John Fewterer’s *Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion*

a partial edition with commentary

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand

21 December 2010
Abstract

This thesis provides an edition of the first part of The Myrour or Glasue of Christes Passion (STC 14553). No modern critical edition has previously been made of this text, which was published in 1534 in a single edition. Until recently, it has received little scholarly attention.

The Myrour is an English translation of the Speculum Passionis Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi, a Latin devotional compilation by German physician and printer Ulrich Pinder, printed in Nuremberg in 1507 and 1519. The translation was commissioned by English courtier Sir John Hussey and written by Syon father John Fewterer, who completed it in December 1533. To make the text accessible to a modern reader, I have added modern punctuation and paragraphs, and supplied a detailed commentary and a glossary providing definitions of words that may not be easily recognisable.

In Part I of the introduction I place the book in the contexts of Syon Abbey’s other devotional publications, and of English Passion meditation in general. Here I compare the Myrour with other English lives of Christ, arguing that it is significantly different from any that preceded it. Part I concludes with an overview of existing scholarship on the Myrour. In Part II, I examine the Latin source of Fewterer’s Myrour, discussing the content, structure and sources of Pinder’s Speculum Passionis, and its connections with the humanist movement. Part III begins with a brief overview of the structure and content of the Myrour’s text. I then examine the Myrour as a translation, making close comparisons with its Latin source and commenting on Fewterer’s style and technique of translation. In Part IV, I outline the context of the Myrour’s Reformation audience, examining the book in relation to Fewterer’s life, his connections with intellectual and humanist circles, and Reformation politics.

Pinder’s Speculum Passionis is a compilation of excerpts from many medieval devotional texts. In the commentary, I identify as many as possible of his sources. I also provide background information and explanation of any content that might be obscure to a modern reader, and note those places where Fewterer has altered, or significantly added to, Pinder’s text.
Appendix 1 contains a list of emendations made to the text. Appendix 2 provides a summary of the sources Ulrich Pinder used in compiling this first part of his book. Appendix 3 contains a comparison of the printed *Myrrour* with the manuscript copy (which I believe to be a transcript of the printed text) in London, St Paul’s Cathedral MS 52. B. 22.

Fewterer’s *Myrrour* represents a genre of devotional compilation popular on the Continent but unusual in England. It contains excerpts from the work of notable Augustinians such as Jordanus of Quedlinberg and Ludolphus of Saxony, whose work had never previously been printed in English translation. It is also interesting as one of the last publications to be produced by Syon Abbey before its suppression in 1539, and as an orthodox Catholic work printed against the background of spiritual, social and political upheaval that was the English Reformation.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people.

My brilliant supervisors, Dr. Greg Waite and Dr. Simone Celine Marshall.

Dr. Alexandra da Costa and Dr. Allan Westphall, for generously providing copies of their unpublished work, and sharing ideas and resources.

Mr. Joseph Wisdom, of the St Paul’s Cathedral Library, for information and advice.

Sonya Hamel, for translating essential German texts for me.

My parents, for support both emotional and financial, and for many hours of free child care.

Elizabeth Hogbin and Ryoko de Burgh-Hirabe, who miraculously can still stand me after years of sharing an office with me and my thesis.
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ABBREVIATIONS

CCL  Corpus Christianorum, series Latina.


EETS o.s. Early English Text Society original series.

EETS e.s. Early English Text Society extra series.


INTRODUCTION

Part I: Literary Contexts

1. Printed and Manuscript versions of Fewterer’s *Myrroure*

The *Myrroure or Glasse of Christes Passion* (STC 14553) was printed by Robert Redman in 1534. The 1976 edition of the *STC* lists the *Myrroure*’s author as John Fewterer, who was confessor-general of Syon Abbey from 1523 to 1536. An addendum of 1993 identifies Fewterer as translator rather than author, and the *Myrroure* as a translation of the *Speculum Passionis Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi*, an early sixteenth-century devotional work in Latin, compiled by German physician Ulrich Pinder. No copy of the *Speculum Passionis* is listed in the Syon Abbey library catalogue (V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey*). The exemplar used by Fewterer belonged to Sir John Hussey, the devout layman who commissioned the translation, and was probably returned to him.

The *Myrroure or Glasse of Christes Passion* consists of 166 folio leaves. On the title page (sig. +i′), the title is surrounded by a border depicting the story of Mucius Scaevola and King Porsenna (see below, lxxv). On the following page (sig. +i′) is a woodcut depicting St Bridget (Hodnett 457), which appears in many of the Syon books. The preface (sig. +ii′-sig. +iii′) is addressed to ‘the honourable Lord Husey’ and signed ‘from Syon the vi day of Decembre 1533. Your dayly oratour, Johan Fewterer.’ The translation of Pinder’s Prologue follows (sig. +iii′v-+iii′). Next comes a table of contents (+iii′v-+vi′), ending with a small woodcut depicting the Crucifixion (sig. +vi′r; Hodnett 1475). On the next page there is a full-page woodcut depicting the Trinity (sig. +vi′v; Hodnett 2332),1 followed by the main text of the book: Part I (f.i′-lvii′), Part II (f.lvii′-cxli′) and Part III (f.xlii′-clx′).

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1 This woodcut is known only from the *Myrroure*. 
The STC lists eight extant copies of the *Myrour*,\(^2\) and indicates that there are further copies not listed. The present edition is transcribed from the only copy I have been able to examine: the British Library copy (C.53.d.16). The transcription was made primarily from the text available on EEBO (a digitised version of the microfilm, which also includes images of a few pages from the University of Illinois copy), but checked against the original in the British Library. This was the only copy easily accessible to me, and thus has been used as the base text for this edition.

Fewterer’s *Myrour* is the only known English translation of Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis*, a compilation of excerpts from a range of Latin texts. It is in general a close translation of Pinder’s Latin, but with a significant number of small additions and comments of Fewterer’s own. This can cause confusion when discussing ‘Fewterer’s’ text. Any discussion of the *Myrour* inevitably becomes a discussion of Pinder’s work also. Until recently, scholars have tended to ignore Pinder when discussing the *Myrour*, treating it as principally, or even only, Fewterer’s work (see section 4 below). One of the main purposes of my research is to establish, by a detailed comparison of the *Myrour* and the *Speculum Passionis*, the extent of John Fewterer’s personal input in the *Myrour*.

Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis* contains a great deal of material from the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony and the *Passio Domini* of Reinhard of Laudenberg, both named by Pinder in his *Speculum Passionis*. The anonymous *Stimulus Amoris*, also much used in the *Speculum*, but not acknowledged by Pinder, is named as a source by Fewterer in his margin notes. J. T. Rhodes and Eric Saak have identified material from the *Articuli Passionis* of Jordanus of Quedlinberg (see below, Part II section 1), though this source is not mentioned by Pinder and Fewterer. Some of the Latin sources of Pinder’s *Speculum* were translated into English for the first time in Fewterer’s *Myrour*. Others had previously existed in English in manuscript form, but only in the *Myrour* became available in print.

