superflūitē, *superflūetē* cp ML *superfluitas*]

swete perspiration, sweat 1/389 [from OE *swētan*]

tabernacle *n.* a dwelling place 1/100, 1/268, 2/54, 2/176 [L

tabernaculum]

take *inf.* to receive 2/248; *pr.3.sg.* **takiþ** seize, catch, capture 2/48,

pa.p. **take** (wiþ, of) captured (by) 1/144, 1/168, 1/351, 2/87,

2/244, 2/234; *pa.p.* **take** performed, done 1/194; in phrase *bifor(e*

taken 2/19, 2/234, 2/235 [late OE *tacan*]

tarie *inf.* delay in beginning 2/375, **tarrye** delay, defer 1/445; *pr.3.sg.*

taryeth 1/176; *pa.1.sg.* **tarryed** delayed, hindered 1/197 (L
 retardavi), **taried** 2/93 (L tardavi), **tariede** 2/135 (L retardavi);
pa.p. **taryed** lingered 1/202 [Of obscure origin]
taryng *ger.* delaying, delay 1/38, **tarryng** 1/197, **tariynge** 2/140,
tarrynge 2/335 [from *tarie*, above]
tent *n.* attention heed or care; *in phrase* **3af tent** gave heed, paid
 attention 2/166 [aphetic for *attent* and *entent*]
til *prep.* even, as far as (qualifying 'to'; L *usque*) 2/57 [ONhb
 til, ON till]
trace *n.* the way or path which anything takes; course, road 1/123 [OF
 trace]
trauailiden *pa.3.pl.* laboured, worked hard, 2/312, *pa.p.* **trauayled** 1/411
 [OF *travaillier*]
traueillynge *ger* distress, 2/320 [from *trauile*, above]
trauaile *n.* hardship, suffering 2/247, *pl.* 2/343; *pl.* exertions, efforts
 1/463 [OF *travail*]
tretyng *ger.* conducting (one's life) (L *tractans*) 1/255 [from *trete* (*n. v.*
 (OF *tretier*)]
tribulacoun *n.* great affliction, oppression or misery 1/216, 1.312,
tribulatioun 2.156; *pl.* **tribulacouns** 1/455 [OF *tribulacion*; Chr. Lat.
tribulation -em]
trist *n.* confidence 1/242; loyalty, fidelity 1/283 [OE **tryst*, ON *traust*]
triste *imp.2.sg.* trust 1/483; *pr.3.pl.* **tristen** (on) trust in, rely on,
 believe in the truth of 2/220; *pres.p.* **tristynge** *in phrase* **tristynge**
 of trusting in 1/202 [Early ME adopted ON *treysta*, assimilated in
 ME to *trust*, *trost*]
trowest *imp.2.sg.* believe, think, be of opinion, suppose, imagine 1/99,
 1/192, 1/203, 1/204, 1/356, **trowe** 1/513, *pa.1.sg.* **trowed** 1/142;

pr.3.pl. trowyth trust 1/292 [(1) OE *trúwian*, f. *trúwa* sb. faith, belief (ii) OE *tréowian*]

turnement n. a state of great suffering, bodily or mental agony; hence the punishment of Hell 1/77, 1/412, 1/415, *pl. turmentes* 1/405, *pl. turmentys* 1/416, 1/421 [OF *torment*, ONF *turment*]

turnementyd pa.p. tormented, tortured 1/281, *turmentyd* 1/349, 1/386, *y-turmented* 1/469 [OF *to(u)rmenter*]

turnementyng ger. torture, torment 1/398, 1/493 *turmentyng* [from *turnemente*(n, v. above)]

turne inf. return 2/163, *pr.3.pl. turnen* 2/115; *pa.p. turnyd* changed (into), transformed [OE *tyrnan* and *turnian*; L *tornare*]

þylke adj. the very (thing, person etc) mentioned or indicated; that, 1/355, 1/359, 1/401, 1/441, 1/457, 2/339 [þe + ilce]

þrasteth pr.3.sg. in phrase ~ adoun oppresses, troubles, 1/183, 1/191 [early variant of *threst* [OE *þræsten*]]

þrastyng ger. in phrase ~ don oppression 1/378 [from *þrasten*, above]

vnauysed adj. without warning, unaware 1/90, 1/265, 1/305 [un- + advise (avisen)]

vncertayne adj. having no clear knowledge, 1/195, 2/134 [from *certayne*; cf F *incertain*]

undeedlinesse n. immortality (L *immortalitatis*) 2/387 [un + *deedlinesse* (from *dedli*, adj.)]

undirfang inf. accept, receive, admitt to the presence, society or friendship 1/358; *pa.p. vndirfange* 1/353 [underfang: under + fang, verb cf *underfo*, v.]

vndisposid pa.p. for which one is not prepared 2/182, 2/208, 2/242, 2/328, 2/336, 2/350 [from *disposen*]

unfillid *pa.p. as adj.* unfulfilled 2/340 [from fillen, v. cf OE unȝefylled]

vnneȝe *adv.* only with difficulty 1/41, 2/9; scarcely 2/324 [OE unéaȝe, -ieȝe etc]

unordynate *adj.* ill-regulated, excessive, uncontrolled, 1/327, **vnordynat** 1/408 [L inordinatus]

vnpite *n.* impiety, lack of respect (L impietas), 2/43 [un + pity (pity form OF pitié, L pietas)]

unpurueid *adj.* unforeseen, unexpected, 2/61 [from purueien]

vnreasonable *adj.* not endowed with reason, irrational, 1/108 [from resonable (OF raison(n)able) probably influenced by ME resoun)]

unskilful *adj.* undiscerning, unwise, foolish, 2/238, 2/310 [from skilful (from n: ON skil)]

vnȝriftynes *n.* prodigality 1/44 [from ȝrifty (from n.: ON)]

vnwarly *adv.* incautiously, without taking heed; without warning, unexpectedly 1/45 [OE unwaerlice = ON úvarliga]

usynge *ger. use* 2/146, 2/343 [from use (OF user)]

vanite *n.* folly, triviality; that which is vain, futile or worthless 1/142, 1/171, **uanite** 2/84, **uanyte** 2/96, 2/366, *pl.* **uanitees** 1/40, 1/156, **vanitees** 1/49, 1/141, **vanyteys** 1/492, 1/519 [OF vanite; L vanitat-, vanitas f. vanus vain]

veldy *inf.* to grow weak, feeble, (L invalidae) 1/373 [OE fealdan, falda]

veniable *adj.* cruel, dreadful, 1/87, 2/201 [AF vengeable]

uereili *adv.* in truth, truly 2/134 [from verrey, below +-ly]

verrey *adj.* true, genuine 2/185 [AF verrai, OF verai, L verus]

vesture *n.* apparel, clothing, garb, raiment 1/27 [AF & OF vesture Cf med L & It vestural]

viage *n.* voyage, journey 1/524 [AF & OF veage]

uyȝous *adj.* depraved, immoral, bad, 1/270 [AF vicious, OF vicious or L vitiosus (med L also viciosus)]

viseride *pa.p. as adj.* having the face covered or hid with a visor or mask 2/288 [from viser; form of visor (from AF viser)]

voyde *adj.* empty-handed; destitute 1/260, 2/12, 2/176, 2/177 [AF & OF voide: pop.L. *vocit-um -us replacing L vacuus]

wastid *pa.p.* diminished or reduced in strength, health; laid waste, devastated, ravaged, ruined 2/74 (L consumptus sum), 2/218 [from wasten, ONF waster]

wanne *adj.* of an unhealthy, unwholesome colour; livid, leaden-hued. (Applied esp. to wounds, to the human face discoloured by disease and to corpses) 1/373 [OE wann (wonn)]

warde *n.* guardianship 1/233 [OE weard]

wast *n.* waste, extravagance 1/327 [OF wast(e dial. variant of guast(e, gast(e, partly repr. L vastum, neut. of vastus, waste, partly a verbal noun f. waster, guaster, gaster)]

wende *pr.1.sg.* think, suppose, 1/72 [OE wénan]

weye *n.* in phrase by no ~ by no means 1/282 [OE weg]

wherof *conj.* whereby, wherewith, 2/150 [OE hwær + OE of]

weþer interrogative particle 2/53, 2/134, 2/141, 2/142, 2/145, 2/147, 2/324 [OE hwæþer, hweþer]

whyȝt *n.* understanding, judgement, 1/188, **witte** 2/128; *pl.* **whyttes** senses 1/213, 1/233, **whyȝtys** 1/433; wisdom 1/471 [OE ge)witt]

willis in phrase for **willis** whilst 1/303 [OE hwil]

wilnyng *ger.* wishing 1/411; *pres. p.* **wilnyng** wishing, desiring 1/411, 2/312 [from wilnian, (OE wilnian)]

wiþþe *n.* thong, cord; whip 2/139 (L restem) [OE]
wiþdrawiþ *pr.3.sg.* remove oneself 2/116; *pr.3.sg.* hold back, restrain
 2/187 (L retrahentia), 2/384 (retrahentibus) [OE wiþ + drawen]
wiþdrawynge *ger.* withholding 2/6 [from wiþdrawen above]
wlappe *pr.3.pl.* envelope 2/303, *pa.1.sg.* **wlappide** 2/165 [app. blending of
 lappe, *v.* and wrap. *v.*; -in inflectional suffix with infinitive]
wlaten *pr.3.pl.* loath, abhor 2/8, *pa.1.sg.* **wlatide** 2/107 [OE wlatian]
wold *in phrase* God wold would God, if only God would grant that 1/21,
 1/456 [OE willan]
woot *pr.1.sg.* know 2/145, 2/340; *pr.2.sg.* **wotest** 2/48, **wost** 2/386; *in*
phrase me woot I know, 2/134 [OE witan]
worchyng *ger* performance or execution (of some particular work or
 action) 1/201, 2/138 [from OE wyrcean]
word *n. coll.pl.* speech, things said, 2/122 [OE]
worschip *n.* the condition (in a person) of deserving, or being held in,
 esteem or repute; honour, distinction, renown, good name, credit,
 1/327 [OE weorþscipe, later wurþ-, wyrþ-]
worþi *adj.* appropriate, fitting, suitable 1/269, 2/186 [OE weorþe, wyrþel]
wroþ *n.* anger 1/87 [OE wrāþ]
wroth *adj.* angry 1/468, 2/347 [OE wrāþ]
wynnyngis *n.pl.* things or sums gained, gains, profits, earnings, 2/89
 [from win, *v.*]

yeld *see* ȝeld
yuel *see* euy1

Introduction: Manuscripts containing Middle English Translations of
Heinrich Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*

General References are listed at the end of each manuscript described: these are books or articles which usefully or interestingly discuss or refer to the manuscript in question but which do not necessarily identify or edit articles from that manuscript.

Particular References. I have endeavoured to identify all the texts within the various manuscripts listed and to indicate the most recent edition of the individual texts, where any exists. Standard reference works have in general been used but where these have proved unhelpful, texts have been identified where possible from other reference works or from relevant editions.

In citing editions of texts within manuscripts I have used the following procedure:

1. Where only one edition of a particular work exists, this is cited whether or not it is from the manuscript in question and whether or not it is an unpublished dissertation/thesis.

2. Where more than one edition exists I have used two criteria: date, and the manuscript used as the basis of the edition. Editions of the manuscript under discussion are always cited in preference to other editions, but where no edition from the relevant manuscript exists, other editions are considered: the most recent is always cited. Editions of the same date are both indicated, and second editions of works are also taken into account.

3. Editions are listed by editor and date. I have indicated where they are not based upon the manuscript in question.

There are exceptions to this:

1. If the most recent edition is an unpublished thesis and is consequently not readily available, an earlier edition will be cited in preference.

2. In the case of London, British Library, Harley 1706 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 322. See note below.

3. In the case of London, British Library, Additional 37049, see note 2 below.

4. In each manuscript description, all known references and editions are given for the *Treatise*, the *Fifth Chapter*, the *Formula Compendiosa* chapter, and the *To Kunne Deie*.

Cross-referencing has been used both within manuscripts where texts occur more than once, in part or in full, and between manuscripts. The manuscripts are cited alphabetically by place and have been given the following abbreviations to facilitate this process:

Po 19: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Porkington

Ms 19; Brogyntyn Series II, Ms 5.

BP 255: Cambrai, Bibl. Publ. 255.

CUL Ff.V.45: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Ff.V.45.

CUL Hh.1.11: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Hh.1.11

G & C 390: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 390 (610).

CCC 268: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 268.

GH 496: Glasgow University Library, Hunter 496 (V.7.23).

L1 16: Lichfield, Lichfield Cathedral Library 16.
Add 37049: London, British Library Additional 37049.
Add 37790: London, British Library Additional 37790.
H1706: London, British Library Harley 1706.
D114: Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 114.
D322: Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 322.
Mu 111: Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museao 111.
Mu 160: Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 160.
Ta 398: Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 398.
Bod 789: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789.
Pl 256: New York, Columbia University Library, Plimpton 256.
Ca: Caxton edition.

Where texts occur in more than one manuscript, the full reference is given at the first occurrence and further occurrences refer back to this by manuscript abbreviation, and then the number of the article and foliation (eg. see H1706, (13), ff20r-24v), and other occurrences are also given. Cross-referencing within manuscripts follows a similar procedure.

Note 1: D322 and H1706

D322 and H1706 form a special case. Since D322 is identical to the first half of H1706, all references identifying its texts are to be found in the description of H1706. Where editions exist from both manuscripts, I have cited them both, since there are minor textual differences between the two manuscripts. Elsewhere, where editions

from H1706 do not exist, editions from D322 have been given precedence over editions from other manuscripts in the description of H1706 since the two manuscripts are so closely related.

Where texts in D322 and the first half of H1706 occur elsewhere, both the manuscripts have been cited in cross-referencing rather than just H1706, so as to avoid possible confusion caused by those texts which occur in the second half of H1706 but not in D322.

Note 2: Add37049

This is edited in full by B. L. Doty An Edition of British Museum Manuscript Additional 37049: A Religious Miscellany (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1963). I have not cited it against individual items within the manuscript.

Appendix I: Manuscripts containing Middle English Translations of
Heinrich Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*

1. Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Porkington Ms 19/Brogyntyn
Series II Ms 5; Po 19

Vellum. 170mm x 240mm. The colophon indicates that the manuscript was written in 1419 at Mount Grace but the validity of this attribution has been questioned. (See Chapter I, pp.5). The manuscript contains the full *Treatise* with the translator's preface:

Inc: My moste worschepful ladye aftir ȝoure hyȝe worþinesse and
derreste loued gostly douȝter... f1v

Exp: ...þe holȝe goste lyvest and regneste god euere worlde wiȝ
outen ende Amen. f81r

Col. Scriptum finaliter in monte gracie ultimo die mensis maii
Anno domini m^o cccc xix Deo gracias Amen.

Ihesu eterna sapientia benedicat & custodiat corda & corpora mea
Amen

Explicit.

References: Künzle, (1977), p.268

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394 (from MS Douce 114).

See also: (With preface): BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1), ff1r-56v); D114 ((5),
ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); P1 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); Ca ((1),
ff1r-96v); (without preface): Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-
96r).

General References: Salter, (1957) p.113; Lovatt, (1982) p.61 FN 11;
Watson, (1987), p.49

2. Cambrai: Bibliothèque Publique 255: BP 255

Parchment. 152 x 217 mm. It possesses an identical colophon to
Porkington 19, except for a mistranscription of the date which here is

given as 1319. This attribution is likewise suspect. It contains the full *Treatise* with the translator's preface:

Inc: My moost worscepful lady...

Col. Scriptum finaliter in Monte gracie ultimo die mensis maii, anno Domini M.o.CCC.o.XIX. Deo gratias. Eterna sapientia benedicat et custodiat corda et corpora vestra.'

References: Wichgraf, (1936), pp.177-179; Künzle, (1977) p.268;
Rogers, (1939), pp.543-68.

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394.

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); G&C390 ((1), ff1r-56v); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); Pl 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); Ca ((1), ff1r-96v); (without preface); Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-96r).

General References: Lovatt, (1982) p.61 FN 11; Ker, (1964) p.132; Quétif, (1719), Vol. I, p.658; Doyle, (1953), Vol.I, p.215.

3. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Ff.V.45: CUL Ff.V.45

Parchment. 155 x 220 mm. Early fifteenth century. The only mark of ownership is the name 'John Whyte' [no date]. South-East Midlands, possibly Essex/Suffolk.

1. Fragment of Rolle's *Form of Living*.

Inc: [I]N eche synful man and woman þat is in dedly syn... f1r

Exp.incomplete: ...shal haue more delite to be the owne sp... f2v

f3r blank

Allen, (1927), p.259; Edited (Full text): Ogilvie-Thompson, (1988), pp.1-25, (from MS Longleat 29).

See also: H1706, ((381), ff114v-115v), (extracts); Add 37790 ((6i and 1i), ff130v-132v), (extracts).

2. *Ejaculations to God and the Virgin.*

Inc: O ye high most glorious and blessed eternal lorde... f3v

Exp: ...to alle creatures in youre name. Amen.

Crystes peynful passyon Be euer my proteccoun f8r

3. *The Mirror of Sinners*, a translation of the anonymous *Speculum Peccatoris* variously ascribed to Augustine (PL 40, coll.983), Bernard and Rolle.

Inc: For þat we be in þe waye of thi faylyng lyff... f8r

Exp: ...wt his precious blode bouhte vs Amen. f13r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.81, F.8; Allen, (1927), pp.353-4; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.436-440 from Oxford, University College 96.
See also GH496 ((2), ff9v-17r); H1706 ((36), ff106r-110r); for the Latin text, Bod 789 ((3), ff68r-85r).