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\(^2\) The STC lists the following locations: British Library, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford; King’s College Library, Cambridge; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC; Huntington Library, San Marino, California; University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City; Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. There is another copy in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
The *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony, though popular in Europe, seems not to have been even partially available in print in English translation before the publication of Fewterer’s *Myrrour*. Elizabeth Salter, when arguing for a tradition of English translation of the *Vita Christi*, is able to refer to only one translation besides that found in the *Myrrour*: a translation not of the original Latin, but of a French version by Guillaume le Manand (Salter, ‘Ludolphus of Saxony’ 27), in two parts found in two manuscripts.\(^3\)

Excerpts from the *Stimulus Amoris* had been translated before, in ‘a wide range of English pastoral and devotional writers such as William of Pagula, *Chastising of God’s Children*, William Flete, and others’ (Westphall). The complete *Stimulus Amoris* exists in manuscript in an English translation attributed to Walter Hilton and variously titled *The Goad of Love*, or the *Pryckynge of Love*. However, this existed in manuscript only. No complete English translation of the *Stimulus Amoris* seems to have existed in print in the sixteenth century; at any rate, none has survived. The material translated in Fewterer’s *Myrrour* is far from complete, but represents a sizable portion of Part I of the *Stimulus Amoris*.

Fewterer’s *Myrrour* also contains what is probably the only English translation of the work of the Augustinian Reinhard of Laudenberg. Reinhard is now seldom referred to by scholars except in relation to Pinder. Like Pinder, he was a compiler, and his *Passio Domini*, which appears to be his only extant work, is composed of excerpts from various Latin texts, including the *Stimulus Amoris*.

The prayers from the *Myrrour* were published by Robert Redman c.1535 in a small collection titled *Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe of Thactes of our Redemption* (*STC* 20193.5).\(^4\) Rhodes has suggested that ‘Redman was probably hoping for a wider readership with the small book than the more select and intellectual audience of the *Myrrour*’ (‘Devoute Prayers’ 149). Fewterer’s name does not appear in *Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe*, nor is the *Myrrour* ever named. Alexandra da Costa has observed

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\(^3\) London, British Library MS Additional 16609 and Edinburgh, University Library MS 22.

\(^4\) The *STC* lists only one surviving copy at John Rylands Library, Manchester, a digitised version of which is available on EEBO. *Deuoute Prayers* is mentioned briefly by Charles Butterworth in *The English Primers*, where he assigns it ‘without much certainty’ to the year 1531 (282).
that because Hussey was, by 1535, beginning to be alienated from Henry VIII, Redman
may have thought it prudent to avoid all mention of the book Hussey commissioned and
sponsored (‘Ryght Profytable Men’ 232).

The *Myrrour* is the only known surviving example of John Fewterer’s writings. J. T. Rhodes mentions an English translation of John Climacus’ *De Triginta Gradibus*, begun
by Fewterer and completed by Richard Whitford,\(^5\) but says that no copy of this seems to
have survived (‘Fewterer, John’ *DNB*). Alexandra da Costa has raised the enticing
possibility that some or all of the texts in London, St Paul’s Cathedral MS 52. B. 22
may be Fewterer’s work.

This manuscript, little studied until recently, contains a much abbreviated
handwritten version of Fewterer’s *Myrrour*, including the preface addressed to Lord
Hussey. It also contains some meditations, in English, on the Psalms, followed by a
letter addressed to Mr Ashton, which da Costa argues convincingly may have been
authored by Fewterer (*Fewterer’s Glass* 8-9). Some upside-down notes, labelled with
letters of the alphabet, have been scrawled at the bottom of some of the pages from the
*Myrrour*.\(^6\)

The date of the manuscript is uncertain. The binding bears the date 1603; the
preface to the handwritten *Myrrour* is dated the same as that in the printed version: 6
December 1533. My first impression of the manuscript was that it was a copy made
from the printed *Myrrour*, and therefore of little interest, or relevance to the present
edition. I examined it more closely after reading Alexandra da Costa’s interesting theory
that it is an autograph manuscript by John Fewterer himself, written somewhere
between 1533, the date on the *Myrrour*’s preface, and 1536, the year of Fewterer’s death
(‘Fewterer’s Glass’ 8). While this remains a possibility, I would like to advance another:

\(^5\) ‘Many suche examples hath the deuoute father Iohannes Climacus in hys boke intyteled ‘De triginta
gradibus Scale celestus,’ that is, of xxx steppes or staues of the heuenny ladder, whiche boke our
reuerende father confessour mayster John Fewterer late departed (whom Jesu pardon) began to translate
out of latyn into Englysshe and I haue made an ende therof.’ (Whitford, *Diuerse Holy Instrucyons*, STC
25420, f.47)

\(^6\) For example, on f.9v: ‘W: waverers and wanderers. Wane him selff from his owne will, subdew the
motions of the mynd, and all affections, brydle vnhonest desyres, kepe the whole estate of the mynde in
suche frame, that nothinge arye, which with any boysterous blaste, may shake or disquiet yt. Tame &
qualyfye the affections.’ Similar notes appear on ff.13v, 15v, 17v, 27v and others. They are in reverse
alphabetical order, except for A, which is written on the flyleaf. Most of them are repetitions, with slight
variations, of R (transcribed in Appendix 3).
that the St Paul’s manuscript was written out later in the sixteenth century by, or for, someone with a particular interest in John Fewterer and his work.

In ‘Ryght Profytable Men,’ da Costa describes the manuscript version of the *Myrrour* as ‘an authorial fair copy’ (129), and in ‘Fewterer’s *Glass*’ she says that it ‘seems to have been written by the confessor-general himself’ (8). However, in both cases she cites as a source J. T. Rhodes’ article ‘Devoute Prayers in English,’ where Rhodes does not actually attribute the writing of the manuscript to Fewterer. When dating *Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe* (STC 20193.5), the anonymous collection of the prayers from the *Myrrour*, Rhodes says: ‘Since the preface in both the printed version and the manuscript of the *Myrrour* in St Paul’s Cathedral is dated 6 December 1533, it seems unlikely that *Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe* was printed before that date’ (149). This does not seem to me to imply that Fewterer wrote the manuscript himself. That Rhodes does not in fact view Fewterer as the scribe of the St Paul’s manuscript is made clear in ‘Prayers of the Passion,’ where she suggests a date for the manuscript in ‘the second half of the sixteenth century’ (33), that is, some time after Fewterer’s death.

In support of Fewterer’s claim to be the scribe, da Costa also notes an inscription on the flyleaf: ‘I sende yow a lettre By John Ferwterer, of his procedinges and his & my rekenynges ...’ (‘Fewterer’s *Glass*’ 9), observing that these words suggest that the writer was a contemporary of Fewterer’s. She also observes that the letter mentioned in this note, which seems to be about financial matters, is not the letter to Mr Ashton included in the manuscript.⁷ She considers the inscription on the flyleaf to be written in a different hand from that in the *Myrrour*, the meditations on the Psalms, or the Ashton letter (‘Fewterer’s *Glass*’ 9, n.3). That the hand in the *Myrrour* is Fewterer’s own, she states ‘is easy enough to establish, since he signs the dedicatory letter to Hussey that prefaces the Mirror’ (‘Fewterer’s *Glass*’ 8).

I believe that the entire manuscript, including the writing on the flyleaf and the notes scribbled at the bottom of some of the pages, was written by a single hand, and

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⁷ The terms “rekenynges” and “accompt” suggest that the writer is referring to financial affairs in which both he and Fewterer were involved and in which the recipient was interested. None of the contents of the manuscript fits this description of the letter and note, so it seems that they were separate items sent with it and, as the writer predicted, separated from it. Nevertheless, the inscription creates one more connection between the manuscript, the confessor-general and his associates’ (‘Fewterer’s *Glass*’ 9).
probably not Fewterer’s own. I have been unable to find any known sample of his handwriting for comparison, and without this evidence we cannot be certain that the hand in the St Paul’s manuscript is his. His name on the Myrrour’s preface is not necessarily an autograph; it could have been copied along with the rest of the text. The name is split over two lines, with ‘John’ on one line and ‘Fewterer’ on the next (f.3r); this would be odd in a signature, but not in a copy.

I have found no habits of the manuscript’s scribe reflected in the printed book. A distinctive feature of the orthography in the manuscript is the double L in words like self and also (‘sellf’, ‘allso’). The scribe also prefers a double E in we (‘wee’) and me (‘mee’). None of these spellings appear in the printed Myrrour. Although the spelling in a printed book generally reflects the preferences of the compositor, rather than of the author, one might expect a few examples of these to survive if they had been Fewterer’s habits (unless, of course, the compositor was working from an exemplar written in some other hand).

While I agree that the words ‘I sende yow a letter by John Ferwterer ...’ were probably originally written by a contemporary of Fewterer’s, the note on the flyleaf, like the ‘signature’ on the letter to Hussey, is not necessarily an autograph. It could easily be a later transcription, copied out by someone with an interest in Fewterer and access to some of his letters and papers. Because the note is so small a sample it is difficult to come to definite conclusions about the handwriting, but a comparison of letter forms between the note and the main text shows a strong probability that the hands are the same. Admittedly the form of the capital J in ‘John Fewterer’ on the flyleaf differs from that in the name at the end of the preface, but there are many other I/J letters in the main text of the manuscript that match the form in the note.8 The capital F in ‘Fewterer’ looks identical in the note and the preface, and the capital B in the note is the same as those in the main text, as are the abbreviations in the words ‘proceedings’, ‘which’, and ‘yow’. Unfortunately there are no examples of words with the distinctive double L spelling in the note about John Fewterer’s letter. However, directly above this note, there is another inscription on the flyleaf, relating to the notes scribbled at the bottom of some of the

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8 For example in the words ‘I’ (f.1r, lines 1 and 6) and ‘Jesus’ (f.1v, line 12).
pages of the *Myrrour*, and in this inscription the word *help* is spelled with this characteristic double L (‘hellep’). See Appendix 3 for a full transcription of the writing on the flyleaf.

The manuscript was probably not intended for Lord Hussey, for Fewterer would be unlikely to offer such an abbreviated version of the book to the person who commissioned it; and in the manuscript even the prefatory letter to Hussey is abbreviated. Yet if Fewterer were writing out a copy for someone else, it seems odd that he should copy the dedication to Hussey, instead of writing a new, personal preface for the intended recipient. However, if the manuscript were written by someone else, and intended for some later admirer of Fewterer’s work, the abbreviated preface makes sense. It includes the main argument, which sums up the reasons why a work on Passion meditation is ‘moche profytable to the readers and edefyeng to all that wolde diligently hear it’, while omitting the more personal elements such as Fewterer’s modest disclaimer of any great skill in translation, and his parting address to Hussey (see Appendix 3).

Orthography, script style and watermarks all suggest a date for the manuscript considerably later than the 1530s. The orthography and punctuation is closer to the modern style than that in the printed version. In the printed *Myrrour* the words *head*, *deeds* and *dead* are usually spelled ‘hede’ ‘dedes’ and ‘deed,’ whereas the manuscript has the more modern spellings ‘head(e),’ ‘deeds’ and ‘dead.’ The printed version contains a sprinkling of commas, but virgules are preferred; the manuscript has commas and no virgules. Chapters and folios are mostly numbered in the printed *Myrrour* with Roman numerals, whereas the manuscript has Arabic numerals.

The secretary hand in the manuscript does not seem to belong to the 1530s. The small ‘h’ and the capital ‘I’ in particular resemble forms that appear in the second half of the sixteenth century. The ‘h’ forms a big loop below the line, whereas in earlier texts ‘h’ was more upstanding and sometimes curved over in a hook at the top. The capital ‘I’, with its flourishing tail, is more elaborate than usually found in secretary hands of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.\(^9\) These later sixteenth century features make

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\(^9\) A useful source for comparison is Preston and Yeandle’s *English Handwriting 1400-1650*, which provides an overview, with illustrations, of different hands over this period.
it unlikely that the manuscript was written in the 1530s, and even more unlikely that
John Fewterer was the scribe. Having learned to write in the fifteenth century, he would
probably not have used letter forms that did not become common until after the 1550s.

The watermark on the manuscript is a one-handed pot with a crown and trefoil,
and initials that may be JM or VM (the first initial looks more like a reversed J than
anything else). The Gravell Watermark Archive has examples of one-handed pots from
the late fifteenth century right through to the late seventeenth century. However, nothing
earlier than the 1540s is at all similar in shape and detail, and the closest matches are all
1550s or later: numbers 0353 (1549/50), 1843 (1549/50), 1353 (1575-80), 1164 (1576)
and 1045 (1578). These are similar in general shape, and include the trefoil, although
the initials do not match. The closest match in Briquet’s Filigranes (12755) is dated
1581. This is a closer match than any in Gravell, for it has identical initials, including
the unusual reversed J. All this suggests, though it does not conclusively prove, a date
for the manuscript in the second half of the sixteenth century, which would be consistent
with Rhodes’ dating in ‘Prayers of the Passion’ (33).

Even if we concede that it is possible that the manuscript could have been written
as early as the 1530s, and even by John Fewterer himself, it is still not an independent
witness to the Myrrour’s text, for it was almost certainly copied from the printed
edition. I have closely examined the first twenty-seven folios of the manuscript and
found no significant variation from the printed text, other than the omission of certain
passages, apparently for brevity. The layout of the two Myrrours is similar. The first
page of the Myrrour proper (excluding the Preface and Prologue) is headed ‘The
Myrrour of Chrystes Passion’ in both the printed and manuscript versions. Thereafter in
both versions the heading is split across the verso and recto pages, with ‘The Myrrour or
Glasse’ on the verso pages, and ‘of Chrystes Passion’ on the recto. The margin notes
usually appear in the manuscript as in the printed version, though occasionally one is
omitted (see Appendix 3). Their abbreviations are similar, though not always identical,
to those in the printed book.