4. *Death's Warning.*

Inc. Seth þt ye list to be myn hostesse

And in your boke to sette myn ymage

Wake and remember by gret auisement f13r

Exp. ...Cryst Ihu so bryng vs to þat glorye

Whiche by dethe haddest the victory f14r

IMEV and Supp. 3143; Wells and Hartung Vol. VI p.1818 (Lydgate; Ballad by John Lucas). The poem is partly derived from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (IMEV 1168; ed. Bergen); Book I, ll.s 764-70 (stanza 3); 806-12 (stanza 5); 918-924 (stanza 6); 925-931 (stanza 7); 960-966 (stanza 8). (See Doyle, (1955-60), p.225). Edited: MacCracken, (1934), pp.655-7 (from Douce 322).

In Harley 1706 and Douce 322 the poem is split into two: stanzas 1-4; 5-8 (IMEV 2585). See H1706 ((12), ff19v-20r); D322 ((10), ff19v-20r).

5. The Fifth chapter of *The Treatise of the Seven points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom.*

Inc: Sethen it is so that dethe giffeth nouht to man but rather fro hym taketh and priueth hym of þat he hathe: wherof profiteth this

doctrine of dethe...

f14r

Exp: ...So þat þu haue a blissed obite bi the which thou mayst at
þe last come to þe place of immortalite and euerlastyng felicyte. Amen

f22v

References: Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), p.125,
L.8(b); Wichgraf, (1929), p.131; Armstrong, (1966), pp.58-9; Künzle,
(1977), p.269.

Edited: Armstrong, (1966), pp.74-103 (from Ta 398); in modernised form,
Comper, (1917), pp.105-123. The full *Treatise*, Horstmann, (1888a),
pp.323-389.

See also H1706 ((13), ff 20r-24v), D322 ((11), ff 20r -25v), Add 37049,
((40), ff39r-43v).

6. *A chapitle taken oute of a boke cleped Tour of alle toures*; a
translation of the first section of *Somme le Roi* (or one of its
precursors) on Learning to Die.

Inc: Ageynst his wille he deyeth þt hath not lerned to... f23r

Exp: ...In these thre thynges stondeth what bihoueth for to konne
wele to hym & wele to dye. f24v

Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2260; Jolliffe, (1974), p.122-123 (L.1).
Modernized: Comper, (1917), pp.127-130.

See also: H1706 ((14), ff24v-25v) and D322 ((12), ff25v-26v).

7. *The Book of the Craft of Dying*; a translation of the CP version of
the *Ars Moriendi*

Inc: For as moche as þe passage of dethe... f24v

Exp: ...þt is mediatour bituene god and man Amen. f46v

Wells and Hartung, Vol.VII pp.2361-2364; Jolliffe, (1974), p.123 (L.4(a));
Edited: Horstmann, (1896), p.406 (from Oxford, Bodleian Library,
Rawlinson C 894).

See also: H1706 ((15), ff25v-36v) and D322 ((13), ff26v-39r).

8. *Of Three Arrows on Domesday.*

Inc: [W]ho so wol haue in mynde þe dredeful day of dome... f46v

Exp: ...þat with his precyous blode bouht vs Amen f51r

Edited: Horstmann, (1896), p.446, from Ms Univ. Coll. 97. This is an imitation of the *Meditation on the Passion and of three arrows on Domesday* edited by Horstmann, (1895), pp.112-121 from British Library, Arundel 507 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 285.

See also: GH496 ((6), ff183v-189v); H1706 ((37), ff110v-114v).

9. Articles 9-15 are extracts from the *Pore Caitiff*: (i) Love of Jesus (ff51-53v); (ii) Desyre of Jesus (ff53v-56v); (iii) Of Meekness (ff56r-59v); (iv) The counsaile of Jesus Christ (ff59v-62v) (Crist not compelling); (v) A treatise of Patience (ff62r-63v); (vi) A short tretis of Temptation (ff63v-64r); (vii) The chartre of Heaven (ff64r-68r)

Inc: [W]ho so euer there be þt arayest þe for to loue god if þou wile not be disseyued... f51r

Exp: ...Al thys sentence seith seynt Austyn in his boke to the erle. f68r

Jolliffe, (1974), pp.65-67 (B); See also GH 496 ((3), ff18r-164r); H1706 ((27), ff88r-90r (chapter viii)).

16. Prayers.

Inc: [V]los autem gloriari optet in cruce... f68v

Exp: ...world withouten ende Amen f72r

General References: Tanner, (1748) p.375 note; Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, Note 50(b), p.103.

4. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Hh.1.11

This manuscript is written on vellum and measures 150 x 205mm. It is written by several different hands, dated by Doyle, (1953), Vol.II,

pp.96-97 between the first and last quarters of the fifteenth century.
Probably written for a nunnery in the East Anglia.

1. The Incarnation to the Circumcision, chapters 3-6 of Love's *Mirrore of the Blissid Lyf of Jesu Criste*.

Inc: Whanne plente of tyme of grace was come... f1r

Exp: ... ouere at þis tyme. And þus endeþ þis chapitre f8v

Lewis, Blake and Edwards No. 553, pp.190-191; Edited: Powell, (1908),
from Oxford, Brasenose 8. See below, (5), for further chapters.

2. Missa de nomine Ihesu.

Inc: In nomine ihesu omne genu flectatur... f9r

Exp: ...intencione promoueant Per eiiiidē f12r

3. Two indulgences (the second on a slip pasted onto f12r).

1) Inc: Quicumque hanc missam f12r

Exp: ...xl dies f12v

11) Inc: Eterne deus...

Exp: ...fine fine dicentes.

4. The Creed.

Inc: Credo in vnum deum... f12v

Exp: ...vitam venturi saeculi Amen f12v

5. The *Mirror* from the Last Supper to the Ascension, followed by two prayers.

Inc: Whenne þe tyme cam in þe whiche owre lord... f13r

Exp: ...regneþ wiþouten ende Amen Soli deo honor & gloria f44v

See above, (1).

1) Inc: Aue domine ihesu... f44v

Exp: ...gloria Amen f44v

11) Inc: Precor te piissime... f44v

Exp: ...tribuere digneris Amen f44v

6. Part of Chapter VI of the *Treatise of the Seven Points* on the Blessed Sacrament.

Inc: Wysdam. Whan ye comest vp to the wirschipfull... f45r

Exp: ...to lyf euerelastyng Amen f53v

Edited: Horstmann (1888a), pp.325-389: this section, p.370, l.28 - p.378, l.24.

7. A Latin Prayer on the Seven Last Words.

Inc: Domine ihesu christe qui septem uerba die ultimo... f54r

Exp: ...saeculorum saecula Amen f54v

8. A chapter of the English version of the *Stimulus Amoris* on the Salve Regina.

Inc: If you wilt deuoutely heile yis glrouse vygine... f55r

Exp: ...ihesu crist oure saueour Amen f60r

Lewis, Blake and Edwards, No.46, pp.18-19. Edited Kane (1983), from London, British Library, Harley 2254.

9. The prayer 'O bone Ihesu'

Inc: O bone ihesu o dulcissime ihesu... f60v

Exp: ...Aue Maria f60v

10. An English version of Flete's treatise against temptations.

Inc: Sine fide im possibile est placere deo. For as mechil as ye apostle seyth with owtyn feyth... f61r

Exp: to worschepe of þat lord Qui uiuat et regnat domine per omnia saecula saeculorum Amen f68r

Lewis, Blake and Edwards, No.230, p.79. Repeated, presumably a different translation, below, (12).

See also H1706 ((3811) ff115r-139v)

f68v blank.

11. The exposition of the Psalms (90-91) Qui habitat and Bonum est
(attributed to Hilton).

1) Inc: Qui habitat... Alle men þat wil se... f69r
Exp: ...I schal shewe me self to hym Amen f86r

Lewis, Blake and Edwards, No.554, p.191; Edited: Wallner (1954), pp.51-92.

11) Inc: Bonum est confiteri... It is good to schriue... f86r
Exp: ...blissed with owtyn ende Amen f99r

Lewis, Blake and Edwards, No.115.5; Edited: Wallner (1954), pp.51-92
(from Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng.poet.a.1)

f99v blank.

12. The Remedies for Ghostly Temptations (based on Flete's Treatise).

Inc: Oure merciful lord god chastyseth hese childyrn... f100r
Exp: ...on me sinful haue mercy Amen f116r

Jolliffe (1974), p.121; Allen, (1927), pp.359-61; Lewis, Blake and Edwards
No.528, pp.182-3. Edited: Colledge and Chadwick (1968) from this
manuscript. See above (10).

f116v, 117r-v blank.

13. *Speculum Peccatoris*.

Inc: Quoniam carissime domine in huius via vite... f118r
Exp: ...ihesu christe per omnia saecula saeculorum Amen f120v

PL 40 coll.983-992.

See also GH496 ((2), ff9v-17r); H1706 ((36), ff106r-110r); for the Latin
text, Bod 789, ((3), ff68r-85r).

f121r-v blank.

14. An English version of the Revelations of St Elizabeth of Schönau.

Inc: On a day as seynt ely~~z~~abeth... f122r

Exp: ...þan to powte ony of hem þat ben untrewē f127v

15. An English sermon on the Assumption of Our Lady addressed to a nunnery whose patroness she was (or of their order, the preacher's too) with a moralisation of the articles of their clothing.

Inc: To declare to ȝow at þis tyme... f128r

Exp: ...in quyche seyntys haue here fruicion Amen f132v

Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, p.2335 - for the moralization on clothing, ff130-132v.

f133r-v, f134r blank.

16. The devotions of the joys and sorrows of Our Lady in Latin and English etc.

i) Inc: Here begynnyth the vij joyes of owyr lady... f134v

Exp: ...eterna saecula Amen Expliciunt septem gaudia f135v

ii) Inc: In resurreccione tua... f136r

Exp: ...rex indeor? f136r

iii) Inc: ...What man or woman deuowtly... f136r

Exp: ...body and sowle f136r

General References: Doyle, (1953), Vol.II pp.96-97.

5. Cambridge: Corpus Christi College 268: CCC268

Parchment. 269 x 178 mm. Mid-fifteenth century. Owned by Campsey Priory in Suffolk, (Augustinian nuns) at the end of the fifteenth/ beginning of the sixteenth century. There is a note on f169v mentioning 'Elizabeth Wylby'.

According to the catalogue, the following prayer is inserted between the first and second books of the preceding treatise. However this leaf is now located at the beginning of the manuscript:

'Unto every man or woman that seyth this prayere folwyng:
Benedictum sit dulce nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi et gloriosissimae virginis Mariae matris ejus in eternum et ultra. Amen. Nos cum prole bendicat virgo Mariae: Amen ar grauntyd iii yer of pardon tociens quociens of pope Clement the fourth atte the request of seynt Lowys Kyng of Fraunce.'

1. *A comfortable tretyes to strengthyn and confortyn craturys in the feyth.*

Inc: Sine fide impossibile est placere domino . With outyn feyth it is impossible to plesyn god... f1r

Exp ...in the glorious presens of that heygh lord [then passage in latin] Here endith a comfortable tretyes to strengthyn and confortyn craturys in the feyth specially hem that arn symple and disposyd to fallyn in desperacyon f9v

Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, p.2291, related to [55] *Faith*, or *A Short Declaration of Belief*, cf Jolliffe, (1974), p.85 G.2; p.122 K.13.

2. *The Scale of Perfection. . English form of Walter Hilton's Scala perfectionis sive de vita contemplativa.* In two books, the first ff10r-54r; the second, ff98r-169v.

Inc: Gostly systre i ihu crist... f10r

Exp: ...oure lord ihesu cryst be with the now and evir Amen.

Here endith the feyst book of maister walter hyltoun

Sit nomine domine benedicite in saecula saeculorum Amen J.S.

f52v

There follows on ff52v-54r a list of chapters of the preceding book.

Lewis, Blake and Edwards (1985), no.255, p.87;

3. *The Treatise of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*; without the translator's preface.

Inc: Sentite de domino... These wordys of evir lastyng wysdam ben thus meche to seyn... f54v

Exp: ...lyvist & regnest god evir with owtyn ende. Amen. f97r

References: Wichgraf, (1936), pp.176-7; Armstrong, (1966) pp.55-56; Künzle, (1977) p.268; Lovatt, (1982) p.61 FN 20, 26.

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394.

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1), ff1r-56v); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); Pl 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); Ca ((1), ff1r-96v); (without preface); Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v).

f97v blank

4. The second book of *The Scale of Perfection*.

There is a list of chapters of the second book of the *Scale*, ff98r-99v

Inc: For as mykel as y coveityst gretly... f99v

Exp: ...gostely materys thanne mych ben in a gret boke. f169v

Deo gracies J.S.

General References: Ker, (1964), p.28; Deansley, (1920), p.355; Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, pp.123-124.

6. Cambridge: Gonville and Caius College 390 (=610): G&C 390

Paper. 210 x 152 mm. Mid-late fifteenth century. On f32v is the inscription:

'Thys is my boke god geue me grase to foolow ye good and godli counseyll therin Alicia Lego Ihesu haue marsy on me myserbel synner'. On f47 is found 'Empson and Duddly' and on f66v 'This boke is Edmund puttyng s...e man dwellyng in London'. It was given to the college by W. Moore.

1. *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*; with the translator's preface.

Inc: My most worschipfull...(rest of leaf is damaged) f1v

Exp: ...reigneth god euer in all worldes withouten ende Amen f56v

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.127-8; Armstrong, (1966), p.55; Künzle, (1977), pp.268-9; Lovatt, (1982) p.61 FN 20.

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394.

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); Pl 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); Ca ((1), ff1r-96v); (without preface); Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-96r).

2. *The Lyfe and Martirdom of seint Kateryn (of Alexandria)*. From the *Gilte Legende*, a translation of the *Légende dorée* of Jean de Vigny, possibly by Osbert Bokenham.

Inc: What tyme I hadde drawn the martyrdome of the holy... f56v

Exp. ends imperfectly. in chapter xxiv ...and the maiden folowed hym... f82v

Wells and Hartung, Vol. II, pp.432-436 (do not mention this ms); Lewis, Blake and Edwards (1985), no.28, p.12; Edited: Gibbs, (1884), p.xiii, from British Library Additional 35298.

General References: Deansley, (1920), p.357; Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, Note 49a. p.99.

7. Glasgow, Glasgow University Library Hunter 496 (V.7.23)

Vellum. 117 x 178 mm. Late fourteenth century. It was owned by S. Woodford (1636-1700), 'poet and divine'.

1. *St. Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter*, an English Prose translation of the *Psalterium abbreviatum*.

Inc: Lord perceyue thou my wordes with thyne eeris... fir

Exp: ...to my soule & to my bodi So be it Amen. f9v

Wells and Hartung Vol.II, p.387. (Do not mention this manuscript). The Latin version printed in Horstmann, (1895), pp.392-408.

2. *The Mirror of Sinners.*

Inc: For þat we ben in þe weie of þis faylynge life & oure dayes passen as a shadowe... f9v

Exp: ...what tyme oure lorde comeþ to clepe þe: for to entir wiþ him in to blis þat euere shal last to þe whiche blisse he bringe us: þt bouȝt us with his precious blode Amen. f17r

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((3) ff8r-13r); H1706 ((36), ff106r-110r) and Bodleian 789 (Latin text; ((3), ff68v-85r).

3. *The Poor Caitif*

Inc. Prol: This tretise compiled of a pore caitiff and nedi of gostli help of all cristen peple... f18r

Exp. Prol: ... þe whiche blisse to us all graunte he; þat leueþ & regneþ wiþouten ende merciful god Amen f18v

1) Inc: The groundes of al goodenes is stedfast feiþ eiþer bileue... f18v

Fifteen chapters (including this one) follow: The Creed (ff21r-35r); The Commandments (ff35v-85v); The Pater Noster (ff86r-104v); 'Christ nor compelling...' (ff105r-107r); Of vertuous patience (ff107v-111v); Of Temptation (ff111v-113r); The Charter of Heaven (ff113r-120v); The rule of man's body (ff120v-130r); Of the name of Jesus (ff130r-133v); Of the Love of Jesus (ff134v-138r); Of Meekness (ff138v-141v); Of the effect of man's will (ff141v-143v); 'Crist loued marie maudeleyne and martha her suster...' (ff143v-146v); The mirror of chastity (ff146v-147v)

Exp: ...þat we moun regne wiþ þe in endles blisse. Amen. f164r

References: Jolliffe (1974) pp.65-7 (B); Edited: Spalding, (1914) pp.100-102; Brady, (1954) from British Library, Harley 2336.

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((9-15), ff51r-68r); H1706 ((27), ff88r-90r; chapter viii).

4. *To Kunne to Diȝe* translation of the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium Sapientiae* (Book II, Chapter II).

Inc: To kunne to diȝe is to haue þe herte and þe soule þat is þe vndirstondyng and wille redi in al tyme to heuenly þingis... f164r

Exp: ...and come to þe place of vndedlinesse and of euerlasting blisse. Amen. f178v

References: Wells and Hartung, Vol. VIII, p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), pp.125-6, L.8 (c)).

See also: Bod789 ((6), ff 123r-139v.

5. *St Anselm's Meditations*; a translation of *St Anselmi Meditationum* II (PL 158, 722)

Inc: My life feriþ me so sore... f178v

Exp: ...wiþ all þo þat louen þi name ihū so be it. Amen. f183v

Edited: Horstmann, (1896), p.443, from Oxford, University College 97.

6. *Of Three Arrows on Domesday*.

Inc: Who þat wol haue in mynde þe dredeful daie of dome... f183v

Exp: ...þt bouȝt us wiþ his precious blode vpon þe rode tre. Amen.
þat is so be it. f189v

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((8), ff46v-51r); H1706 ((37), ff110v-114v)

General Reference: Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, Note 11, pp.20-21.