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10 Details of the omitted passages, and a list of textual variations, are in Appendix 3. The variations are all
minor, and consistent with copying.
A close comparison of layout and punctuation in the two versions of Fewterer’s preface (sig. +ii·+iii in the printed version, f.1-3 in the manuscript) produced the following results. The layout of the preface’s heading is identical in the manuscript and printed versions, with ‘The Preface’ in the first line, and ‘To the honourable Lord Husey’ in the second, both centred above the main text. However, in the printed version, the lines get shorter at the end of the preface, so that the text tapers off to a point (sig. +iiv). This pattern is not reproduced in the manuscript (f.3). Punctuation differs in the printed and manuscript versions. This section of the text contains virgules, commas, colons, parentheses and full stops in the printed version, and commas, colons, parentheses and full stops in the manuscript. If we consider virgules as equivalent to commas, the position of commas, colons, parentheses and full stops in the printed and manuscript copies corresponds slightly more than half the time.¹¹

A comparison of spelling over the first twenty-seven folios of the manuscript Myrrour against the corresponding chapters of the printed book shows that the spelling in the manuscript does not generally reflect the spelling in the printed text.¹² I note, however, that where the printed text has a raised vowel in the word hang (‘hynge’, f.ii, ‘hynge’ f.iiiv and ‘hyngynge’ f.iiiiv), the corresponding word in the manuscript also has a raised vowel (‘hinge’ and ‘hing’, f.8v; ‘hinging’ f.11v). Where the vowel is not raised in the printed text (‘hangynge’ f.iiir), it is not raised in the manuscript either (‘hanging’ f.7v). The raised vowel in the printed word trap (‘trype’ f.vir) is raised in the manuscript also: ‘tryppe’ (f.15v). Elision of of the with words beginning with a vowel (‘theternall’, ‘thinnocent’) occurs frequently in the printed text (expanded in the present edition, see below, lxxxi). Elision is not a preferred form for this scribe, and most of these are expanded in the manuscript. However, the first twenty-seven folios of the handwritten

¹¹ The selection examined included 120 punctuation marks (including commas/virgules, colons, parentheses and full stops). There were seventy matches between the manuscript and printed versions, and fifty differences.

¹² The spelling of common words is the same in the different texts within the manuscript, suggesting that the scribe was using his own spelling system, rather than copying the spelling in his exemplars. His characteristic double L appears frequently in the Myrrour, the meditations on the Psalms, and the Ashton letter, as does the double E in ‘wee’ and ‘mee’ and his preference for an ie ending on words like ‘accordingleie’ and ‘charitie.’
*Myrrour* contain seven examples of elision, all corresponding to elided words in the printed text.\(^{13}\)

These results cannot conclusively prove nor disprove the hypothesis that the manuscript was copied from the printed text. The dissimilarities may indicate that the scribe was working from a different exemplar, but may equally well mean that he was using his own system of spelling, punctuation and numbering while copying from the printed text. The similarities could mean that the scribe was working from the printed book, or that his own system of spelling and punctuation was not always very different from that of the printed book’s compositor, or even that the scribe and the compositor were using the same exemplar. Better evidence is the presence of several errors from the printed version repeated in the manuscript. A comparison of the first twenty-seven folios of the manuscript with the printed copy revealed ten errors from the printed book reproduced in the manuscript. Five of these are apparently printing errors: the omission of the words *the* or *and*, and the misprinting of ‘men’ for ‘man’.

On sig. +iii\(^r\) of the printed *Myrrour*, the word *and* is omitted from the phrase ‘the lyues [and] passions of holy sayntes and martyrs’ (6/3) and the second *the* from ‘the iudge of [the] quicke, & the resurrection or reaser of the deed’ (6/9). The same errors appear in the manuscript version on f.3\(^v\). The first *the* is omitted from the phrase ‘that [the] more that they be profitable to vs, the more we shulde remembre them’ (27/9-10) on f.v\(^v\) of the printed *Myrrour* and on f.14\(^r\) of the manuscript version. On f.viii\(^r\) of the printed version and f.19\(^v\) of the St Paul’s manuscript, the word *the* is omitted from the phrase ‘in [the] wyldernes’ (33/29). On f.vii\(^r\) of the printed version, the phrase ‘inward loue’ appears in error for ‘outward dedes’ (31/6, *tr.* ‘exteriorum operum’, see commentary). In the corresponding passage on f.17\(^r\) of the manuscript, the copyist has written ‘inward’, then changed it to ‘outward’, but has left 'love', the erroneous reading of the print version. The word ‘man’ (31/2) is misprinted as ‘men’ on f.vii\(^r\) of the printed text; the same error occurs on f.17\(^r\) of the manuscript.

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\(^{13}\) The seven examples are: ‘thexperience’ (MS12\(^v\); *Myrrour* v\(^r\)), ‘theffect’ (MS 20\(^r\); *Myrrour* viii\(^r\)), ‘thadmiration’ (MS 21\(^r\); *Myrrour* ix\(^r\)), ‘thexemplar’ (MS 21\(^r\); *Myrrour* ix\(^r\)), ‘thinnocent’ (MS 24\(^v\); *Myrrour* xi\(^r\)), ‘theternall’ (MS 25\(^r\); *Myrrour* xi\(^r\)), and ‘thabundaunte’ (MS 27\(^r\); *Myrrour* xiii\(^r\)).
On f.vi of the printed Myrrour is a quotation from Judith 5.15, written in Latin and followed by an English translation: ‘Fontes aquarum obdulcorati sunt. That is: the bitter fountayns ben made sweete and delectable’ (30/2). This quotation should read ‘Fontes amari obdulcorati sunt.’ It is reproduced correctly by Pinder in both editions of his Speculum Passionis, but misquoted in the Myrrour, with the word aquarum replacing amari. Fewterer’s translation gives the correct ‘bitter fountains’ rather than the incorrect ‘fountains of water,’ so he evidently had the verse correctly in mind. The substitution of aquarum for amari is either a careless error on Fewterer’s part, or the result of interference by the printer. The phrase ‘fontes aquarum’ occurs repeatedly elsewhere in the Vulgate, so the printer may have assumed that the word amari was an error, and taken the liberty of correcting it. The incorrect phrase ‘fontes aquarum’ is reproduced on f.16v of the St Paul’s manuscript. I think that Fewterer, copying his own work, would probably have noticed and corrected an error of this kind. That the error appears in both versions suggests a copier other than Fewterer, working from the printed text.

After listing six ‘maners and wayes’ to remember Christ’s passion, both the printed text (f.ixr) and the manuscript (f.21r) refer to the six ways as ‘these sevne’. On f.vi of the printed text, and f.15v in the manuscript, a quotation from Exodus is incorrectly referenced as coming from Leviticus (see commentary 29/12). Again, these are errors of a kind that Fewterer would probably have noticed and corrected if he were copying the work himself. Fewterer also incorrectly gives chapter 32 as a reference for a quotation from Deuteronomy that actually comes from chapter 33 (f.xii; see commentary 45/18), and this error is reproduced on f.26v of the manuscript.

Though any one of these similarities between the two versions of the Myrrour could be coincidental, I believe that taken together they strongly suggest that one version was the basis for the other. If so, the printed version must have been the exemplar. The Myrrour in the manuscript is not a fair copy of the entire text, but a heavily abbreviated version; too much abbreviated to have been the exemplar for any part of the printed book. The Myrrour occupies folios 1r to 118v of the manuscript. Part I occupies 1r to 94v, leaving only twenty-four leaves for Parts II and III. In Part I, several
chapters have been shortened or even omitted entirely, while Parts II and III contain only a fraction of the material in the printed book.

While it is possible that Fewterer himself wrote out by hand a drastically abbreviated copy of his own published work, it is equally possible that the writer of the manuscript was some other person who wanted a copy of the *Myrrour*. Rhodes suggests that the motive for writing out the copy could have been a desire for a shortened version, regarding the existence of the abbreviated manuscript version as evidence that ‘at least one reader found it too long’ (‘Prayers of the Passion’ 33). Another possible reason for making a handwritten copy is that, as time passed after the printing of the lone edition of the *Myrrour*, it may have become difficult to obtain a printed one. The Towneleys, who owned the manuscript (their family arms appear on the binding), were, as Rhodes has observed, ‘a well-known Recusant family who would have continued to appreciate a work like the *Myrrour*’ (‘Prayers of the Passion’ 38, n.75).

It seems to me that the St Paul’s manuscript is a collection of Fewterer’s writings, copied out in the second half of the sixteenth century by a single hand. Alexandra da Costa’s argument for Fewterer’s authorship of the Ashton letter does not depend on her debatable identification of the handwriting in the manuscript as Fewterer’s own. She also presents more compelling evidence, including the close associations of the Ashton family with Syon Abbey, and the connection with Fewterer indicated by the inscription on the manuscript’s flyleaf: ‘I sende you a lettre By John Fewterer ...’ (‘Fewterer’s *Glass*’ 9). If she is correct in thinking that the Ashton letter is Fewterer’s work, then we should consider the possibility that the meditations on the psalms are his work also. We know that Fewterer was interested in the Psalms, since he owned a book containing psalm commentaries by Johannes Reuchlin and Nicholas Denyse (Bodleian Library 8 A 11 Th; V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey* 577). I have not identified the psalm commentaries in the manuscript, but if they should prove to be translations of the Reuchlin or Denyse commentaries, this would support my view of the St Paul’s manuscript as a collection of Fewterer’s works, copied out either by himself, as Alexandra da Costa has argued, or as part of the Recusant activity in the later sixteenth century, as I have suggested.
Because of its abbreviated nature, and because it is not an independent witness to the *Myrrour*’s text, but a copy almost certainly made from the printed book, the manuscript has been of little relevance in composing the present edition. However, it is an interesting subject for study in its own right, and deserves more attention in future. *The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion* has been viewed by most scholars as John Fewterer’s only surviving text. A collection of writings authored by him would be a valuable resource for studying this monk and his work.

2. A Syon Abbey Publication

The *Myrrour* was one of the last (excluding reprints of earlier books, possibly the very last) of about fourteen books by Syon monks published before the dissolution of Syon Abbey in 1539.

Established by Henry V in 1415, Syon Abbey was England’s only Bridgettine monastery. It followed the Bridgettine Rule, which was based upon the Rule of St Augustine. The house was home to sixty nuns and twenty-five monks, of whom twelve were priests. One of the priests was the confessor-general, responsible for the spiritual welfare of the entire community. The general ruling of the community was the responsibility of the abbess (V. Gillespie *Syon Abbey* xxx).

Devotional reading was an important part of the lives of both monks and nuns (V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey* xxxvii-xxxxviii), and the priests were expected to preach publicly on feast days (*Syon Abbey* xxxii). Some priests also acted as confessors and spiritual advisors for pious laypeople. In the sixteenth century these traditions of reading, preaching, and advising led to the printing of a number of devotional books in English, written or translated by Syon monks.

Syon Abbey and its publications have attracted considerable interest from scholars. George James Aungier’s *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, and M.B.

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14 Syon brother Symon Wynter was a spiritual advisor for Margaret, duchess of Clarence (V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey* xxxii; Hutchison 226). Richard Whitford, who before becoming a Syon monk had accompanied William Blount, fourth Lord Mountjoy, to study in Paris, seems to have maintained a relationship with the Mountjoy family. He is widely believed to have retired in the Mountjoy household after the dissolution of Syon in 1539, though J. T. Rhodes states that there is no actual evidence for this (Rhodes, “Whitford, Richard” *DNB*).
Tait’s dissertation ‘The Brigittine Monastery of Syon’ are still important authorities on Syon’s history. David Knowles summarises Syon’s early history in volume two of The Religious Orders in England (175-181) and discusses Syon more fully in volume three (212-221). He also devotes a chapter to Syon in Bare Ruined Choirs (96-103). Roger Ellis has explored Syon’s spirituality in Syon Abbey: the Spirituality of the English Bridgettines and ‘Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey.’ Syon’s role in opposition to the Reformation is discussed in G.W. Bernard’s The King’s Reformation (167-172) and mentioned briefly in G.R. Elton’s Policy and Police (161).

The devotional books originating from Syon have interested scholars for the insights they provide into the spiritual lives of their readers, both religious and secular. The Syon publications figure among the vast array of evidence mustered by Eamon Duffy to support his now widely accepted view that traditional religion in England in the early sixteenth-century was not, as many scholars have suggested, a tottering edifice, but a flourishing concern, continuing to grow and develop right up until the Reformation (Stripping of the Altars).

Like Duffy, J. T. Rhodes regards the Syon publications as evidence of the continuing development of traditional devotion, as they ‘elaborated and deepened the tradition as they made it available to a wider public by translating it into English and by printing it. There were also signs of new areas of pastoral concern, notably the family’ (Rhodes, ‘Syon Abbey’s Religious Publications’ 25). She regrets that there is now ‘no way of knowing how the Syon authors would have developed what might be called their “ministry of the word”’ and describes the Syon books as ‘the last flowering of medieval religious writing in English’ (25).

Vincent Gillespie (‘The Book and the Brotherhood’; ‘Syon and the English Market’), J. T. Rhodes (‘Syon Abbey’s Religious Publications’), Ann Hutchison (‘Devotional Reading’) and C. Annette Grisé (‘The Textual Community’) have all written about the Syon books. Vincent Gillespie has also edited the catalogue of the Syon brothers’ extensive library (Syon Abbey). Alexandra Barratt has discussed the Syon connections in two manuscripts (Anne Bulkeley; ‘Singing From the Same Hymnsheet’). James Hogg has examined some of the works of Richard Whitford, the
most prolific of the Syon authors (*Pype or Tonne*), and also the Bridgettine Rule, including the Syon ‘Additions for the Brethren’ and ‘Additions for the Sisters’ (*The Rewayl*). Alexandra da Costa has examined the writings of the four principal Syon authors: Thomas Betson, William Bonde, John Fewterer, and Richard Whitford (‘Ryght Profytable Men’). The most recent work on the Syon books is a volume of essays: *Syon Abbey and its Books* (ed. E.A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham). Of particular relevance to this thesis is Part II, ‘Syon Abbey and the Book Trade,’ which contains a useful overview by C. Annette Grisé of the Syon publications from the fifteenth century to Syon’s suppression in 1539 (‘Syon Abbey and English Books’), as well as a reprint of Vincent Gillespie’s ‘Syon and the English Market’.