8. Lichfield: Lichfield Cathedral Library 16

Vellum. 258 x 185 mm. First quarter of the fifteenth century.

Binding of red morocco, gold tooled, eighteenth century. The foliation is modern. The precise provenance is unknown but from dialect this ms may be assigned to south Glos/north Som/Wiltshire (See Dialect, pp\$); also Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.136). Four hands, large textura, changing at ff17, 36, 190, 206. Written in England. Given to Lichfield Cathedral Library in 1673 by Frances, widow of William Seymour, Duke of

Somerset. Some illumination: of initial capitals and (less ornate) of capitals within the texts. Collation: 1-3^o, 4^{1o}, 5-10^o, 11^o + 1 leaf after 8 (f91), 12-22^o, 23^{1o}, 24-28^o, 29² (ff231-2), 30^o, 31^{1o}, wants 8-10. Quires 8-23 signed a-l, n-r, t-x. Catchwords

1. Suso, chapter 11 of book 11 of the *Horologium Sapientiae*.

Inc: Cum omnes homines natura scire desiderunt... f1r

Exp: ...ac felicitatis eterne. Explicit tractatus, qui scire mori merito nuncupatur necessarius perlector f15r

Künzle, (1977), pp.526-540.

ff15v-16v blank.

2. An unique English translation of chapter 11 book 11 of Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae*.

Inc: Incipit tractatus qui scire mori appellatur. Sybbe al manere men desireth by kynde... f17r

Exp: ...and ioye þat is in heuyn. Amen. f34v

Wells and Hartung Vol. VII, p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), p.125 L8(a)

3. *The Prick of Conscience*, the Southern recension.

Inc: The [myhttel] of the fader almyȝtty... f17r

Exp: ...þt for oure loue made al þynge Amen. Here endeþ þe bok þt ys cleped þe pryk of conceyns. f189v

Lacks two quires between ff 123-124 (lacks ll 4337-4918) and between ff 163-4 (lacks ll 7123-7856).

Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, pp.2268-2270; IMEV 3429; Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.136; Edited: Morris, (1863).

4. Alexander of Canterbury, the fifth chapter of *Dicta Anselmi*.

Inc: Incipit Beati Anselmi episcopi de quatuordecim partibus beatitudinis hoc modo. Nunc inuestigare iuuat quantum boni sibimet ipse faciat... f190r

Exp: ...et imperium nunc et in perpetuum Amen. Explicit libellus
beati Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cant' (de) xliii partibus beatitudinum f205v

Edited: Southern and Schmitt, (1969), pp.127-141 (from Cambridge, Corpus
Christi College, 457)

5. An English translation of the above.

Inc: Incipit libellus beati anselmi episcopi de xliij^cim partibus
beatitudinis. Nunc inuestigare iuuat etc The sentence of thys chapitur
is þus in enghische (sic). Hiþ is spedful... f206r

Exp: ...whare fro god defende vs. A.M.E.N. f232r

f 232v is blank.

6. An Anglo-Norman translation of the above.

Inc: Incipit libellus beati Anselmi episcopi de quatuordecim
partibus beatitudinis etc Ore il elde a sercher quant de biem celni
fait... f233r

Exp: ...purce en y (ends imperfectly) f247v

Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, p.2365 (ii and iii).

General References: Furnivall, (1970), p.xlv; Bülbring, (1897), pp.1-30;
Bülbring, (1888-1890), pp.279-283; Wichgraf, (1929), 'Nachtrag' p.287;
D'Evelyn, (1950), pp.180-200; Armstrong, (1966), p.72 (brief mention in
text; not ms description); p.41 n18; Waters, (1976), p.68; Künzle, (1977),
p.273 (In text; no ms details); Lovatt, (1982), p.62 n.36; Lewis and
McIntosh, (1982), pp.136; Benedikz, (1983), pp.9-10; Ker, (III, 1983),
p.117.

9. London, British Library Additional 37049: Add 37049

Paper. 273 x 203 mm. First half of the fifteenth century. McIntosh
(Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), pp.155-156) indicates the dialect to be
East Nottinghamshire. There are various indications of Carthusian
provenance in the manuscript and Seymour (Seymour, (1966), pp.27-8)

assigns it to Axholme. B. L. Doty produced an edition of the full manuscript, (Doty, 1963) but J. Hogg indicates this to be inaccurate and I have not referred to it here against individual items.

1. Fragment of a legend or apocryphal gospel in Latin. f1r

On f1v is a picture of Mary and on f2r a picture of Christ.

On f2v is a map of the world with an explanation.

2. The *English Epitome* of the *Book of John Mandeville*.

On f3r is a picture of the City of Jerusalem with a description.

Inc: The cyte of ierusalem standes fayr... f3r

Exp: ...if any man hafe any special grace gyfen of god. f9r

Wells and Hartung Vol VII, p.2239 (Epitome, prose). Edited: Seymour (1966), p.27.

3. Extracts from Chronicles, with drawings.

Inc: De cronykyls tels þat þe cyte... f9v

Exp: ...multitude of tresor. f10r

Wells and Hartung Vol VIII pp.2662-3.

4. A translation of the Latin version of the *Revelations of pseudo-Methodius*. With illustrations.

Inc: This tretys is drawn oute of latyn into ynglysche... f11r

Exp: ...warldes of warld Amen. f16v

Wells and Hartung Vol VIII p.2665; Edited: Perry, (1925), pp.94-112.

5. Meditation or prayer on the Last Judgement.

Inc: Almyghty God for þi gret godenes... f16v

Exp: ...safe vs all Amen. f18r

Revell, (1974), p.55 (177).

Related to Hh.1.11, <(111-11) ff69r-99r>.

6. *Of the cumym [sic] of þe day of dom.*

Inc: The ordyr of þe dome sal be... f18r

Exp: ...whilk þai sal se before þe day of dome. f18v

Revell, (1974), p.56 (180).

7. *On the time of Domesday.*

Inc: When þe day of dome salle be

It is in gods pryuyte... f18v

Exp: ...Gyf vs þi mercy here or we passe hence. f18v

IMEV 4030; Revell, (1975), p.56 (181).

8. A translation of *O spes in morte me salua maria precor te*, by
Wilfridus, accompanying a drawing of a death-bed.

Hope in nede þou helpe me

Gods moder I pray to þe. f19r

IMEV and Supp. 2463; Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.697; Edited: Brunner,
(1938), p.23 (London, British Library, Cotton Faust. BVI).

9. From *Barlaam and Josephat*; an emblematic drawing: a man in a tree
(man's life) pursued by a unicorn (death) taking honey (worldly
vanities) etc with verses.

Inc: Behalde here as þou may se

A man standyng in a tree... f19v

Exp: damaged. Last readable couplet:

And þay þaim selfe þai for gett

And al þe perels þat þai are in sett... f19v

IMEV 491; Revell, (1975), p.61 (194); Edited: Ross, (1957), pp.274-282.

10. *Querela diuina* and *Responsio humana*.

1) Inc: Querela diuina/O man unkynde/hafe in mynde... f20r

Exp: ...In to þi halle/With ioi cum sone/Amen. f20r

IMEV and Supp. 2504; Wells and Hartung, Vol.III, p.679-80 (d); Revell, (1975), p.17 (53); Edited: Brown, (1939), pp.168-9.

11. Christ displaying his wounds, accompanied by a *Poem on the Five Wounds*.

Inc: þies woundes smert/þere in þi hert/and luf god aye... f20r

Exp: withowten delay f20r

IMEV Supp. 3560.5; Edited: Comper, (1928), p.318.

12. The Ten Commandments from the *Speculum Christiani*, with a drawing.

Inc: Ecclesiastici duodecimo, Deum timi... f20v

Thow sal luf god wt hert intere

Exp: ...qui fide perdidit. f20v

IMEV and Supp. 3687; Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, pp.2265-7 (discusses *Speculum* but does not list extracts).

13. *Of the fayrnes of saynt Mary*. (Prose Tract on the Blessed Virgin).

Inc: Oof þe fayrhed of saynt Mary... f21r

Exp: ...o god almyghty f21v

Revell, (1975), p.25 (89)

14. Miracle tale of sloth on Sunday punished. Illustrated.

Inc: Þer was a seruand... f21v

Exp: ...in þe drede. f21v

15. *The Founding of the Carthusian order*.

Inc: At þe begynyng of þe chartirhows god did shewe

To þe byschop of Gracionapolitane saynt Hewe... f22r

Exp: ...Opon þe luf of Ihū crist god almyghty. f22v

IMEV 435; Edited, Hogg, (1980), pp.259-262

16. *The Short Charter of Christ*; with a drawing of the symbols of the Passion.

Inc: Sciant profetes & futiori... f23r

Exp: ...þe gret mercy. f23r

IMEV and Supp. 4184; Wells and Hartung Vol VII pp.2343-2344; Edited: Spalding, (1914), pp.1-16.

17. Poem on 'Jesus Nazarene' accompanied by three prose exemplar.

i) Inc: Our lord Jhesu Crist dyd appere

To saynt Edmunde þe archebischof clere... f23v

Exp: ...þis writtyng haunte. f23v

ii) Inc: It is written... f23v

Exp: ...with fayr clernes (?) f23v

iii) Inc: Also in yreland... f23v

Exp: ...al I forgyffe f24r

iv) Inc: Also when a deuoute... f24r

Exp: ...Ihesu is my luf. f24r

IMEV 2721; Revell, (1975), p.39 (131); Allen, (1927), p.307.

18. Four Poems on the Five wounds of Christ.

i) Appeal of Christ to Man by the Pains of his Passion.

Inc: O man kynde/ hafe in þi mynde... f24r

Exp: ...lo here my hert f24r

IMEV and Supp. 2507; Revell, (1975), p.17 (54.1); Edited: Davies, (1963), p.168.

ii) Inc: Þe nowmer of Jhesu... f24r

Exp: ...war felt & sene f24r

IMEV and Supp. 3443; Revell, (1975), p.17 (53.2); Edited: Greene, (1935), p.401.

111) *Close in My Breast Thy Perfect Love.*

Inc: Jhesu my luf... f24r

Exp: ...euer more with þe f24r

IMEV and Supp. 1735; Revell, (1975), p.18 (53.3); Edited: Brown, (1939), p.102.

iv) Inc: The nowmer of our lords... f24r

Exp: ...of þaim alle. f24r

Revell (1975), p.18 (53.4); Edited: Comper, (1928), p.318.

19. *Of the relief of souls in Purgatory*, illustrated by a picture of purgatory, with a bucket on a pulley being pulled out of the flames, the rope passing through images of the Mass and almsgiving.

Inc: Þe saules þat to purgatory wended... f24v

Exp: ...þan is al warldly rytches. f24v

IMEV 3476; Revell, (1975), p.57 (184). This is an extract from the *Pricke of Conscience*, Book IV, ll.3566-3571; 3586-3589; 6 lines added; ll.3918-3930; last 3 lines added.

20. Last 45 lines of a poem describing the appearance of Christ. The first line appears not to belong to the rest of the text, and is rejected by the IMEV. (If þai do so he, he wil þaim safe, f25r)

Inc: as walnot barke his hare is ȝalowe f25r

Exp: ...wher þu art emprowre kyng & lorde · Amen. f25r

IMEV Supp. *1426.8; Revell, (1975), p.9 (28); Edited: Ross, (1957), pp.277-8.

21. *Quia amore langueo.*

Inc: In a tabernakil of a towre... f25v

Exp: ...Quia amore langueo. f26r

See Harley 1706 ((4), ff9v-10v); D322, ((3), ff8v-9v).

22. *On the Name of Mary.*

Inc: Luf wele þis blyssed name Maria... f26r

Exp: will not suffer puttyng bakke f26r

Revell, (1975), p.23 (73).

23. Several Indulgences.

Inc: This Pope Sanct Clement... f26v

Exp: ...domine deus meus. f27r

24. Miracle tale of clerk whose devotion to Our Lady diminished after seeing her image at Rome.

Inc: It is sed in þe myrakils of our lady... f27r

Exp: ...& so sche went fro hym. f27r

25. *Ave Maris Stella*, a translation with a drawing.

Inc: Hayle se sterne gods modyr holy... f27v

Exp: ...þat we with þe may dwelle for euer & ay. Amen. f27v

Revell, (1975), pp.22-3 (71); Edited: Brown, (1939), pp.35-6.

26. Verse (five couplets) quoting *Horologium*.

Inc: Whoso rememors Cristes passion deuotely
To hym profets specially two þinges in hye... f28r

Exp: ...in minde wil haue. f28r

IMEV and Supp. 4140; Edited: Bowers, (1963), p.13-14.

27. *The Falcon.*

Inc: Also take hede to þis... f28r

Exp: ...in blis þu may be set ful hye f28r

IMEV and Supp. 269; Edited: Ross, (1957), pp.278-9.

28. Dialogue between man, angel and fiend.

Inc: Of þe seuen ages note wele þe sayng of þe gode angel and þe

yll... f28v
Exp: ...& fendes of vgly chere. f29r

IMEV 2282; Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.689; Edited: York, (1957), p.484;
Hogg, (1980), pp.263-5.

29. *Salve regina*; a translation.

Inc: Hayl oure patron & lady of erthe... f29v
Exp: ...& þinke on me Amen. f30r

IMEV 1073; Revell, (1975), p.99 (287); Edited: Brown, (1939), pp.47-8.

30. The pains of the Passion and the Seven Sins they remedy.

Inc: Wyth scharp þornes þt beth kene... f30r
Exp: ...saules fode. f30r

IMEV and Supp. 4200; Edited: Person, (1953) pp.68-9 (from London,
British Library, Harley 2339).

31. Rolle, *Ego dormio*, selections.

Inc: Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat. I slepe & my herte wakes f30
v
Exp: ...de insto in glasu super [last word illegible]. f31r

Allen, (1927), p.307; Edited: Ogilvie-Thompson, (1988), pp.26-33 (from
Longleat 29).

See also: Add 37790, ((6111), ff132v-135v.

32. Lydgate, *The Dawnce of Makabre*.

Inc: O ȝe al whilk þt by me... f31v
Exp: ...bonum est mortis meditari f32v

On this leaf a transi tomb is illustrated: a fine lady above a skeleton
surrounded by worms. The last section of the poem refers directly to
this illustration.

IMEV 2589; Wells and Hartung Vol VI pp.1824-5 (This ms not cited);
Edited: Brunner, (1938), pp.27-8, 30.

33. *A disputacion betwyx þe body and wormes.*

Inc: In þe ceson of huge mortalite... f33r

Exp: ...to hym vs bynde. Amen. f35r

IMEV.1563; Wells and Hartung Vol.III pp.695-6; Revell, (1975), p.54 (174);
Edited: Brunner, (1938), pp.30-35.

34 *De contemptu mundi*; a text drawn from Rolle's *Commandment and Form of Living*.

Inc: Werely I knawe no þinge... f35v

Exp: ...angels & hely saules. f35v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.114, (I.40); Revell, (1975), p.42 (137); Allen (1927),
p.308; Edited: Ogilvie-Thompson (1988): *The Commandment* fragment, p.38;
the *Form* fragment, p.24 (from MS Longleat 29).

35. *Apostolus dicit 'Ciuitatem hic manentum non habemus'.*

Inc: Behold howe in þe wildernes of þis warld men gase... f36r

Exp: ...not to payne withouten ende. f36v

IMEV 3428 C; Revell, (1975), p.45 (146); Lewis and McIntosh, (1982),
(p.155) point out that this is an extract from the *Pricke of Conscience*.
ll.s 1370-73; 1090-95; 1096-98(?); 1178-81(?); 1532-39; 1542-49; 1592-
93; 1598-1603; 1584-85; 1632-34(?); 1586-87; Edited; Hogg, J, (1980),
pp.241-58.

36. Vade Mori device; with three drawings.

Inc: I wende to dede a kyng y-wis... f36v

Exp. (imp).telle f36v

IMEV 1387; Wells and Hartung Vol III p.697; Edited: Brown, (1939; this
ms) p.249.

37. i) *Jesus est amor meus*; this and the following poem are
translations of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, 15, (189). No other copies
exist.

Inc: þe luf of god who so will here... f36v

Exp: ...neuer more twyn. Amen. f36v

IMEV 3416, (incorporates IMEV 4088, a translation of Augustine's *Cundat nudatum pectus*, one stanza of four lines); Revell, (1975), p.39 (132); Allen, (1927) p.308; Edited: Comper, (1936), p.133-4.

ii) *Jhesu est amor meus*, with a short preface of three couplets.

Inc: Whils I satte in a chapel in my prayere... f37r

Exp: ...Deuoutely in Jhesu 3our herte 3e caste. f37r

IMEV and Supp. 4076; Revell, (1975), p.40 (133); Allen, (1927), pp.308-9.
Edited: Comper, (1936), pp.209-10.

38. *The state of religion.*

Inc: þe state of religioun e suld be þorow... f37v

Exp: ...And hafe hym þan for euermare. Amen. f38r

IMEV 3478; Revell, (1975), p.44 (143).

39. Annotated drawing of a death-bed. f38v

40. The Fifth Chapter of *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom.*

Inc: Sen it is so þat deth gyfes noght to man... f39r

Exp: ...euerlastyng felicite & hapynes. Amen. f43v

References: Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), p.125, L.8(b); Armstrong, (1966), pp.56-7; Künzle, (1977), p.269; Wichgraf, (1929), p.129, p.130; Revell, (1975), p.43 (140).
Edited: Armstrong, (1966) pp.74-103 (from Ta 398); in modernised form, Comper, (1917), pp.105-123 (from D322); full *Treatise* ed. Horstmann, (1888a), pp.323-389; this chapter, pp.357-365.

See also H1706 ((13), ff20r-24v); D322 ((11), ff20r-25v); CUL Ff.V.45 ((5), ff14r-22v).

41. *Formula Compendiosa Vite Spiritualis*, part of chapter four of the *Treatise*, from book II chapter III of the *Horologium*.

Inc: It is written in horologio diuine sapiencie Gods sapiencia

wisdam techis his discipul. In þe felischip of sayntes whilk as þe
morne sterne schane in þe myrk nyght... f43v

Exp: ...of gostely hele: Hec in horologium diuine sapientie. deo
gracias f44v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.111, (I.23); Revell, (1975), p.42 (138); Wichgraf,
(1929), p.129; Armstrong, (1966), pp.56-7; Künzle, (1977), p.269; Edited:
full *Treatise*, Horstmann, (1888a), pp.323-389; this section, p.353, l.30 -
p.255, l.37).

See also Add 37790 ((7), ff135v-136v).

42. Poem on the Crucifixion.

Inc: Thy myghty mercy kyng of blis... f45r

Exp: ...To his honour lofyng & complacense. Amen. f45r

IMEV 3732; Revell, (1975), p.16 (52); Edited: Comper, (1936), pp.131-2.

43. *The Complaint of Christ on the Cross*, imperfect at beginning (first
line cut off).

Inc: 3it stand a while... f45v

Exp: ...In heuyn Amen. f45v

IMEV and Supp. 1119: this ms has here twelve stanzas corresponding to
10-23 of the full poem. Sometimes incorrectly attributed to Skelton.
Edited: Bennett, (1949, pr.1955), pp.261-265, (from London, British
Library, Arundel 285).

See also (45) f68r, below.

44. Verse dialogue between St Peter, the dominican martyr, and the
Crucifix.

Prose Intro: It is sayd of Saynt Petyr... f45v

Prose Exp: ...And petyr sayd þis f45v

Inc: Ihesu crist godes sone... f45v

Exp: ...redy for to dye f45v

IMEV 1673; Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.688

45. *The Desert of Religion*. Illustrated. Draws on the *Speculum Vitae* and the *Pricke of Conscience*.

Inc: Dauyd þt prophet was... f46r

Exp: ...So may we þoghts to byg in hert. f67r

IMEV 672; Wells and Hartung Vol VII pp.2333-2334; Allen, (1927), p.309;
Edited: Hübner, (1911), pp.59-73

46. *Tree of Liffe*. Illustrated.

Inc: Herkyn wordes swete and goode... f67v

Exp: ...Schuld as a tyke & þefe lyke. f67v

IMEV 1119; has stanzas corresponding to 1-9 of this poem; see (42),
f45v above.

47. *The Fifteen Joys of Our Lady*. Imperfect.

Inc: ...þe tent ioy had our lady... f68r

Exp: ...with hym withowten ende Amen. f68r

Revell, (1975), p.30 (106).

48. *Meditacion of þe passione of Jhesus criste*, from a fourteenth century Latin hymn *Patris sapientia*, attributed to Pope John XXII.

Inc: Man take hede on þe day... f68v

Exp: ...more in al distres... f68v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2368; Revell, (1975), p.13 (40).

49. *On the Judgement*.

Inc: In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua et in
eternum non peccabis f69r

Dat is on ynglysche þus to say

he sayd thynke on þine endyng... f69r

Exp: ...Wher euer is day & neuer nyght. f69r

IMEV 3428 D (see f36v); Revell, (1975), p.56 (179).

Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), (pp.155-6) point out that this is an extract

from the *Pricke of Conscience* ll.s 2656-67; 1818-29; 1930-31; 1934-40; 2668-81; Edited: Hogg, (1980), pp.266-7.

50. The Apple of Solace.

Inc. Now gode angel telle me... f69v

Exp. ...for þe was fest þe cros. f70r

Revell, (1975), p.41 (134); Edited: Hogg, (1980), pp.268-70.

51. Hoccleve, the *Cantus peregrinorum*, from the English translation of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.

Inc: Honourd be blyssed lord on hy... f70v

Exp: ...Of þe blissed lord in trynyste. f71v

IMEV and Supp. 1247; Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.753; Revell, (1975), p.59 (187); Edited: Furnivall, (1970), pp.xxxii-xxxiii (from MS Egerton 615).

52. Poem on the Ways of the World.

Inc: Alle þe warlde wyde & brade... f72r

Exp; (last line obscured) ...as ye may se f72r

Lewis and McIntosh, (1982), p.156 point out that this is an extract from the *Pricke of Conscience*: 'f72 contains 56 ll., the first 48 of which are from PC in the following order: 933-41; 954-59; paraphrase of 940-47 (?), 1213-44; it is uncertain from what part of PC ll.49-56 come, if in fact they come from the PC at all'.

IMEV 2463 (E) see f36r; Wells and Hartung, Vol. VII, pp. 2268-9 (no. 66); Revell, (1975), p.44 (145); Edited: Hogg, (1980), pp.271-2.

53. 'Þis sygnyfyes heuen and [earth]. 2 page picture with explanatory notes. Drawing of the fall of Adam and Eve, man's redemption by Christ's crucifixion, and the sacraments as the way to Heaven. Hell is represented as the mouth of a monster; purgatory as souls in flames; Heaven as a City encircled by God's arms. f72v-f73r

54. Part of a dialogue between a soul and an angel.

Inc: Nowe gode angel telle me... f73v

Exp: ...payne perduraby1 euerlastyngly. f73v

Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.687-8; Revell, (1975), p.54 (175).

55. On a vision of hell.

Prose Inc: Here folowes a vysion of saules þat war dampned... f74r

Prose Exp: ...sathanas to hell f74r

Verse Inc: Cum folow me my frendes... f74r

Exp: ...fer or nere f74r

Revell, (1975), p.58 (185); Edited: Ross, (1957), pp.279-281.

56. Hoccleve, *The Angel's Second Song within Heaven*, from the English translation of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.

Inc: Honord be þou blysed Jhesu... f74v

Exp: ...Thankyd be þou Jhesu god & man. f75r

IMEV ands Supp 1246; Wells and Hartung Vol. III p.753; Revell, (1975), pp.60-61 (191); Edited: Furnivall, (1970), pp.xxxvi-xxxvii (From MS Egerton 615).

57. A vision of St. Anthony.

Inc: Opon a nyght a voyce came to saynt Anton... f75v

Exp: ...sal ouercum þe deuell f75v

Revell, (1975), p.32 (110).

58. Hoccleve, *Songs of the Angels*, from the English translation of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.

1) *The Angels' Song on Epiphany.*

Inc: Honored be þis holy feste day... f76r

Exp: ...honored be þe holy trynyste. f76r

IMEV and Supp. 1242; Edited: Furnivall, (1970), pp. xlvii-xlviii (from MS Egerton 615).

ii) De songe & lofyng of Angels on pasc day.

Inc: Honourde be þou Jhesu saueoure f76r

Exp: ...honored be þou blyssed lord Jhesu f76v

IMEV and Supp. 1249; Edited: Furnivall, (1970), pp. xlviii-xlix, from MS Egerton 615.

iii) De sang of graces of al holy sayntes on pasc day.

Inc: Honored be þou blyssedful lord abofe f76v

Exp: honored be þou lord Jhesu suffrayne. f77r

IMEV and Supp. 1244; Edited: Furnivall, (1970), p.1 (ie 50), (from MS Egerton 615).

iv) De songe of angels & oþer sayntes on Whyssonday.

Inc: Honourd be be [sic] þou holy goste in hye... f77r

Exp: ...Honored be þou lord Jhesu withouten ende. f77r

IMEV and Supp. 1248; Edited: Furnivall, (1970), p.11, from MS Egerton 615.

Wells and Hartung, Vol. III, p.753; Revell, (1975), p.59, (189.1; 189.2), p.60 (189.3; 189.4) respectively.

59. 'Te deum laudamus' and 'Ego sum ostium' - drawings of a celestial hierachy according to Dionysius, with prose explanation. f77v

Inc: Saynt Dȳnes sayd þat þis... f78r

Exp: (page cut off and unclear). ...þerof al þai may not... [last readable words]. f79r

60. 'Benedicamus patrem et filium et sanctum spiritum': drawing of the four beasts, etc with prose explanation.

Inc: Saynt Austyn says quod regnum celorum nulli clauditur... f79v

Exp: ...& to þe holy gost. f80r

61. The Joys of Heaven.

Inc: Behald man & in þi þoght vp lede... f80r

Exp: ...ffor þat ioy to hafe and god to se f80v

IMEV 493; Revell, (1975), p.57 (182); Edited: Hogg, (1980), pp.273-4.

This poem also draws on the *Pricke of Conscience*: first two lines independent; ll.9363-9366; ll.9371-9380; ll.8651-8658; ll.8681-8684; ll.8689-8692. The last 8 lines, instead of being rhyming couplets, as the whole of the *Pricke of Conscience* is, has an abababab rhyme scheme. It follows closely the sense of the first part of the 'epilogue' of the *Pricke of Conscience*, ll.9475-9532.

62. Drawing of the ten virgins with prose explanation.

Inc: The kyngdom of heuene is... f80v

Exp: ...withouten heuen. f81r

Edited: Hogg, (1980), p.275.

63. *þe cart of faythe*: drawing and prose notes.

Inc: When god made a pales... f81r

Exp: ...pepyl & herytyks f81r

64. On the Ascension.

Inc: Ascendens Cristus in altum dedit dona... f81v

Exp: ...in þe day of dome f81v

Revell, (1975), p.20 (63).

65. *Disputation betwyx þe saule and þe body*.

Inc: þe saule seyð to þe body... f82r

Exp: ...in euerlastyng ioy f84r

Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.695; Revell, (1975), p.54 (176).

66. *The Harper*.

Refr. Versa est in luctum cithera mea et organum meum in voce flencium.

Inc: Allas ful warly for wo may I synge
 For into sorow turned is my harpe f84v
 Exp: (cut off: last legible line) ...grace to vs sende þat... f84v

IMEV and Supp. 149; Edited: Ross, (1957), pp.281-2

67. Moral distichs, (about 103). Drawings.

Inc: Fyrst þou sal luf god & drede... f85r
 Exp: (end damaged: last legible line) ...A dredful in debatyng f86r

Edited: Brunner, (1931), pp.86-92 (from this ms).

68. *The ABC of Aristotle*; illustrated.

Inc: A to amoros... f86v
 Exp: ...ffor a mesurabyll mene is best for vs all. f86v

See H1706, ((31), f94r).

69. Vincent of Beauvais, *Dialogue of the emperor and his dead father*, an extract from his *Speculum Historiale*, in prose, followed by a verse. Illustrated.

Prose Inc: Vincensius in Speculo historiali telles how þer was ane emprour... f86v
 Prose Exp: ...take heede at þis insawmpyll f87r
 Verse Inc: ffader sum tyme.. f87r
 Verse Exp: ...þat is now so gay. f87r

IMEV 789; Wells and Hartung Vol.III p.702.

70. *Of actyfe lyfe and contemplatyfe*, drawings.

Prose. Inc: I beseke þe reuerent doctor... f87v
 Exp: ...take gode hede to þies þat folowes f87v

Verse. Inc: Fyrst þou sal make knowlege to god o heuen
 how þou had syned dedly in þe synes seuen
 Exp: ...to blys wythouten ende f88r

IMEV 804.

Prose. Inc: The secunde is contemplatye lyfe... f88r

Exp: ...is sumtyme meruelosly afflicted. Capiat quid potest
capere qui graciā est ductrix f89v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.95-6 (H.11); pp.139-140 (O.21); Edited: Jolliffe,
(1975), pp.88-111; Hogg, (1980), pp.276-84.
See Add 37790, ((11), ff234r-236r).

71. *Agayne despayre*. Drawings. On f91r there is a passage translated
from the *Horologium*, I, 4. This is a section not translated in the
Treatise. The manuscript is in bad condition from here and determining
incipits and explicits very problematic.

Inc: Worthy doctour I beseke þe... f89r

Exp: ...& gat hy forgifnes... (unclear) f95r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.122 (K.14). Includes K8(b), p.121. Wichgraf, (1929),
p.133.

72. Miracles of the Virgin (7). Damaged. f95v

73. Of God's Justice.

Inc: Mykil folkes þer is þat hopes þat god wil dampne no man f96r

Exp: damaged f96v

Revell, (1975), p.3 (8).

General References: Allen, (1927), pp.54-5, 306-11, 526; Doyle, (1953),
Vol.II, Note X pp.191-193.

10. London: British Library Add. 37790 (Amherst Manuscript): Add 37790

Vellum. 273 x 171 mm. Mid-fifteenth century. It was associated,
probably around 1500, with James Grenehalgh, the Sheen Carthusian who
annotates the texts and whose monogram appears on f33r. (See Colledge,

(1952), pp.59-60; Jolliffe, (1975), p.85). On f1 is a 16th century owner's name 'Vincit Winge his Booke.'. Bookplates of arms of William Constable, F.R.S., of Burton Constable, co. Yorks, (d. 1721) and Lord Amherst.

1. Rolle, *De emendatione vitae*, translated by Richard Misyn.

Inc: This boke is off mendynge of lyfe or ellys off the rewle off lyfyng destinct into xii chapiters... f1

Exp: ...warlde of worldys. Amen. f18r

Allen, (1927), p.241; Edited: Harvey, (1896), pp.105-131, from (Oxford, Corpus Christi College 236).

For a different translation, see H1706, ((23, ff67r-80v)

2. Rolle, *Incendium amoris*, translated by Richard Misyn.

Inc: At the reverence of oure Lorde Jhu criste: To the askynge of thy desyre Sistyr margarete couetyng a sethe to make for encrease... f18v

Exp: ...& worldys of worldys Amen. f95v

Allen, (1927), pp.223-4; Edited: Harvey, (1896), pp. 1-104 (from Oxford, Corpus Christi College 236).

3. The *Goldyn Pistill*, a translation of a pseudo-Bernard tract (P.L. 184, 1173-1174).

Inc: My ffrende yf ye will come perfitely... f95v

Exp: ...will haue mercye. Amen. Jhu mercy Mary helpe. f96v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.97 (H14(b)); p.141 (O.24(b)); Edited: Colledge, (1975), pp.121-126.

4. Julian of Norwich; *The Revelations of Divine Love*.

Inc: I desyrede thre graces be the gyfte of god... f97r

Exp: ...as he is to vs so wille he that we be to oure selfe And to our Evencristen. Amen. f115r

Revell, (1975) p.34 (119); Edited: Beer, (1978).

5. *The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God*, an anonymous translation of the Latin version of *Dat Hautvingherlijc oft van den Blickenden Steene* by Jan Ruysbroeck .

Inc: In the name of the blisshed trinite... f115r

Exp: ...praye for þe writer whilke graunte Jhesu mercy Deo gracias f13

Or

Revell, (1975), pp.36-37 (129); Edited: Bazire and Colledge, (1957), pp.229-258.

6. Extracts from Rolle's *Form of Living*, the first extract comprising lls 526-835; the second, lls 489-510, followed by *Ego dormio*.

(i) *De triplici genera amoris spiritualis*.

Inc: The ffyrste degre of loue is called... f130v

Exp: ...ȝif he ware disposede as I was in saule. f132r

(ii) *Incipit tractatus de Diligendo deo*.

Inc: Amore langueo thys two wordes... f132r

Exp: ...praysynge of God. f132v

(iii) Inc: there are thre degrees of loue as is writtene... f132v

Exp: ...The fyrtse degree of luf is Insuperabill the second inseperabill the thyrd synguler f135v

Allen, (1927), p.260; Ogilvie-Thompson, (1988), pp.xlii, xlv; Edited: Ogilvie-Thompson, (1988), (i) pp.16-24 (lls 526-835); (ii) p.15 (lls 489-510); (iii) pp.26-33). (From Ms Longleat 29).

See also: *Form*: CUL Ff.V.45 ((10, ff1r-2v (incomplete); H1706, ((381), ff114v-115v (extracts); *Ego Dormio*: Add 37049 ((31, ff30v-31r).

7. *Formula Compendiosa Vite Spiritualis*, part of chapter iv of the *Treatise*, from book II chapter III of the *Horologium*.

Inc: In the felaschippe of sayntis whilke as þe morne sterne schone in þe myrke nyght... f135v

Exp: ...the principles of gostely hele. Deo Gracias. f136v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.111 (L23); Revell, (1975) p.42 (138); Künzle, (1977), p.269; Lovatt (1982), p.54 and p.61 FN 27; Wichgraf, (1929), p.129;

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a). (Full text, from D114). This extract, p.353, 1.30 to p.355, 1.37.

See also Add 37049 ((41), ff43v-44v).

8. *The Mirror of Simple Souls*. An anonymous translation of *Le Mirouer des simples âmes* by Margaret Porete.

Inc: This boke the which is called þe myrroure of Symple Saules · I moste...

f137r

Exp: ...þt he loues none mare than me nowe. Amen.

f225r

Revell, (1975), pp.37-8 (130) Edited: Doiron, (1968), pp.243-353.

9. A prayer to the Trinity.

Inc: O Gloriouslye trinite in whom is alle goodnes...

f225v

Exp: ...withouten Ende · Amen · Jhu merci · Amen

f225v

Revell, (1975), p.68 (202)

10. On Contemplation.

Inc: Sequitur hic quedam introductiua ad contemplacionem extracta ex diuersis deuotis tractatibus et precipue ex libro soliloquiorum beati Augustini episcopi. Capitulum quadrageimum Octauum.