There are several anonymous books considered by some scholars to have been authored at Syon; however in discussing the sixteenth-century Syon publications I follow Alexandra da Costa (‘Ryght Profytable Men’) in focussing on the works of Betson, Bonde, Fewterer and Whitford, about whose affiliation there is no doubt, and the anonymous books *The Orcharde of Syon* and *The Myrroure of Oure Lady*, both of confirmed Syon origin. The following is a brief overview of these Syon publications to sketch a context for Fewterer’s work.¹⁵

*A Ryght Profytable Treatyse* (1500, Wynkyn de Worde, *STC* 1978) was written by Thomas Betson, who also prepared the Syon Abbey library catalogue. It is a short book, addressed mainly to a monastic audience, but with general advice relating to the ten commandments and seven deadly sins that could also be relevant to a lay audience. Roger Ellis describes it as ‘undistinguished ... and undistinguishable from the mass of religious instruction produced for the education of the laity in the later Middle Ages.’ (‘Further Thoughts’ 228).

*The Orcharde of Syon* (1519, Wynkyn de Worde, *STC* 4815) was printed under the patronage of Richard Sutton, steward of Syon. It is an anonymous translation of the revelations of St Catherine of Siena, written in the fifteenth century. *The Orcharde of

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¹⁵ For more about the Syon books see the work of Roger Ellis, Vincent Gillespie and J. T. Rhodes. Most recently see Alexandra da Costa’s ‘Ryght Profytable Men’, which contains detailed bibliographical information and discussion of all Syon’s sixteenth-century publications, and *Syon Abbey and its Books*, a volume of essays by E. A. Jones, Alexandra Walsham, Peter Cunich, Virginia Bainbridge, Vincent Gillespie, C. Annette Grise, Claire Walker, Caroline Bowden, Claes Gejrot, and Ann Hutchison.
Syon has been edited from the early manuscripts by Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey (EETS o.s. 258).

*The Rule of Saynt Augustyne* (1525, Wynkyn de Worde, *STC* 922.3) was the first publication by the prolific Richard Whitford. It was also the first publication under the joint regime of Abbess Agnes Jordan and confessor-general John Fewterer. As Alexandra da Costa has observed, Syon’s period of prolific book production coincided with the period of their leadership (‘Ryght Profytable Men’ 46). Whitford’s *Rule of St Augustine* was republished, again by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1527 (*STC* 922.4).

*The Pylgrimage of Perfection* (1526, Richard Pynson, *STC* 3277) was the most ambitious book that had yet come from Syon. It was written by William Bonde, who, like John Fewterer, was a graduate of Cambridge (Bainbridge, ‘Bonde, William’ *DNB*). Intended for use by both religious superiors and laypeople, it provided a guide to a religious life based around the image of a pilgrimage. An even longer version was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1531 (*STC* 3278).

The *Martiloge in Englysshe* (1526, Wynkyn de Worde, *STC* 17532) is an English translation by Richard Whitford of the Syon *Martiloge* (which is extant in manuscript: London, British Library MS Additional 22285). It was printed in only one edition and, like *The Myrroure of Oure Lady* (see below), was probably intended primarily for the use of the Syon nuns.

William Bonde’s *Directory of Conscience* (1527, Lawrence Andrew, *STC* 3274.5) is another large volume, discussing the fear and love of God, and especially the problem of scrupulosity. It was published twice more c.1534, this time by Michael Fawkes (*STC* 3275 and 3276).

*The Myrroure of Oure Lady* (1530, Richard Fawkes, *STC* 17542), is an English translation of the order of service followed by the Syon nuns. Its avowed purpose is to present the service in the vernacular for the benefit of those nuns unable to understand it fully in Latin. It was edited in 1873 by John Henry Blunt (EETS e.s. 19).

1530-1534 saw the first publication of four works by Richard Whitford, all popular enough to run into several editions: *The Golden Pystle* (1530, 1531?, 1531, *STC* 1912-14), a translation of a pseudo-Bernardine text; *A Werke of Preparacion vnto
Communion (1531 and 1537, STC 25412-13), also printed as A Dialoge or Communicacion (1537, STC 25413.5); the original and popular Werke for Housholders (1530 x2, 1531?, 1531, 1533, STC 25421.8-25425.5); the anti-heretical Pype or Tonne of the Lyfe of Perfection (1532, STC 25421), and A Dayly Exercice and Experience of Dethe (1534?, 1537, 1538? STC 25413.7-25415), written for a previous Abbess of Syon, Elizabeth Gibbs.  

Near the end of the Syon brethren’s period of prolific book production, we see John Fewterer’s Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion (December 12, 1534, Robert Redman, STC 14553). Like the Martiloge and The Myrroure of Oure Lady (both of which were aimed at the monastic community) and unlike the more popular works for lay people by Whitford and Bonde, Fewterer’s Myrrour was printed in only one edition. Like Whitford’s Dayly Exercice, it was written at the specific request of an individual; like The Orcharde of Syon it was sponsored by a wealthy patron. The Myrrour’s preface (‘accordynge to your devout desyre I haue translated your boke ...’) is addressed to Sir John Hussey, a devout nobleman with intellectual leanings, who was executed three years after the Myrrour’s publication for his involvement in the Lincolnshire rebellion.

In genre the Myrrour resembled none of its predecessors, being a translation of a type of work popular on the Continent but less so in England. English works on the life of Christ were common, but the content of the Myrrour is unusually rich and varied. In Part I alone we find exhortations urging the reader to meditate on the Passion and describing the spiritual benefits therof, explanations of how every imaginable thing from the orders of angels to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are symbolised in the Passion, and real-life examples of the results of constant and devout meditation from the life of an early beguine. Parts II and III combine narrative describing the events of the Passion, and the miracles that followed it, with explanation and commentary drawn from the writings of various theologians, and prayers. All these diverse elements are drawn together to make the most comprehensive handbook of Passion meditation that had ever appeared in the English press.

Works by Richard Whitford, signed ‘the wretch of Syon,’ continued to be published after the suppression of Syon Abbey in 1539; however in this section I am concerned only with those works published before the suppression.
3. The *Myrrour* and other late-medieval English lives of Christ

Fewterer’s *Myrrour* is part of a long tradition of meditation on the life, and especially the Passion, of Christ. For many years texts on this subject had circulated, both in manuscript and print. I wish to place the *Myrrour* first in the context of the pseudo-Bonaventuran tradition, in order to show how it represented a move away from the highly visual, affective spirituality found in earlier texts. Then I will argue that it was part of an upsurge of interest in the life of Christ which seems to have occurred in England around the time of the Reformation. Passion meditation appealed to the English humanists, for it fitted in well with the Erasmian view of Christ as ‘the ever-present example and object of thought and deed’ (McConica 21), and probably it also appealed to religious conservatives, as something comforting to turn to in their disturbed world.