Qui diuinitate domini...

f226r

Exp: ...deus benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

f233v

This may draw on *Soliloquiorum S. Augustini*, PL 32, 869-904

11. *Via [sic] ad contemplacionem capiat qui potest capere quia gracia est ductrix*

Inc: Therefore Euere new discipull Ascende to the perfeccioun of this...

f234r

Exp: ...herte in on of thyne eyne. Deo Gracias. Amen.

f236r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.103 (H.31, O.46). Related to (H.11, O.21) which occurs in Add 37049, ((70), ff87v-89v); Edited: Jolliffe, (1975), pp.88-111.

12. Short extract, with quotations from St. Augustine.

Inc: Labure hastely for the tyme is schorte and... f236r

Exp: ...of a synner than a synner can haue of hym selfe. f236v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.111, (L.25); Revell, (1975), p.41 (135)

13. An Excerpt from *The Revelations of St Birgitta*, Book 2 Chapter 16.

Inc: God Almyghty Apered to Seynte Bryde... f236v

Exp: & oþer goode dedys for all... f236v

(Exp. incomplete because of cutting of leaf).

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2319; Jolliffe, (1974), p.108 (L.13(a));
Revell, (1975), p.33 (116). The full *Revelations of St Birgitta* are
edited by Cumming, (1929), but this extract has not been separately
edited.

Last leaf has a pencil drawing of madonna and child with note above.

General References: Bazire and Colledge, (1957), pp.83-87; Colledge,
(1952), pp.59-60; Jolliffe, (1975), p.85-6, n.2; Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, Note
XI, pp.194-195.

11. London: British Library Harley 1706

Parchment. 225 x 280 mm. Late fifteenth century. The contents of the
first half of the manuscript, up to f95r, are identical to those in
Douce 322; this ms is a copy either of Douce 322 or its exemplar. The
manuscript belonged to Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford (by her second
marriage; she was the daughter of Richard Scrope, the younger son of
Henry, 4th Baron Scrope of Bolton, and married (1) William Beaumont and
(2) John Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford). (For further details, see Doyle,
(1955-60), pp.233-238. Her name in its various forms appears on ff3r,
4v, 11r and 214r.

1. Several medicinal recipes. f1r

2. Lydgate, a *Calender*.

Inc: Ihu lorde for thy holy cyrcumsicion. f3r

Exp: ... that seynt Syluester be at oure last ende. Amen. f8v

IMEV and Supp. 1721; Wells and Hartung Vol.VI p.1821

Edited: Horstmann, (1888b), pp.114-35 (from Douce 322).

3. A Song of Love to Jesus.

Inc: Ihu thy swetnesse who myght hit se... f9r

Exp: ...wt the to dwelle wtouten ende Amen. f9v

IMEV and Supp. 1781; Doyle, (1955-60), p.255; Edited: Comper, (1928), pp.288-92 (from London, British Library, Harley 2339).

4. *Quia amore langueo*

Inc: In a tabernacule of a toure... f9v

Exp: ...synge Quia amore langueo

Explicit. f10v

IMEV 1460; Doyle, (1955-60), p.255; Edited: Silverstein, (1971), pp.72-76 (from Douce 322).

See also Add37049 ((21), ff25v-26r).

5. A Prayer for the Seven Times Christ shed His Blood.

Inc: Now now Jhesu for thy circumsycyon f10v

Exp: ...We may reloyse euer thy presence. f10v

IMEV 2352; this poem forms the 'Oratio' to IMEV 1748 (A Meditation on the Passion), which occurs again in this ms, ((55), f212v); Revell, (1975), p.86 (250); Doyle, (1955-60), p.226; Edited: Brown, (1939), pp.133-6 (this section, pp.135-6). from Huntington Library Ms HM 142.

6. *Pety Job*, a paraphrase of the 'Lamentations of Job', nine passages from the Book of Job that were used in the Matins of the Office of the Dead: Job 7:16-21; 10:1-2; 13:23-28; 14:1-6; 17:1-2; 17:11-15; 19:20-27; 10:18-22.

Inc: Lyeff lord my soule þou spare... f11r

Exp: ...So that I may euer wt the dwelle thorough Parce Michi
Domine.

Here endeth the ix lessons of the dyryge whiche iob made in
hys tribulacoun. f15v

IMEV 1854; Wells and Hartung Vol.II p.383. Allen, (1927), pp.368-9; Doyle,
(1955-60), p.225; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.381-9 (from Harley 1706);
Kail, (1904) pp.120-143 (from Douce 322).

7. *A Tretyse of Parce mihi Domine.*

Inc: By a forest syde walkyng as I went... f15v

Exp: ...And sheweth to vs hys blessed face. Amen. f17r

IMEV 561 (related to Supp.2736.6); Doyle, (1955-60), p.225; Edited: Kail,
(1904), pp.143-9 (from Douce 322).

8. *The Seuyn Dedely Synnes.*

Inc: I knowlege me gylty... f17v

Exp: ...Off heuyn. Here enden the vij dedely synnes. f18r

Wells and Hartung Vol.VII pp.2358-9; Jolliffe, (1974), p.70 (C.21); Doyle,
(1955-60), p.225.

9. *Sex obseruanda omni Christiano in extremis.*

Inc: Every man and woman hath grete nede... f18v

Exp: ...for vs ordeyned. Amen f19r

IMEV 741; Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2365; Doyle, (1955-60), p.225.

10. *Feyth, hope and Charyte.*

Inc: Feyght ys a knowlege... f19r

Exp: ...And to thy neyghbe in god & for god. f19r

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2291; Jolliffe, (1974), p.87 (G.9); Doyle,
(1955-60), p.225.

11. *How a man may know whether he be meke or noo.*

Inc: Yff hys herte f19v

Exp: ...from vnmeke answeres f19v

Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2297; Jolliffe, (1974), p.90 (G.29); Doyle, (1955-60), p.225.

This is in *Pore Caitiff*.

12. *Death's Warning*; Death is here represented holding a spear in one hand and a bell in the other.

Inc: Syth that ye lyste to be my costes... f19v

Exp: ...ffor Adams synne must dye of nature. f19v

See CUL Ff.V.45, ((4), ff13r-14r). In this manuscript the poem is divided into two; stanzas 1-4 given here (IMEV 3143 etc); stanzas 5-8 (below) IMEV 2585.

R. Thyse balades tha thus be wreten here be take owte off the boke off John Lucas And seyde to the peple that schall se thys lytell trefyde in tyme to come.

Inc: O wordely ffolke auerteth and take hede... f19v

Exp: ...whyche be thy deth had the victory Amen. f20r

13. The Fifth chapter of *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*.

Inc: Sythen hyt ys so that deth yeuet nought to man but rather from hym taketh... f20r

Exp: ...to thy place of immortalite and euerlastyng ffelicite Amen. f24v

References: Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), p.125, L.8(b); Wichgraf, (1929), p.130; Doyle, (1955-60), p.226; Armstrong, (1966) p.58; Revell, (1975), p.43; Künzle, (1977), p.269.

Edited: Armstrong, (1966) pp.74-103 (from Tanner 398); in modernised form, Comper, (1917), pp.105-123 (from Douce 322); full *Treatise* Horstmann, (1888a), pp.323-389.

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((5), ff14r-22v); D322 ((11), ff20r-25v); Add 37049, ((40), ff39r-43v).

14. *A Chapitele taken owte of a boke cleped toure of alle toures.*

Inc: Ayenst hys wyll he dyeth that hath lerned to deye [sic - 'not' added in margin] f24v

Exp: ...wele for to lyue and wele for to dye f25v

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((6), ff23rr-24v); D322 ((12), ff25v-26v)

15. *The Book of the Craft of Dying.*

Inc: For as moche as the passage off dethe... f25v

Exp: ...betwen god and man. Amen. f36v

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((7), ff24v-46v); D322 ((13), ff26v-39r).

16. *A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.* (Extracts from *Dives and Pauper*; *Pore Caitiff*, ('Hors eþer armur of heuene'), *Of þre arowes on Domesday*, and *Pains of Purgatory*.)

Inc: Brother or suster that desyrest to come... f36v

Exp: ...man was ordeyned to in hys first creacion Amen. f47v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2331; Jolliffe, (1974) p.92 (H.3); Doyle, (1955-60), p.226; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.420-436.

17. *The Ladder of Four Rungs*; a translation of the *Scala Claustralium* by Guigo II, prior of Grand Chartreuse. (PL 40, 997-1004; PL 184, 475-485).

Inc: As I was occupied f47v

Exp: ...myght lette hym to loue. Amen. f54r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.126 (M.1); p.134 (O.2); Edited: Hodgson, (1955), pp.100-117.

18. *How to receive the Sacrament.*

Inc: First when ye resceue oure lorde... f54r

Exp: ...hee ys in honour f54v

Lewis, Blake and Edwards: no.s 571 and 572; Doyle, (1955-60), p.226;
Edited: Doyle, (1964), pp.169-171 (from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud
Misc 517).

19. On Mary Magdalene.

Inc: Hec sunt que maria magdalena... f54v

Exp: ...condigna. Hec magister Adam Carthus Doct. f54v

Doyle, (1955-60), p.226; Allen, (1927), p.405. The ascription to Adam
Cartusienensis is unverified.

20. *Tretyse [of the] syx mastres.*

Inc: that yeff any... f54v

Exp: ...schalt haue ende f55r

Revell, (1975), pp.48-49 (161); Jolliffe, (1974), p.115 (J.2(c)); Doyle,
(1955-60), p.226; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), p.390 (London, British
Library, Reg. 17 A xxv).

See also: Ca ((21), ff.97v-89v)

21. *Nota de Paciencia infirmitatis.*

Inc: Si sciret homo... f55r

Exp: ...benedictus in saecula Amen. f55v

Doyle, (1955-60), p.226; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.390-391 (London,
British Library, Reg. 17.A.xxv).

See also: Ca ((211), 98v-99v).

22. *The Twelve Profits and Advantages of Tribulation;* a translation of
the *De duodecim utilitatibus tribulationis* by Peter of Blois.

Inc: Lorde God graunte... f55v

Exp: ...our lorde Ihue. Amen for charyte. f66v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.116 (J.3(b)); Doyle, (1955-60), p.226; Edited:
Horstmann, (1896), pp.391-406 (Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.894).
See also Ca ((6111), ff99v-128r); Pl 256, ((2), ff 38r-57v, imp. different
translation).

23. An Anonymous translation of Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae*.

Inc: Tary thou nat to turne to god... f67r

Exp: ...off worldys wtouten cosyng. Amen. f80v

Lewis, Blake and Edwards: no.652, p.219; Doyle, (1955-60), p.226-7; Allen, (1927), p.241.

See also: Add 37790 ((1), ff1r-18r, (Methley translation).

24. *Meditacio Sancti Augustini*.

Inc: Seynt Austyn the holy doctor techeth... f81r

Exp: ...haue mercy on me · Jhu Jhu Jhu Amen f83r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.113 (I.32); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.377-380.

25. The last chapter of the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, which occurs in full (43) ff155v-204v.

R. How a man or a woman of sympyl connyng shall make hys prayer to god almyghty.

Inc: Furst whan thou spapest (sic) the to pray... f83r

Exp: ...saluacoun to thy sowle f84r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.129-130 (M.15); Revell, (1975), p.31 (does not give this ms); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.72-105 (full text); this chapter, pp.102-105.

See also: Bod 789 ((71), ff139v-146r).

26. *St Brendan's Confession*.

1) Inc: I knowlege me to the thow hyghe... f84r

Exp: ...lorde Jhu cryste mercy Amen f85r

Revell, *Prayers and Meditations* p.106 (312).

11) The x Commaundementys.

Inc: O thow hyghe... f85r

Exp: ...into worldes off worldes Amen f86v

iii) Quinque sensus.

Inc: O thow hygh excellent lord god... f86v

Exp: ...my lord Jhu cryste. Amen f87r

iv) Septem Opera Misericordia Corporalia.

Inc: Fede the hungry f87r

Exp: ...and the mercy. Amen f87v

v) Septem Opera Misericordia Spiritualia.

Inc: Teche counseyll chastyse... f87v

Exp: ...lorde god mercy · Amen Amen f88r

Wells and Hartung Vol VII pp.2358-9 (Version BB, no.45); Jolliffe, (1974), p.72 (C.31); Revell, (1975), pp.117, 119-120; Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited: Bowers, (1939), pp.40-9.

27. *De Carta Celestia Hereditatis*, the eighth chapter of the *Pore Caitiff*.

Inc: Every wyseman tha... f88r

Exp: ...seyth seynt Austyn to the eche. f90r

Jolliffe, (1974), pp.65-67 (B); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited: Brady, (1954), (British Library, Harley 2336.

(See also GH496, ((3.viii), ff113r-120v).

28. A translation of the *Monita* or *Consilia Isodori*, (wrongly ascribed to Isodore of Seville).

Inc: Man knowe thy selfe and thy lyff... f90r

Exp: ...that ben nedefull f92v

Wells and Hartung, Vol VII p.2323; Jolliffe, (1974), p.110-111 (I.22(c)); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.367-374. See below (39), ff.140r-149r.

29. *De contemptu mundi*, here attributed to Augustine.

Inc: Yeff thou sey to me... f92v

Exp: thow shale turne · Thys sentence seyth Seynt Austyn f93r

Jolliffe, (1974), p.109 (I 20(a)); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited:
Horstmann, (1896), pp.374-375. See below (40), ff149v-150r.

30. *Despyte of the worlde*.

Inc: Why ys the worlde louyd... f93r

Exp: ...lordeschyp to cast f93r

IMEV 4160; Doyle, (1955-60), p.227; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.374-5
(from this ms). In Horstmann, this is printed as part of the above
tract.

See below (41), ff150r-151r.

A few lines of Latin follow the above piece: *Opes terrene per vices
sunt aliene/Nescio sint cuius, mea nunc erat huius et huius/ Dic homo
quid speres si mundo totus adheres/ Nulla tecum feres, licet tu solus
omnia haberes.* (Horstmann, (1896), p.375 (note 20); see also Doyle,
(1955-60), p.227)

31. *The A. B. C. of Aristotle*, possibly by Benedict Burgh (rector of
Sandon (1440) and Sible Hedingham (1450); prebendary of St Pauls' and
Archdeacon of Colchester (1465). Robbins argues for Humfrey Newton (see
article below). The ms has attribution to 'Mayster Bennett'.

Inc: A to amorous... f94r

Exp: ...Tytell Tytell Tytell than Amen. f94r

IMEV and Supp. 3793; Wells and Hartung Vol.VI p.1067; Doyle, (1955-60),
p.227; Edited: Robbins, (1950) (from Ms Lat. misc. c 66), pp.259-60.
See also Add 37049 (68) f86v.

32. *The VII Degrees of humylyte*.

Inc: [T]he ffurst degre of mekenes... f94v

Exp: ...but only of gode. f94v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2296; Jolliffe, (1974) p.87 (G.10); Revell, (1975), p.46 (151); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227.

33. *The VII Degres of Pryde.*

Inc: [T]he ffirst degree... f94v

Exp: ...and haue wolle Amen f94v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2309; Jolliffe, (1974), p.80 (F.6); Revell, (1975), p.48 (157); Doyle, (1955-60), p.227.

34. A Table of Chapters (imperfect). f95r

f95v blank.

35. *The Lamentacion of the Dying Creature.*

Inc: [A]llas that euer I synned in my lyfe... f96r

Exp: ...joy, honour and glory. Amen f105v

Doyle, (1955-60), p.230; Printed: Wynkyn de Worde, 1506, 1507, 1514 and again (1531-4?). Modernised: Comper, (1917), pp.137-169 (from D322).

36. *The Mirror of Sinners.*

Inc: For that we been in the wey of thys fallyng lyfe... f106r

Exp: ...hys precyouse blood Amen. f110r

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((3) ff8r-13r), GH 496 ((2) ff9v-17r) and for the Latin text, Bod 789 ((3), ff68r-85r).

37. *Of Three Arrows on Domesday.*

Inc: Who wolle haue in mynde... f110v

Exp: ...hys precyouse bloode. Amen. f114v

Doyle, (1955-60), p.230; See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((8) ff46v-51r) and GH 496 ((6) ff183v-189v).

38. 1) *Four things to have in mind*, extracted from Rolle's *Form of Living*.

Inc: The fyrste is the mesure of thy lyfe... f114v
 Exp: ...þat is euermore. f115v

Allen, (1927), pp.256-268 (does not mention this ms); Doyle, (1955-60), p.230; Allen, (1927), p.260 states that this quotation from the *Form* normally heads the *Remedy against the Troubles of Temptations*, which does indeed follow in this manuscript. It is thus edited by Horstmann, (1896), p.106. The full *Form of Living* is edited by Ogilvie-Thompson, (1988), pp.1-25.

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((1), ff1r-2v, incomplete; Add 37790 ((6i and ii), ff130v- 132v, extracts).

ii) *Remedy against the Troubles of Temptation*; a translation of *De remediis contra temptationes* by William Flete.

Inc: Owre mercyfulle lorde god... f115r
 Exp: ...and regneþ wt outen ende Amen. f139v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.121 (K.8(c)); Doyle, (1955-60), p.230; Allen, (1927), pp.359-61; Edited: Colledge and Chadwick, (1968), (from MS CUL Hh.I.11).

See also CUL Hh.1.11 ((12), ff100r-116r).

39. A translation of the *Monita* or *Consilia Isidori*, (wrongly ascribed to Isodore of Seville).

Inc: O man knowe... f140r
 Exp: ...But oonly for lyffe euerlastynge. Amen. f149r

Doyle, (1955-60), p.231. See above (28), ff90r-92v.

40. *De Contemptu Mundi*, here attributed to Augustine.

Inc: Iffe þou sey to me... f149v
 Exp: ...and in to erþe þou schalt turne. f150r

Doyle, (1955-60), p.231; see above (29), ff92v-93r.