In discussing the pseudo-Bonaventuran tradition, I will compare Fewterer’s *Myrrour* first with Nicholas Love’s fifteenth-century translation of Bonaventure’s *Speculum Vitae Christi: The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. This book was far more popular than Fewterer’s *Myrrour*. Eight editions were printed between 1484 and 1525, and numerous manuscript versions survive from the fifteenth century. It received official approval from Archbishop Arundel in 1410 (Salter, *Nicholas Love’s Myrrour* 1). A modern critical edition was published in 1992.17

Fewterer’s *Myrrour* is not, like Love’s, based upon the Bonaventuran *Meditationes*, though it does contain Bonaventuran material through borrowings from the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony, which incorporates ‘almost the whole of the *Meditationes*’ (Salter, *Nicholas Love’s Myrrour* 45). Fewterer’s *Myrrour* also includes at least one passage from Bonaventure’s *Vitis Mystica* (116/1-117/10, see commentary). The similarity of their titles, sources and subject matter shows Fewterer’s book and Love’s to belong to the same meditative tradition. However, they present very different approaches to meditation.

Fewterer’s work is longer, wordier, more scholarly and understandably less popular than Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life*. Nicholas Love offers a comparatively

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lively narrative of Christ’s life. He begins with three short chapters on such related matters as ‘the grete conseile in heuen for the restoryng of man and hys sauacione’ (15), ‘De contencione inter misericordiam et veritatem’ (16) and ‘the manere of lyuynge of the blessed virgine Marie’ (19). The action begins in the fourth chapter, with the incarnation of Christ. In Fewterer’s *Myrrour* the reader is faced with forty-eight folios (ninety-six pages) of treatises, exhortations, and examples before seeing any narrative at all.

Love tells the story of Christ’s life as it is told in the gospels, interlarding the story with emotional appeals to his audience to behold, to have compassion, to take heed of the suffering, the goodness, and the charity of Christ. Fewterer’s *Myrrour* likewise contains the gospel story, and some similar appeals to the reader’s emotions, but it is also full of painstaking explanation of the allegorical significance of each event in the Passion, and the views of many ‘learned doctours’ on the subject.

Taking as an example the scene of Christ’s betrayal by Judas: both Mirrors quote Matthew 26.46: ‘Lo he that shale betray me is nihe at hande’ (Love 165). ‘Surgite, eamus, ecce appropinquauit qui me tradet. Arise, go we, he that shall betray me is nigh at hande’ (Fewterer f.lxiii'). Love does not trouble his reader with the Latin; Fewterer gives most of his Bible verses in Latin and English, with book and chapter cited in margin notes. In Love’s narrative, translated from the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes*, the betrayer is indeed nigh at hand, for the next sentence is: ‘And therwith came that wikked Judas the fals traytoure & worst marchant before hem, & boldly kissed that innocent lambe his lorde Jesus’ (165). Fewterer, translating Pinder, takes two folio pages to get to the betraying kiss. He follows the verse from Matthew with the explanation:

In these fewe wordes, oure lorde doth fyrste enfourme vs to spirituall battell or temptacion, in this worde aryse. Secondly he moueth vs to profyte in good werkes, in this worde, go we. Thyrdely, in the other wordes folowynge, he moueth vs to awayte at all tymes and houres for temptacion, for our enemyes be euer redye to tempte vs. (f.lxiii')
He then quotes from John about Judas’ arrival with ‘a great company of soldiers,’ goes on to describe how this scene ‘was fygured in the fyrst boke of the kynges’ (f.lxiii‘), and elaborates at length, with references to Augustine and Ambrose.

Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life* was very much in the Franciscan tradition of appealing to the senses and emotions in order to stimulate devotion (Sargent lxvi). Like the writings of Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton and many others, it made strong appeals to the reader’s emotions. Fewterer’s *Myrrour*, though not ignoring the emotions, appeals more to the reader’s intellect, with its painstaking explanations and many references to other texts. If Love’s work was, as stated in his prologue, ‘milk of lyghte doctryne,’ then Fewterer’s was what Love called the ‘sadde mete of great clargye and of hye contemplacion’ (Love 10).

A pseudo-Bonaventuran text written probably not long after Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life*, but in a different style, is the *Speculum Devotorum*. In an as-yet unpublished conference paper, Allan Westphall discussed the place Fewterer’s *Myrrour* occupies in the context of the pseudo-Bonaventuran tradition, focussing on a comparison with the *Speculum Devotorum* and arguing that the latter looks forward to the ‘encyclopedic’ works by Ludolphus, Jordanus, Pinder, and Fewterer.

Written by an anonymous Carthusian some time in the early fifteenth century, the *Speculum Devotorum* or *Mirror to Devout People* was never printed, but circulated in manuscript. It has been partially edited by James Hogg, and a full edition was completed as a PhD dissertation by Paul J. Patterson in 2006. In his preface, the author describes the work as being in the same tradition as Bonaventure’s *Meditationes*, and recounts his uncertainties about the usefulness of his writing it, when Love had already provided an English translation. He justifies his efforts by pointing out that although he himself was ‘of no reputacioun in comparisoun of so worthi a clerke as Boneauneture was,’ his reliable sources, the gospels and ‘doctoures of Holy Chirche, ‘would make his book ‘full profitable to deuout Cresten soules’ (Patterson, ‘Myrrour’ 73). The compiling of an English meditation handbook from the gospels and writings of the Church Fathers shows a move away from Love’s translation of a single emotionally charged text and towards a more cerebral, scholarly approach to English Passion meditation.
Westphall notes that the *Speculum Devotorum* ‘contains little meditation in the sense of prolonged affective, imaginative passages’ and suggests that it shows ‘a new orientation in Middle English Lives of Christ towards contextualising exposition, and represents tendencies other than the sustained affective immersion and imaginative re-creation that characterise earlier meditations’ (‘Mirroring the Life of Christ’). Fewterer’s *Myrrour* develops this new approach further. Westphall describes the *Myrrour* as ‘encyclopedic’ and ‘offering a summa of explanatory, catechetical, moralising material, rather than affective elaboration.’ This echoes an earlier opinion by Rhodes, who calls Fewterer’s *Myrrour* ‘a summa of late-medieval devotion to the Passion’ (‘Syon Abbey’s Religious Publications’ 22). Although the *Myrrour* does include some imaginative description calculated to stir the reader’s emotions, its focus is in general more intellectual than emotional. The reader is urged to contemplate the Passion with ‘an attent mind’ (25/26). Fewterer’s translation, with his painstaking citing of sources in margin notes and careful explanations of Biblical references, is in keeping with the expository tone of Pinder’s text.

Fewterer’s *Myrrour*, then, was part of a tradition of English Passion meditation that was gradually moving away from the primarily affective and emotional texts based on the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes*, towards an intellectual approach that sought to understand the Passion of Christ by carefully considering the different levels of meaning in each event and studying the commentaries of reliable theologians. This approach had long existed in Latin texts such as Ludolphus’ *Vita Christi*, but only now began to appear in English.