41. *Despyte of the worlde*, here attributed to Saint Augustine.

Inc: Whye ys þe worlde... f150r

Exp: ...but a charge lordschype to taste. f151r

Doyle, (1955-60), p. 231. See above (30), f93r.

42. *The Materys of þise ix poyntys*.

Inc: Fyrste by þenke... f151r

Exp: ...o man byholde a lone to þat ioy þat lasteþ euer. f154v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2317-8; Jolliffe, (1974), p.111-112 (I.26);

Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.375-377.

43. *The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*.

Inc: In þe bygynnyng and endyng... f155v

Exp: ...in helpe of þi soule. Deo gracias. f204v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.97 (H.15); Revell, (1975), p.3 (9). Doyle, (1955-60), p.231; Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.72-105. See also for last chapter: above ((25), ff83r-84r); Bod 789, ((7i), ff 139v-146r).

44. *Decem Mandate*.

Inc: þou schalt haue on god... f205r

Exp: ...þat god comanndeþ to alle men. f205r

IMEV and Supp. 3685; Edited: Heuser, (1904), p.205

45. *The Seven Deadly Sins*.

Inc: Pryde ys hede of alle kynne synne... f205v

Exp: ...þat reuen a man þe blysse of heuene f206r

IMEV and Supp. 2770; Edited: Heuser, (1904) pp.205-6 (this ms).

46. *Septem Virtutes contra Septem Vicia*.

Inc: Be meke and mylde of herte and tonge... f206r

Exp: ...And leden a man þe way to heuene. f206v

IMEV and Supp. 469; Edited: Kaiser, (1958), p.296 (this ms).

47. *Septem Opera Misericordie.*

Inc: Seynt Poule apostel... f206v

Exp: ...fulfulle you hem þat wolle haue heuene f207r

IMEV 3040; Edited: Bulbring, (1891), pp.388-9

48. *The Seven works of Charity.*

Inc: Teche eche man wiþ charyte f207r

Exp: ...Whan he hys dome shalle deme and dele. f207v

IMEV and Supp. 3626; Edited: Bulbring, (1891), p.389

49. *Quinque sensus corporaliter.*

Inc: Kepe þi syȝte fro vanyte f207v

Exp: ...that crysten men shulde rewle in lyue f207v

IMEV and Supp. 1815; Edited: Bulbring, (1891), p.388

50. *Quinque sensus spiritualiter.*

Inc: Haue mynde on blysse... f207v

Exp: ...That bryngen a man to heuene blysse f208r

IMEV and Supp. 1126; Edited: Person, (1953), p.24 (Cambridge University Library Ff.11.38)

Wells and Hartung Vol.VII, p.2324.

51. *Tres virtutes theoligie*

Inc: Byleue in god... f208r

Exp: ...They be most hyȝe of oþer al. f208r

IMEV 505; Edited: Hirsh, (1979), p.63.

52. *Quatuor virtutes cardinales.*

Inc: Be ryȝtwys man what euer betyde... f208r

Exp: ...þat schulde rewle man boȝ grete and smale f208r

IMEV 475; Edited: Hirsh, (1979), pp.63-63.

53. *Octo Beatitudinis.*

Inc: Ho seyng peplys comynge hym tylle... f208v

Exp: ...þou mede ys moche in blys of heuyn f209r

IMEV 1746; Edited: Hirsh, (1979), p.64.

Articles 44-53: Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2273 (no.74, verse); Doyle, (1955-60), p.231.

54. *A lesson [for] a vertuose chylde.*

Inc: If y lye bacbyte or stele... f209r

Exp: ...Amen Amen for charyte.

Explicit scala celli.

Þis is lader of heuen blys

Clyme þer on while þou may

And he schalle lede þe ywys

To þat yoye þat lasteþ aye. f210r

IMEV 1416; Doyle, (1955-60), p.231.

55. *Upon the Passion of our Lord.*

Inc: Jhesu þat alle þis worlde haste wrouȝte... f210v

Exp: ...we maye reioyce euer þi presence. f212v

IMEV 1748; followed by a prayer (IMEV 2352) found also at the beginning of this ms (5), f.10v); Revell, (1975), p.13 (34); Doyle, (1955-60), p.231; Edited: Brown, (1939), pp.133-5 (from a Huntington Ms).

56. *On the Use of Books.*

Inc: We schulde rede and use bokes... f212v

Exp: ...and hys seruyce to be gendryd and geten. f212v

Doyle, (1955-60), p.231; Hirsh, (1979), p.55.

57. On Old Age.

Inc: From þe tyme þat we were bore... f212v

Exp: ...when we ben passed oure olde age. f214v

IMEV 880; Doyle, (1955-60), p.231; Edited: Brown, (1939), pp.233-6.

58. Medicinal Recipes. f215r

59. Notes about St. Ethelburg. (last leaf damaged)

General Reference: Doyle (1953), pp.3

12. Oxford: Bodleian Library, Bodleian 789 (S.C. 2643): Bod 789

Parchment. 229 x 165 mm. First half of the fifteenth century. There is a sixteenth century inscription of 'Henricus Feld' on f115 and on f162 appears 'Edm. Smythe owythe this boke'. It was given by him in 1605 to his brother. Sir James Lee donated the manuscript to the Bodleian.

1. *A Meditation by Cardinal Bonaventure on the Passion of Christ*; an anonymous translation of Bonaventure's *De Mysteriis Passionis Ihesu Christi*

Inc: Þe tyme neiȝynge & comyng to of þe pity & merci of... fir

Exp: ...holigost bi alle wordlis of wordlis. Amen. f52v

Lewis, Blake and Edwards, (1985), No 837, p.282. A prose version of the verse translation of *De Mysteriis*, IMEV 248, *Medytacyuns of þe soper of our Lord Ihū* by Robert of Brunne. (See also IMEV 646 which lacks the prologue). Related to *The Privy of the Passion* edited Horstmann, (1895), pp.198-218. Edited: J. B. Jenks (1954).

2. *The Layfolk's Catechism or John Gaytryge's Sermon.*

R. And heer after folwyn sixe þingis to know bi god almiȝti. f52v

Inc: The lawe and þe lore to knowe... f53r
Exp: ...and makere of alle þing. Amen. f68v

IMEV 406; Wells and Hartung, Vol.VII, pp.2270-1; Jolliffe, (1974), pp.85 (G.1); 88 (G.16); Edited: Blake, (1972), p.73 (from Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library A.5.2).

3. *Speculum Peccatoris*.

Inc: Quoniam carissime domini in huius uia uita... f68v
Exp: ...et quomodo nouissima tua prudenter prouidebis.
Explicit Speculum Peccatoris. f85r

PL 40, 983-992.

For English version, see also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((3), ff8r-13r); GH 496 ((2), ff9v-17r); H1706 ((36), ff106r-110r.

4. Bernard, *Formula honestæ uitæ*, followed by two Latin prayers.

Inc: Petis a me mi frater carissime... f85v
Exp: ...opis diligentiam. Explicit. f94r

PL 184, 1167-1170

Two prayers:

i) Verba beati Bernardi.

Inc: De morte tua cogita quotidie... f94r
Exp: ...omnis homo. f95r

ii) Oratio ualde deuota.

Inc: O bone Ihu... f95r
Exp: ...laudabile & gloriosum in saecula. Amen. f96r

f96v and half of f97r blank.

5. Expositions of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Ten Commandments.

Wells and Hartung, Vol.VII, p.2273 (with Wycliffite interpolations).

1) The Pater Noster.

Inc: We schal bileue þat þis pater noster... f97r

Exp: ...vs from yuel. f102v

Wells and Hartung, Vol.VII, p.2279 (as Standard Exposition of the Pater Noster; Vol.II, p.363 (as Wyclyffite exposition); Edited: Arnold, (1871), III, pp.93-97.

ii) The Ave Maria.

Inc: Men greten comynli... f102v

Exp: ...marie wiþ alle oure miȝt. f104v

Wells and Hartung, Vol.II, p.363 (as Wyclyffite exposition); Edited: Arnold, (1871), III, pp.111-113.

iii) The Creed.

Inc: I Bileue in god fader almiȝti... f105r

Exp: ...for ȝe knowe not þe day neþer þe hour. f108v

Jolliffe, (1974), p.71 (C.26) (Conflated with another tract at end).

iv) The Ten Commandments.

Inc: Alle manere of men schulde holde... f108v

Exp: ...for þou herdyst not þe word of þi lord god. f123r

Deutronomy xxviij cap^o.

Wells and Hartung, Vol.II, p.362 (as Wyclyffite exposition); Edited: Arnold, (1871), III, pp.82-92.

6. *To Kunne Dele*, a translation of the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium Sapientiae* (Book II, Chapter II).

Inc: To kunne dele is to haue þe herte and þe soule... f123r

Exp: ...and came to þe place of undeedlinesse and of euerlastinge blisse. f139v

Latin text in margins.

References: Wells and Hartung Vol. VII, p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), p.125-6 (L.8(c); Wichgraf, (1929), pp.131-2; Armstrong, (1966), pp.66- 7; Künzle, (1977), pp.269-70; Lovatt, (1982), p.62, FN 36.

See also: GH 496 ((4), ff164r-178v).

7. 1) R. Here is a techinge & oon ensauple bi what meditacioun a man or a woman may be stired to trewe deuocioun and haue in his herte greet compunccioun and sorwe for his synnes. f139v

Inc: Whanne þou schapist þe to prae... f140r

Exp: ...abidinge þi merci Amen f146r

Jolliffe, (1974) pp.129-130 (M.15); Edited: Horstmann, (1896), pp.102-105.

See also H1706 ((25), ff.83r-84r); D322 ((23), ff97r-98v); full

Contemplations, H1706, ((43), ff155v-204v).

ii) An orisoun to þe holi trinite.

Inc: Almiȝti god fader of heuene f146r

Exp: ...haue merci on me Amen. f146v

IMEV and Supp. 241; Edited: Hirsh, (1979), p.59.

iii) *Here men mai biholde a dreedful sentence þat crist schal speke at þe doom to men þat schulen be dampned.*

Inc: Biþenke we what... f146v

Exp: ...euerlastyng fire. f147v

Edited: Hirsh, (1979), p.60.

iv) *Here men mai see hou oure lord Ihu crist schadde his precious blood vij tymes aȝens þe vij deedli synnes.*

Inc: Jhesu for þi precious blood... f148r

Exp: Pater noster Ave and Credo f149r

IMEV and Supp. 1707, followed by IMEV and Supp. 1711. Edited: (1707)

Gray, (1963), p.128; (1707 and 1711) Gray, (1975), No.54.

v) *Here is a good counseil for synful men to take heede while þen ben in þis liif.*

Inc: Mi leeue liif þat lyuest in welþe... f149r

Exp: ...whanne he schal in erþe be laid. Explicit. f150r

IMEV 2255; Jolliffe, (1974), p.83 (F.16); Edited: Hirsh, (1979), pp.61-62.

8. *The Pater Noster*

Inc: Pater noster. þat is lord oure fader... f150r

Exp: ...and bringe us to þi blisse þat neuere schal haue ende. so be it. f152r

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2281; Version extracted from *The Mirror of Saint Edmund*; Edited: Francis, (1942), pp.337-9 (from British Library Additional 17013)

9. *An A.B.C of the Passion of Our Lord.*

Inc: In eueri place men mai see... f152r

Exp: ...with woundis al blodi. Ihu merci. f156r

IMEV 1483; Edited: Furnivall, (1866), pp.244-250.

10. *Four things that make God our friend.*

Inc: The firste is quyk bileue... f156r

Exp: Ihu oure sauour haue merci on us alle. Amen. f156v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2319; Jolliffe, (1974), p.109 (I.17)

11. *The Boke of visitynge of seke men*; a close translation of chapters 6-7 of the *Admonitio Morienti* of Anselm (PL 158.685), with the seven questions based on the examination in the *Admonitio*

(1) Inc: Seynt Austyn in his book of visitynge of seke men seiþ þus. For soþe broþer 3if þou þortist... f157r

Exp: ...ben þre persooones and o god answere 3he.

(11) þe orisoun of bede þe prest.

Inc: Lord Ihu crist þat spakist seuene wordis... f160r

Exp: ...& forto dwelle into wiþ oute ende amen. f161v

Wells and Hartung Vol VII p.2360-1, version D; Jolliffe, 1974), p.125
(L.7). This version is unedited.

General References: Kurtz, (1923), p.339, n.7.

13. Oxford: Bodleian Library, Douce 114 (S.C.21688)

Parchment. 168 x 229 mm. Fifteenth century. There is a fifteenth century inscription on f150v indicating the manuscript was owned by the Carthusian house of Beauvale near Nottingham. There is one other mark of ownership: 'John Wells, 1776' on f148v.

1. *Lyfe of Seint Elizabeth of Spalbeck*, translated from Latin.

Inc: As Seint Jerom þe holy doctor seiþ... f1r

Exp: ...makeþ me to putte up my penne. f12r

Sievers, II, p.582; Edited: Horstmann, (1885), pp.107-118.

2. *Lyfe of Seinte Cristin þe merueous* (St Christina mirabilis);
translated from Latin

Inc: We purposynge to write þe lyfe... f12r

Exp: ...lyueþ and reigniþ god with outen ende. f26v

Sievers, II, p.576; Edited: Horstmann, (1885), pp.119-134

3. *Lyfe of Seinte Mary of Oegines* (St Mary Oignies).

Inc: Worschypful James byscop of Acton wrote... f26v

Exp: ...wiþ outen ende Amen. f76r

Sievers, II, p.611. Edited: Horstmann, (1885), pp.134-184.

4. *A letter touchynge þe lyfe of Seint Kateryn of Senys* (Saint Katherine of Siena); translated from Latin with prologue.

Inc: Brother Stephen of Senys... f76v

Exp: ...& if hit profit hele of body Amen. f87v

Sievers, II, p.602. Edited: Horstmann, (1885), pp.184-196.

[f88 & f89r blank]

5. *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, with the translator's preface.

Inc: My most worschipful lady aftir ȝowre hyȝ worþynesse... f90r

Exp: ...with outen ende. f148v

References: Wichgraf, (1929), p.126; Armstrong, (1966), pp.53-54; Künzle, (1977), p.270.

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394 (this manuscript).

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1), ff1r-56v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); Pl 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); Ca ((1), ff1r-96v); (without preface): Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-96r).

General References: Kurtz, (1923), p.339 n.7; Schleich, (1929), pp.184-194 and (1930), pp.26-34; Ker, (1964), p.9; Lovatt, (1982), p.61 FN3, FN11.

14. Oxford: Bodleian Library, Douce 322 (S.C.21896): D322

Parchment. 194 x 292 mm. Fifteenth century. On the flyleaf it has the inscription:

These booke in whome is contente dyuerse deuowte tretis & spercyally þe tretis þat is callid ars moriendi ys þe ȝifte of Wyllm Baron Esquier to remayne for euyre to þe place and nonrye of detforde and specially to the use of dame pernelle wrattisley sister of þe same place by licence of her abbas þe whiche pernelle is nece to þe for seyde gentylman Willm Baron.

This manuscript is closely related to Harley 1706, which duplicates its contents. For a full description of all the items in this manuscript, see Harley 1706.

Table of contents on flyleaf opposite f1.

1. *Lydgate, a Calender.*

Inc: Ihu lorde for thy holy circumsicion... f1r

Exp: And that Seynt Siluester be at our last ende. Amen. f7v

2. *A Song of Love to Jesus.*

Inc: Ihu thy swetnesse who myght hit se... f8r

Exp: ...with the to dwell withoutyn ende. Amen. f8v

3. *Quia Amore Languet.*

Inc: In a tabernacle of a toure... f8v

Exp: Take me for þy wyfe and lerne to synge. f9v

4. *A Prayer for the Seven Times Christ shed His blood.*

Inc: Now now Ihu... f9v

Exp: We may reloyse euer þy presence. f9v

5. *Pety Iob.*

Inc: Lyef lord my soule thow spare f10r

Exp: so that i may euer with the dwelle thororugh f15r

6. *A Tretyse of Parce Mihi Domine.*

Inc: By a forest syde walkyng as y went... f15r

Exp: And parce getyth godys pyte

And sheweth to vs hys blessed face. Amen. f16v

7. *The Seuyn Dedely Synnes.*

Inc: I knowlege me gylty... f17r

Exp: ...And all the holy company of heuen. f17v

8. *Sex obseruanda omni Christiano in extremis.*

Inc: Solutio debiti ab obligatio f18r

Exp: ...and to thy neyghbor in god and for god f19v

9. How a man may knowe whether he be meke or no.

Inc: 3ef hys hert be nat... f19v

Exp: from vnmeke answere f19v

10. *Death's Warning.*

Inc: Syth that ye lyste to be my costes f19v

Exp: for Adames synne must dye of nature f20r

R. Thyese balades that thus ben wryten here betake owte of the
book of John Lucas and sayde to the peple that shall see thys lytell
treytyse in tyme to come f20r

Inc: O worldely foker auerteth and take hede f20r

Exp: Whyche by thy dethe had the victory Amen f20r

11. The Fifth Chapter of *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love
and Everlasting Wisdom.*

Inc: Sythen hyt ys so that deth yeueth nought to man but rather
from hym taketh... f20v

Exp: ...and euerlastyng felicite Amen. f25v

References: Wells and Hartung Vol.VII p.2365; Jolliffe, (1974), p.125,
L.8(b); Wichgraf, (1929), pp.130-131; Armstrong, (1966), pp.57-8; Künzle,
(1977), p.270.

Edited: Armstrong, pp.74-103 (from Ta 398); in modernised form, Comper,
(1917) p105-123; the full *Treatise*, Horstmann, (1888a), pp.323-389.

See also: CUL Ff.V.45 ((5), ff14r-22v); H1706 ((13), ff20r-24v), Add
37049 ((40), ff39r-43v).

12. *A Chapitle taken oute of a booke cleped toure of all toures.*

Inc: Ayenst hys wyll he dyeth that hath not lerned to dye... f25v

Exp: ...wele for to lyue. and wele for to dye. f26v

13. *The Book of the Craft of Dying.*
 Inc: For as moche as the passage of Dethe owte of the wrecchidness
 of the exyle of thys worlde... f26v
 Exp: ...betwene god and man. Amen. f39r

14. *A Tretyse of gostly batayle.*
 Inc: Brother or Suster that desyrst to come... f39v
 Exp: ...man was ordeyned to in hys first creation Amen f52v

15. *The Ladder of Four Rungs.*
 Inc: As I was occupyd... f52v
 Exp: ...that vs myght lete hym to loue. Amen. f61v

16. *How to receive the Sacrament.*
 Inc: First when ye resceue oure lorde in fourme of brede... f62r
 Exp: ...worthyly than hit ys in heuyn. f62v

17. *Hec sunt maria magdalena immo circumspeccionis emit aromata
 cognacio videlicet propria compuncio interna confessio pura et
 satisfaccio condigna Hec magister Adam Carthus Doct* f62v

18. *Tretyse [of the] syx mastres.*
 Inc: The furst mayster seyde that yef any thyng... f62v
 Exp: ...that neuer shall haue ende f63v

19. *Nota de Patiencia infirmitatis.*
 Inc: Si sciret homo.. f63v
 Exp: ...deus benedictus in saecula. Amen. f64r

20. *The Twelve Profits and Advantages of Tribulation.*
 Inc: Lord gosd graunte vs helpe... f64r
 Exp: ...that suffred deth our lorde Ihus Amen for charyte f77v

21. *An anonymous translation of Rolle's Emendatio Vitae.*
 Inc: Tary thow nat to turne to god... f78r
 Exp: ...in to worldys of worldys withouten cesyng. Amen f94r

22. *Meditacio Sancti Augustini*

Inc: Seynt Austyn the hooly doctour... f94r

Exp: ...Haue mercy on me Jhu. Jhu. Jhu. Amen. f97r

23. The last chapter of the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*.

Inc: First when thou shapesthe to pray... f97r

Exp: ...in to worldes of worldes. Amen. f98v

24. Part of *Saint Brendan's Confession* (as are (26) and (27)).

Quinque Sensus.

Inc: O thou hygh excellent lord god.. f98v

Exp: ...mercy lorde god mercy. Amen Amen f100r

25. *De carta celestia hereditatis*; the eighth chapter of the *Poor Caitiff*.

Inc: Every wyseman that... f100r

Exp: ...my lord Jhu cryste. f101r

26. *Septem opera misericordie corporalia*.

Inc: Fede the hungry... f101r

Exp: ...crye the mercy. f101v

27. *Septem opera misericordia spiritualia*.

Inc: Teche. counseyll. chastyse... f101v

Exp (*imp.*): ...as thou techest me f101v

(These last four pieces are in a different order from the equivalent section of Harley 1706)

General References: Horstmann, (1888a) p.323; Kurtz, (1923) p.339, n.7.; Doyle, (1953), Vol.II, pp.226-232; Ker, (1964), p.57.

15. Oxford: Bodleian Library. e Museo 111 (S.C. 3620): Mu 111

Parchment. 251 x 292 mm. Fifteenth century. It contains the *Treatise* without the translator's preface. There are no marks of ownership.

The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom;
without the translator's preface.

Inc: Here begynnyth the proheme into the tretise þat folowith.
Sentite de domino in bonitate...These wordes of euerlastynge Wisdome be
þis myche to seye... f1r

Exp: ...god with outen end Amen Thus endes the tretes of the vij
pointes of trew loue & euerlasting wisdam drawene oute of this booke
that is writen in Laten & cleped Orologium Sapiencie. f34v

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.127; Armstrong, (1966), p.55; Künzle,
(1977), p.270

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394 (from Douce 114).

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1),
ff1r-56v); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); P1 256 ((5),
ff93r-130v); Ca ((1), ff1r-96v); (without preface); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-
96r).

16. Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 160 (S.C.3692); Mu 160

Paper. 155 x 220 mm. Early sixteenth century: c.1520. Baker, Murphy
and Hall argue that from dialect - a 'highly contaminated Yorkshire
dialect' (p.xcv) - and internal references in the *History* to the
Carthusian order and to various Yorkshire places and personages this
manuscript was produced either at Mount Grace, or more probably,
Kingston-upon-Hull (pp.lxxx1-lxxxiii). It contains devotional pieces.

1. A History of the World from Adam to 1518.

Inc: The gret gloriuse saynte & holy doctore Saint Jerome... f1r

Exp: ...That of all on flok & fold may bee Amen f108r

This endit the viijth day afore cristineme...(imp) 3er of our

lord Jhu MD and XVIIJ wher the....matere failes I besek the rede to
amend... & haue pite one my lewt... & pray f...

IMEV and Supp: 119; Baker, Murphy and Hall (1982), pp.lxxvi-lxxix.

2. A poem.

Inc. imp: ...& in bothe ye cecelies doth he floure... f108v

Exp: ...he hangit hym self a deth vnsound f114r

Edited: Wright and Halliwell, (1843), p.117. Baker, Murphy and Hall
(1982) suggest, pp.lxxviii-lxxix, that this is part of the above work,
although it has been edited separately. Owing to the misbinding of the
ms, the poem is found on f108v and f114r.

3. *ISer Iohn Mandeville and Sir Marc of Veneese.*

Inc imp: ...& sir marc of veneese... f113v

Exp: ...Thus ar they blyndid wortherly Amen f115v

Misbound and imperfect: f113v, f109r-112v, 115r

Wells and Hartung, Vol. VIII, p.2239. IMEV 3843; Supp. cancels this
entry and refers to 3117.6; Edited: Seymour, (1964), pp.39-52.

4. *Meditations and Prayers on the Passion.* A verse rendering with
prose preface of the Hundred Meditations found in Ms Bodley 88 (SC
1873), (ff79v-86), as a supplement to the *Horologium Sapientiae* of
Henricus Suso.

Inc: The wurshipfull discipull of Godd... f116r

Exp: Jhu criste we wirschipe the f136r

IMEV and Supp. 1035. A short extract edited: Wichgraf, (1929), p.180.

5. *The Fifteen articles of the Passion*

Inc: It is rede in þe miracles of our Ladye... f136v

Exp: ...by mysbelef me fed f139r

Baker, Murphy and Hall (1982), p.lxxx.

f139v blank.

5. Two miracle plays for Easter: *Christ's Burial* and *Christ's Resurrection*.

(i) *Christ's Burial*

Inc. A soule that list to singe of love... f140r

Exp: ...Gladly frende Joseph I will go with þowe f156v

(ii) *Christ's Resurrection*.

Inc. Mawdleyne begynnes sayinge: O This grete... f156v

Exp: ...which for vs suffert grafe f170r

IMEV 95; Wells and Hartung, Vol. V; p.1321; Edited: Baker, Murphy and Hall, (1982), (i) pp.141-168; (ii), pp.169-193.

17. Oxford: Bodleian Library Tanner 398 (S.C.10225): Ta 398

Parchment. 193 x 282mm. Early fifteenth century. The scribe's name appears on f65v 'Johannes P.' There are various marks of ownership, including on f65v the names Thomas Berney and Iohn Berney. On f1 appears W. Sancroft. The catalogue also mentions a 'Radulph Claxton'.

The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom, with the translator's prologue.

Inc: My most worschipful lady aftur yowre hie worthinesse and derrest byloued goostly doughtur... f1r

Exp: ...god euer world with owte ende. Amen. f65r

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.126-7; Armstrong, (1966), p.53; Künzle, (1977), p.270

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394 (from Douce 114); Armstrong, (1966), pp.74-107, edited the Fifth Chapter from this ms.

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1), ff1r-56v); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); P1 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); Ca ((1),

ff1r-96v); (without preface); Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-96r).

General References: Doyle, (1953), p.215.

18. New York: Columbia University Library: Columbia Plimpton 256: Pl 256

Vellum. Last quarter of the Fifteenth Century. 320 x 230 mm. This consists of two manuscripts bound together; the first containing the *Court of Sapience* and the second from f38r to the end of the present manuscript. There is some evidence to suggest that the two manuscripts were bound together by 1576. They are dated to the fifteenth century. It was owned about 1500 by a William Hodges or Lodges and in 1576 by the poet John Southerne.

1. *The Court of Sapience*, usually attributed (probably incorrectly) to John Lydgate). Lacks stanzas 1-8 of prologue. The 'Tractatus de Spe' and Epilogue are unique to this manuscript.

Inc. (imp.): I you honoure blesse lawde anf glorifie f2r

Exp: whoo trowith in God mercy shalbe his mede f36r

IMEV and Supp. 3406; Edited: Spindler, (1927), pp.124-213; Hammond, (1927), pp.260-267 (neither draws on this ms); the nine stanzas forming the 'Tractatus de Spe' and the epilogue ed. K. Brunner, (1933) pp.258-62.

2. *The Twelve Profits of Tribulation*, a translation of the *De duodecim utilitatibus tribulacionis*

Inc. (imp.): ...is made nygh to thee but then thou mayst oppose me and seie in thise... f38r

Exp: ...with all thyn herte to thy god. Da nobis domine auxilium de tribulacione a mē f57v

Jolliffe, (1974), J 3 (d), p.117.

See also Harley 1706 ((22), ff55v-66v); Douce 322 ((20) ff64r-77v); Ca, ((2), ff99v-128r), all of which contain a different translation of this piece.

f58 lacking.

3. An anonymous translation of Bonaventure's *Lignum Vitae*.

Inc. (imp.): ...auable leues ben the holy wordes that... f59r

Exp. (imp.): ...Also Jhesu I require hym by... f79v

f80 lacking

4. *Tretis of Love*

Inc (imp.): ...a cloth to wrappe hym in But withoute... f81r

Exp: ...preise you loue you & serue you withouten ende Amen. f89v

These two preceding articles have previously been thought to comprise one text, the *Tretise of Love*. A letter by Mother Marie du Bel Amour R. J. M. to Mr Roland Baughman on 31st May 1960, held in Columbia University Library, corrected this error.

ff90r-92v blank

5. *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom.*

Inc. Preface: My moost worshipful lady... f93r

Exp: ...god evir worlde wtoute ende Amen f130v

Col: Thus endithe the tretise of the seven poyntes of true Loue and evirlastyng wysdam drawn oute of the boke that ys writen in Latyn and clepid Orologium Sapiencie.

Eterna Sapiencia benedicat et custodiat corda et corpora nostra Amen.

The *Treatise* is misbound. The first two quires are interchanged: ff101r-108v (which comprise one quire) precede the usual opening to the manuscript. These folios contain the end of the second chapter and almost all of the third chapter of the *Treatise*.

References: Armstrong, (1966): p.54

Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394 (from Douce 114).

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1),

ff1r-56v); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); Ca ((1), ff1r-96v); (without preface); Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-96r).

6. A poem in a sixteenth century hand.

Inc. In thought dispereid, not knowyng remedy f131r

Exp. ...To bere this stormy wawes of aventure f131v

followed by an alphabet of majescules and miniscules, ending 'Per me John Southerne, 1576'.

IMEV & Supp: 1580.5.

General References: See also C. Bühler, (1944), pp.5-9; Doyle, (1953), Vol.I pp.177, 217; Vol.II, p.100.

19. Caxton: *Book of Divers Ghostly Matters* Ca

1. *The Treatise of the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom*, with the translator's preface.

Inc: My moost worshipful lady... f1v

Exp: ...regnen god euerlastyng worlde wythoute ende. f96v

Wichgraf, (1929), p.128; Edited: Horstmann, (1888a), pp.322-394 (from Douce 114).

See also: (With preface): Po 19 ((1), ff1r-89r); BP 255 (1); G&C390 ((1), ff1r-56v); D114 ((5), ff89v-148v); Ta 398 ((1), ff1r-65r); Pl 256 ((5), ff93r-130v); (without preface); Mu 111 ((1), ff1r-34v); CCC268 ((3), ff54v-96r).

2. 1) *The Treatise [of the] Six Masters*

Inc: HEre begynneth a lytill shorte treatyse that tellyth how there were vij maysters assembled togydre... f97v

Exp: ...never shall haue ende Amen f98v

See also: H1706 ((20), ff 54v-55r); D322, ((18), ff 62v-63v.

11) *Nota de paciencia infirmitatis.*

Inc: Si Sciret homo... f98v

Exp: ...benedictus in saecula. Amen f99v

See also: H1706, ((21), ff55r-55v); D322 ((19), ff63v-64r).

111) *The Twelve Profits and Advantages of Tribulation.* f99v

Inc: Da nobis domine auxilium... f100r

Exp: ...suffryd dethe oure lorde Jhesus Amen Thus endeth this
treatyse shewynge the xij proffites of tribulacyon f128r

See also H1706 ((22), ff55v-66v); Douce 322 ((20) ff64r-77v); Pl 256
((2), ff38r-57v, imp.; different translation).

3. *The Rule of Saint Benet.*

Inc: Here felowyth a compendious abstracte translate into
englysshe out of the holy rule of saynte Benet for men and wymmen of
the habyte therof the whiche understonde lytell laten or none... f129r

Exp: ...the whiche is eternalle Amen f148r

Wells and Hartung, Vol. II, pp.460-462; Edited: Kock, (1902), pp.119-140.

There follows, f148v, a list of the contents of the volume.

W. Caxton. Westmynstre [1490?]. BL IA 55141. STC 3305 part 1

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Appendix IIa: Manuscripts written in England containing Suso's
Horologium Sapientiae

The full *Horologium Sapientiae*

Cambridge: Emmanuel College 1.3.12 (MS 65)

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 216 x 140 mm. From Kirkham Priory in Yorkshire (Austin Canons); given to the college by Thomas Bywater. On the flyleaf there is an inscription which indicates that this manuscript belonged to 'Roberti Fowberii' who checked it against its original on the third of May 1478 in York. Then follow a series of documents about the founder of Kirkham Priory. The manuscript contains six articles and after the inscription 'Liber Thome Chenyson Capellani' there is the genealogy of the De Ros family. The articles are of a religious character, including two pieces by Bonaventure. The *Horologium* opens the manuscript (ff1-90r), and is followed by the *Cursus* (f90v-f92v).

References: Ker, (1964), p.106; Künzle, (1977), p.127; Lovatt, (1982), p.61, FN 18.

Cambridge: Pembroke College 110

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 216 x 152 mm. The attribution to Bury is rejected by Ker. It contains the *Horologium* (ff1-127), the *Cursus* (ff127-130), and the *Missa* (f130).

References: Ker, (1964), p.22; Künzle, (1977), p.128.

Cambridge: St. John's College 84

Fourteenth century. Vellum. 248 x 171 mm. Donor 'T.C.S.' Of English origin. It belonged to William Grashaw in 1600, and later to Henry, Earl of Southampton. It contains religious texts, particularly a number of extracts from the Lives of the Fathers and related works. In

addition there is a piece by Bernard. The *Horologium* is the fourth piece (ff67r-133r), and it is followed by the *Cursus* (ff133r-136).

References: Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.128.

London: Lambeth Palace 436

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 216 x 152 mm. It was given to the Carthusian monastery of Witham in Somerset by John Blacman, as the inscription at the bottom of f.1 indicates: 'Liber Cartusie de Witham. orate pro iohanne blacman...'. It contains the *Horologium* (ff1-86) followed by the *Cursus*.

References: Ker, (1964), p.205; Künzle, (1977), p.147; Lovatt, (1982), p.60-1, FN 11.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A 372

Fifteenth century. Parchment. 265 x 175 mm. It contains an altered form of the *Horologium* in which the chapters have been rearranged to the following order: Book I contains I,1-4; I,5 (divided into two chapters); I,6-7; I,10-16; II,3; II,4 (divided into two chapters); Book II contains II,5; II,1; I,8-9; II,2; II,6-8. Thus Book I has eighteen chapters rather than sixteen and Book II has eight chapters. The *Cursus* (ff91-94) follows the *Horologium* (ff3-91) and then there are five further articles, including pieces by Rolle, Augustine, and Hugh of St Victor, as well as a piece attributed to Jerome (f94v) with the theme of the preparation for death. Preceding the *Horologium* are some prayers by Hugh of St Victor.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.371-2; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.167.

Oxford: Lincoln College Lat.48

Fifteenth century. Parchment. It was given to the college by Richard Flemmyng, Bishop of Lincoln and founder of the college (see Emden,

Oxford, II, pp.697-699). It may have been copied for Flemmyng whilst he was in Germany, from 1421-1422, although Wichgraf says it is written in an English hand. It contains the *Horologium* followed by *Codicl versus leonini*.

References: Wichgraf, (1930), p.352; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.167; Lovatt, (1982), p.61, FN 15.

Vatican City: Bibl. Apostol. Vat. Ottob. Lat. 73

Fourteenth century. Parchment. 258 x 175 mm. It originated in Cambridge and has an inscription on f118v with details of ownership (see Künzle below). The *Horologium* is without the *Cursus*.

References: Künzle, (1977), pp.185-6; Lovatt, (1982), p.60, FN 4.

Manuscripts Containing the *Horologium* in an incomplete form

London: British Library Add. 20029

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 215 x 150 mm. Written in England. On f1 is the name Esdra Bland. It contains seven pieces, including pieces attributed to Augustine and Bonaventure and a tract drawing on Augustine, Bernard and Anselm. The *Horologium* (ff58-110) is unfinished, ending with I,13. There is also a text on the Art of Dying, the *Tractatus de arte moriendi*.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.370-371; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.197.

Manuscripts containing long extracts from the *Horologium*

Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Poole 126 (311)

Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Written in England. This manuscript contains Chapters II, III and IV of Book II each in an abridged form together with excerpts from Chapters V, VII and VIII of Book II combined into one chapter, in addition to pieces by Rolle.

References: Allenn, (1927), pp.67, 205, 238; Armstrong, (1966), pp.68-69.

Cambridge: St John's College 125 (E.22)

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 184 x 130 mm. Written at the Carthusian charterhouse of Hinton in Somerset. The manuscript has devotions on the flyleaf (*Rex sanctorum angelorum*) and then follows a list of chapters which comprise the tract *Veni mecum in adiutorium*. This contains the following chapters from the *Horologium*, a number of which have correct attributions:

Cap. V: Formula compendiosa vitae spiritualis (II, iii).

Cap. VI: De scientia utilissima homini mortali, quae est scire mori (II, ii).

Cap. VII: Qualiter Christus in sacramento eucharistiae sit deuote recipiendus (II, iv).

Cap. VIII: Quare diuina sapientia suos caros in hoc mundo permittit tam multipliciter tribulari (I, ix).

Cap. IX: De cruciatibus infernabilibus (I, x).

Cap. XI: De gaudiis supercaelestibus (I, xi).

There are also extracts from a number of other works including pieces from Anselm and Bernard. The last two chapters listed by the scribe are missing from the manuscript.

References: Ker, (1964), p.101; Künzle, (1977), p. 232.

Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral Library 242 (A.7.13)

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 152 x 102mm. It contains six articles of a religious nature, including Bonaventure, *Stimulus amoris dei* (f4-f103) and a series of extracts from Hugh of St Victor, Bernard, Bede and so on (f171). The extracts from the *Horologium* (ff125v-171) are Prol, I.1; I.2-3; II.3; II.4. (See Künzle below).

References: Künzle, (1977), p.233.

Oxford: Bodleian Library University College 4

Fifteenth century. Parchment. 115 x 160 mm. It contains eight pieces. There is a fragment of a will which suggests a connection with Beverley. Several of the pieces are on the theme of the preparation for death, such as an English translation of the *De visitatione infirmorum* and the extract from the *Horologium* (ff3-16), which is of II. 2-3 (see Künzle and Armstrong below), and the *Speculum Peccatoris* is also included.

References: Wichgraf, (1930), p.351; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.234.

Manuscripts containing the *Scire Mori* and/or *Formula Compendiosa* chapters of the *Horologium Sapientiae*

London: British Library Sloane 2515

Fifteenth century. 150 x 215 mm. It contains a selection of tracts on death, followed by two other pieces. It was compiled by John Blacman (see Emden, pp.194-5), probably at the London Charterhouse. This would suggest a date of c.1460-1470 (see Roger Lovatt, (1981), below). It contains a variety of texts about death, including the *Ars Moriendi* followed by two pieces by Augustine. The *Scire Mori* chapter is the third article.

References: Ker, (1964), p.122; Künzle, (1977), p.237 (II.2); Lovatt, (1981), pp.426-7; (1982), p.62, FN 34.

London: British Library Lansdowne 385

End of the fourteenth century. Parchment. 185x 245mm. This consists of three manuscripts written in differing hands bound together. It comes from the library of James West 'Arm.'. It contains six articles (although the catalogue lists only five). The third and fourth articles, written in the same hand and comprising the second section, are the *Remedium contra Temptationes* (ff109r-112v) and the *Scire Mori* chapter (ff112v-119r), which also occur together in Bodleian Library Laud Misc 497.

References: Lovatt, (1982), p. 61 FN 33.

Oxford: Bodleian Library Laud Misc 497

Fifteenth century. Paper. 155 x 215 mm. Glastonbury. It contains fifteen articles: a miscellaneous selection of pieces mostly religious. It includes Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* (*De Emendatione Peccatoris*) and an extract from one of Bonaventure's works. The eleventh and twelfth articles are respectively the *Remedium contra temptationes* (ff286-290) and the *Scire Mori* chapter (ff290v-296) which also occur together in British Library Lansdowne 385. There are some textual similarities between the Latin of this manuscript and of Lichfield 16.

References: Ker, (1964), p.91; Künzle, (1977), p.237.

Oxford: Bodleian Library Hatton 26 (S.C. 4061)

Five separate manuscripts bound together. Written in the first half of the thirteenth and the second half of the fourteenth century in England. 175 x 255 mm. Article C, which was once a separate volume, is dated to the middle of the fourteenth century. It belonged in the fifteenth century to a house of Austin canons, the abbey of St Thomas near Stafford.

Article C contains five pieces, including the *Speculum Peccatoris*, ff159v, and Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* (*De Emendatione Peccatoris*), here not attributed to Rolle (ff167). The *Scire Mori* chapter is the second of these five (ff151-159).

References: Ker, (1964), p.182; Armstrong, (1966), p.39.

Oxford: Magdalen College 72

Fifteenth century. Parchment. After the title of the first tract is written the name James Tyrrel, and the same hand notes: 'Osmundus episcopus Sarum libros scripsit, legavit et illuminavit 163'. Osmund was the first bishop of Salisbury and since he was consecrated on June 3rd 1078 and died 3rd-4th December 1099, this inscription must be erroneous. The manuscript contains nine articles, mostly theological, including various extracts attributed to Augustine, such as the *Speculum Peccatoris*. Also in this manuscript is the 'CP' version of the *Ars Moriendi* (ff127v-140), here attributed to Rolle, and another tract about death entitled here 'aliud exemplum de morturis', which also occurs in Merton 204.

The *Scire Mori* chapter (ff161v) is the final article in the manuscript and is incomplete, ending with the words: 'qui mente excecati claudunt oculos ne videant' (ie. lacking about 20 lines: see Künzle p.539 l.24).

References: Wichgraf, (1930), p.351; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.237.

Oxford: Merton College 204

Fifteenth century. Parchment. Signed 'Joh. Gisburgh'. It contains both a shortened form of the *Scire Mori* (ff204v-207r) chapter and a long section of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, here entitled the *Speculum vitae humanae* (ff2-178v), which contains both the *Scire Mori* chapter, (full version) and the *Formula Compendiosa* (Book II, chapter III). A number of the other texts also appear to be related to the theme of

preparation for death, including the 'CP' version of the *Ars Moriendi* and the 'Aliud doctrina sive exemplum de morituris' mentioned above.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), p.132; p.363; pp.369-70; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), pp.238, 239.

Salisbury, Salisbury Cathedral Library 56

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 360 x 250 mm. From the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Salisbury. It lacks 24 leaves at the beginning and thus the text of *Speculum Spiritularium* starts imperfectly. The manuscript contains the *Formula compendiosa* (f260v) and Rolle's *De emendatione vite* (*De Emendatione Peccatoris*) (f261v).

References: Ker, (1964): p.173

Manuscripts containing the chapter on the Sacrament (II, iv)

Oxford: Bodleian Library Lat.th.d.27.

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 205 x 290 mm. It belonged to the Carthusian Charterhouse in Coventry. It is imperfect at the beginning. It contains the chapter on the Sacrament of the Eucharist (Book II Chapter IV).

'Qualiter Christe in sacramento eukaristie sit deuote recipiendus auctoribus orilogij diuine sapientie libro 2^o ca^o 4^{to} per totum ita scribit.'

f205v-213r

It has a large number of pieces of a religious character; mainly short excerpts, including works by Hugh of St Victor, Rolle, Hilton, Anselm, Augustine etc. The manuscript is signed by a 'Tho Goodwin', who writes on f233v:

'And nothing constant but unconstancies

A man in the wilderness asked of me

How many red strawberys grow in the sea.

and on f235v: 'To all Christian people to whom these presents shall

come that I Abot Wolton of Stouerbridge in the County of Wourester'.
Tho Goodwin in the margin.

References: Lovatt, (1982), p.60-1, FN 11.

Manuscripts containing short extracts from the *Horologium*

Lincoln: Lincoln Cathedral Library 108 (A.4.16)

Fifteenth century. Paper and vellum. 293 x 250 mm. It contains thirteen miscellaneous religious pieces, frequently of a didactic character, including notes on the Mass (f84v-85v) and the Lord's Prayer (f4r-f4v) and a form of Confession (f85v-f87r). There is also a piece by Rolle. There is an extract from the *Horologium* on f7.

References: Künzle, (1977), p.241.

London: British Library Royal 5.C.III

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 336 x 229 mm. It later belonged to Archbishop Cranmer and John, Lord Lumley. It contains twenty-seven articles, mainly theological excerpts and miscellanies, including pieces by Bonaventure, Rolle, Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine. There is also a short compilation of extracts from the *Horologium* on f297.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.364-7; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.244.

London: British Library Sloane 982

Fourteenth century. Paper. It contains a selection of extracts from various religious works. On ff66r-67r there is a very short compilation of extracts from the *Horologium*. These extracts are from Book II, chapter IV. There is also on ff 11r-122r a *Libellus centum articulorum divinae passionis*, which has nothing to do with the *Centum meditationes* of Suso but which does mention the *Horologium*.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.367-8; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.239.

Manuscripts containing the *Cursus*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Library Kk.VI.20

Fifteenth century. Parchment. It contains 12 articles and various extracts following these: the manuscript is imperfect. Mainly various theological and devotional pieces attributed to such figures as Richard Rolle (to whom the *Cursus* is ascribed), Bernard of Clairvaux, Anselm, and Augustine, as well as the pseudo-Augustinian work *De visitatione infirmorum*. The *Cursus* opens the selection (f1-f7v).

References: Künzle, (1977), p.246; Lovatt, (1982), p.62 FN 42.

London: British Library Royal 8.A.VII

Fifteenth century. Vellum. 178 x 127 mm. It belonged to John, Lord Lumley. It contains theological works in Latin by Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, together with the *Cursus*, (f45v-f50v).

References: Künzle, (1977), p.247.

Lost Manuscripts

Isleworth: Syon Monestary

The contemporary catalogue of manuscripts owned by Syon, probably compiled in the early sixteenth century, lists three copies of the *Horologium*: M 73; M 90 (*Horologium divine sapientie*); O.3 (*Horologium divine sapientie per fratrum amandum in modum dialogi*).

References: Bateson, (1898), pp.109, 112, 137; Künzle, (1977), p.205.

Manuscripts extant in England of Continental Origin

The following all contain the complete *Horologium*: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 526 (Elbing); London, British Library Add 15105 (Erfurt); London, British Library Add. 18318 (Altenburg); Oxford, Bodleian 405 (Doesborch); Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon Misc. 533 (Subiaco); Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 671 (unknown); Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 677 (Mainz). London, British Library Arundel 512 (from Mainz) contains extracts from the *Horologium*.

Other Manuscripts

London: British Library Royal 15.D.11

Early fourteenth century. Possibly East Anglian: it contains a misbound flyleaf listing places around Greenfield Priory, Lincs. The two texts in the manuscript are:

1. La lumere a lais f1
2. Apocalypse, in French (C12 Norman version) f104

There is also a misbound flyleaf in article 2 which lists various books in a fifteenth century hand, including 'A boke cald þe vii poyntes of trw loue', but the manuscript does not contain this text. This may represent the contents of the library of the Welles family, for whom this manuscript was probably made.

References: Donald Drew Egbert, (1936), pp.446-52; Cavanaugh, (1980), p.916; Lovatt, (1982), p.61, FN 20.

London: British Library Harley Roll Y 24

Contains a reference to possession of *Horologium Sapientiae* in list of books contained in a monastic library (along with works by Rolle etc).

Appendix IIb: Manuscripts containing the *Speculum Spiritualium*

The *Speculum Spiritualium* was published in Paris in 1510. STC 23030.7. The *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium* opens Book V of the *Speculum*, and the *Formula Compendiosa* chapter is also present in this book. Listed below are manuscripts containing extracts of the *Speculum*, the first section those which contain the extracts from the *Horologium*, the second those which do not.

Dublin, Trinity College Library 271 (C.2.7)

Mid-fifteenth century. Written in England, containing 232 folios but ending imperfectly. From the Benedictine Abbey of St Werburg, in Chester. It contains the *Speculum Spiritualium* up to Part 6 chapter 22 of the edition, although in the manuscript the text is misnumbered after Part 2, chapter 15 and according to its numbering ends at Part five, chapter 29.

References: Ker, (1964), p.49; Colker, (1991), pp.497-498.

Dublin, Trinity College Library 272

Fifteenth century or earlier. Parchment. 266 x 188 mm. Written by more than one hand. It contains the *Speculum Spiritualium*, in five parts, and thus incomplete.

References: Colker, (1991), pp.498-500.

Oxford: Bodleian Library Lat.th.e.8 (S.C. 32566)

Fifteenth century. Paper and parchment. 229 x 152 mm. It belonged to the Augustinian priory of Blessed Mary Oueray in Southwark in c1500. It opens with books five and six of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, thus opening with the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium*, which provides the first two chapters of book five of the *Speculum*, and which also contains the *Formula Compendiosa* chapter (Book II, chapter III of the

Horologium). As well as the title *Speculum Spiritualium*, there is the additional title *Disce Mori*. There follow several other texts of a religious nature.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), p.370; Ker, (1964), p.181; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.238.

Oxford: Merton College 204

For details of this manuscript, see p.5. It opens with Books two to six of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, here entitled the *Speculum vitae humanae*, and thus contains the *Scire Mori* and *Formula Compendiosa* chapters of the *Horologium*.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), p.132; p.363; pp.369-70; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), pp.238-239.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Bodleian 549 (S.C. 2298)

This manuscript comprises two manuscripts bound together. The first is late fourteenth century and the second fifteenth century. The binding is original and the manuscripts must have been combined at an early stage. Parchment. 251 x 187 mm. It was presented to the Bodleian by Sir Walter Cope in 1602.

The first manuscript contains the first twelve chapters of Part five of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, although the scribe lists thirty-two chapters, (these correspond to the first twenty-one chapters listed for Part Five of the printed text of the *Speculum*). This manuscript therefore also opens with the *Scire Mori* chapter of the *Horologium*, and contains the *Formula Compendiosa*.

The second manuscript contains theological treatises, partly connected with the Carthusian order, and a selection of pieces attributed to Rolle.

The scribe of the second section of the manuscript has been identified as Stephen Dodesham, a Carthusian with connections both with Witham and Sheen. It has been suggested on the basis of internal

evidence that this manuscript may have been associated with Sheen (see Ayto and Barratt, below).

References: Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.234; Ayto and Barratt, (1981), p.xxxi.

Salisbury, Salisbury Cathedral Library 56

For details of this manuscript see above p.5 It lacks 24 leaves at the beginning and thus the text of *Speculum Spiritularium* starts imperfectly at the end of the 24th chapter of part one. The text is in six parts, of which five and six are in a different order to the printed text of 1510, and is relatively complete.

References: Ker, (1964), p.173

Bateson (1898) also lists a number of manuscripts of the *Speculum* in the contemporary catalogue of manuscripts owned by Syon. See p.107 and p.114.

Manuscripts not containing the *Scire Mori* chapter

Cambridge: Cambridge University Library Dd.IV.54

Second half of the Fourteenth century. Paper. It contains a variety of religious texts, including pieces by Rolle, and Books I and II of the *Speculi [sic] Spiritualium* reversed in order and separated by a short extract from a work by Rolle. At the top of f64 is 'Hic est liber 2^{us} Speculi spiritualium Henrici de balnea cartusiensis'. In the catalogue of Syon Monastery (see Bateson below) the *Speculum* is ascribed to 'dompnus Henricus domus Cartusiensis de Bethleem monarchus'; 'Henricus de Balnea' may be a mistranscription of this.

References: Bateson, (1898), p.107.

Oxford: Bodleian Library, Bodleian 450 (S.C. 2398)

Fifteenth century. Parchment. 305 x 165 mm. Written in England. It was presented to the Bodleian by William Burdet of Sonning in 1618. It contains the first four sections of the *Speculum Spiritualium*, and therefore does not include the *Scire Mori* chapter, although quotations from the *Horologium* are present.

References: Wichgraf, (1929), pp.368-9; Ker, (1964), p.158; Armstrong, (1966), p.39; Künzle, (1977), p.238.

London, British Library Royal 7 B XIV

First half of the fifteenth century. Vellum. 311 x 216 mm. From the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Arundel, Sussex. It contains the *Speculum Spiritualium* in an incomplete form, concluding on f195r with 'Explicit quarta pars', but the next section begins on f196v: the manuscript is clearly lacking the last three sections, and therefore does not contain the *Scire Mori* chapter.

References: Watson, (1987), p.2.

London, British Library Harley 237

Parchment. 155 x 232 mm. From Mount Grace. It contains Book II of the *Speculum*, as well as a variety of other theological works.

References: Allen, (1927), p.405, 409; Ker, (1964), p.132.

York: York Minster XVI.I.9

Second half of the fifteenth century. 277 x 200 mm. From Mount Grace. It contains parts 1-4 of the *Speculum*; parts 5-6 were in another volume. The manuscript also contains a text on the foundation of the Carthusian Order, and pieces on various monastic rules.

References: Allen, (1927), p.405; Ker, (1964), p.132.

There is also a forthcoming catalogue of Mediaeval Manuscripts.

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Note

Eamonn Duffy's The Stripping of the Altars (York, 1992) unfortunately came out too late for me to incorporate into this thesis. His chapter on death, 'Last Things' (pp.301-337), in fact offers an argument which complements mine, by positing the continued existence of a highly orthodox approach towards death within the Church during the fifteenth century.