Fewterer’s book needs to be located also in the context of an increased interest in books about the life of Christ, which occurred in England on the eve of the Reformation. Of three English books recommended by Thomas More in his preface to *Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer* (J. Simpson 450), two were lives of Christ: Nicholas Love’s abovementioned *Mirror of the Blessed Life*, and Thomas à Kempis’ *The Imitation of Christ*, though it is not clear which of two translations More was referring to (see below, xxviii). The third was Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*, which contains several chapters on the Passion of Christ, along with many other instructions for living a
spiritual life. Passion meditation had long been seen as beneficial, but in the face of a threat to the Catholic faith its importance seems to have increased. 18

The reappearance in the English press of two other works on Christ’s life and Passion in the 1530s suggests a renewed interest of the English reading public in the subject. The Folleyng of Christ, a new translation of Thomas à Kempis’ Imitatio Christi, was printed three times by three different printers c.1531, and once again c. 1535. Simon Appulby’s Fruyte of Redempcyon, first published in 1514 (STC 22557) and out of print for thirteen years after its second edition in 1517 (STC 22558), was reprinted in 1530 (STC 22559), 1531 (STC 22559.5) and 1532 (STC 22560). 19 It is interesting and possibly significant that these two Christo-centric texts, published in the same decade as the Myrrour, also had Bridgettine connections. 20

Two translations of the Imitatio Christi were printed in the sixteenth century. The first, by William Atkynson, was printed by Richard Pynson in 1504 (STC 23954.7), and twice in 1517 (STC 23957 and 23958); then by Wynkyn de Worde in 1519 (STC 23956), and 1528 (STC 23960). This translation was done at the request of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, and comprises Atkynson’s translation of the first three books of the Imitatio Christi, and Margaret Beaufort’s own translation of the fourth. 21 Atkynson attributed the Imitatio Christi to John Gerson.

A second, anonymous, translation of the Imitatio Christi was published in 1531 by Thomas Godfray (STC 23963), Robert Wyer (STC 23961), and Robert Redman (STC 23964). It was published again by Redman in 1535 (STC 23964.7). The appearance of a new translation of the work, with several editions printed in one year, suggests that the subject matter was particularly popular at that time.

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18 See R. Lovatt, “The Imitatio Christi in Late-Medieval England.” Lovatt considers that, by classing the Imitatio with ‘tried favourites’ such as Love’s Mirror and Hilton’s Scale, Thomas More was overestimating its success (99-100).

19 The author of The Fruyte of Redempcyon describes himself as ‘the Anker of London Wall wretched Symon’ (STC 22557, sig. D iv’). He has been identified by Rotha Mary Clay as Simon Appulby (Erler 227, n.1 and 2).

20 The Fruyte of Redempcyon contains Bridgettine material, and The Folleyng of Christe was published with some revelations of St Bridget.

21 Excerpts from Margaret Beaufort’s translation are in Women’s Writing in Middle English (ed. Alexandra Barratt) 303-310. See also J.K. Ingram’s edition of Atkynson’s book.
This second translation, titled *The Folowyng of Cryste*, was published in the Redman editions together with four revelations of St Bridget and a translation of the pseudo-Bernardine *Golden Epistle*. Though often attributed to Richard Whitford (Caraman 5; Grisé, ‘Syon Abbey and English Books’ 136), *The Folowyng of Cryste* is almost certainly not his work. The anonymous translator agrees with William Atkynson in attributing the *Imitatio Christi* to John Gerson (modern scholars attribute it to St. Thomas à Kempis), and, like Atkynson, acknowledges the achievement of Margaret Beaufort’s earlier translation of the fourth book. He gives, as the reason for producing a new translation, Atkynson’s omission of the fourth book, and his having left out parts of some chapters and ‘varied from the letter’ in others. He is somewhat apologetic towards Margaret Beaufort about producing his own translation of the fourth book, explaining that as hers was translated from French, it was not as accurate as his own translation of the Latin (*STC* 23964, sig. Aii⁰).

In 1530, a year before the appearance of this second translation of the *Imitatio Christi*, Simon Appulby’s *Fruyte of Redempcyon* was republished, after being out of print for thirteen years. Like Love’s *Myrrour*, *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* carried an official seal of approval: that of Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London at the time of its first printing in 1514 (*STC* 22557, sig. Diiii⁰; Erler 228). Also like Love’s *Myrrour*, its declared purpose was to supply English devotional material to people unable to read Latin (*STC* 22557, sig. Diiii⁰). *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* includes Bridgettine material and was recommended by Syon monk William Bonde in the first edition of his own

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22 In 1961, Glenmor Williams argued against Whitford’s authorship of this translation in ‘Two Neglected Welsh-London Clerics,’ an article described by Knowles as ‘authoritative’ (*Bare Ruined Choirs* 103). Williams explains that the erroneous attribution began with the 1556 edition, which was bound together with Whitford’s translation of the *Golden Epistle*. However, all earlier editions were bound together with an entirely different, anonymous version of the *Golden Epistle*. Whitford’s translation begins ‘If you entent to please God ...’ and ends with a plea to ‘pray for the old wretched brother of Syon Richard Whytforde’ (*STC* 1912, sig. Aiiii⁰). The anonymous translation published with early editions of *The Folowyng of Christe* begins: ‘That the wyldernes of thy religion may wexe swete and pleasaunt vnto the ...’ (*STC* 2964, f.clxxvii). Williams observes that Whitford’s practice was to sign his name to his published works, and that if he had translated the *Imitatio Christi*, it would surely have been published with his own translation of the *Golden Epistle*, rather than another.

23 This attitude of the translator is further evidence that it was not Whitford, who had no qualms whatever about ‘varying from the letter’ when translating. At the end of his translation of the *Golden Epistle* he says he has translated ‘unto the sentence not very nere the letter / and in dyuers places added some thynges followynge vpon the same to make the mater more sentencyous and full’ (*STC* 1912, sig. Aiiii).
Pylgrimage of Perfection (STC 3277, f.ccli; Erler 231). Like The Folowyng of Cryste, it has sometimes been attributed to Richard Whitford.

Mary Erler notes that the book’s republication in 1530 coincided with the first year of tenure of Bishop of London John Stokesley (229). Although Bishop Stokesley preached the royal supremacy, he ‘made no secret of his dislike of the Reformation’ (Elton 161) and was ‘an erudite conservative’ (Erler 229). The republication of Appulby’s book, and of The Folowyng of Cryste, may have been a part of a wider attempt by religious conservatives to supply the public with safe, orthodox texts, a trend Fewterer’s Myrrour would also have fitted into.24

Like Fewterer’s Myrrour, Appulby’s Fruyte of Redempcyon is a translation of a Latin book from the Continent, in this case Meditationes de vita et beneficiis Jesu Christi, first published by Ulrich Zell at Cologne in 1488 (Erler 229). The 1531 edition printed by Robert Redman (STC 22559.5) is illustrated on sig. Ai with the same woodcut of the Crucifixion which appears on sig. +vi of Fewterer’s Myrrour (Hodnett 1475).

The Fruyte of Redempcyon is a short book, divided into thirty-one chapters. Chapters 1-3 discuss the Creation, the Fall and the Incarnation of Christ. Chapters 4-13 are about Christ’s early life; in chapter thirteen the Passion narrative begins with the entry into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper. As with Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life, the tone of the writing is highly affective. The chapters take the form of prayers, beginning alternately ‘I laude and glorifie’ or ‘Laude and honour I yelde.’ Margin notes direct the reader to Biblical references, but there is none of the meticulous, if ponderous scholarship evident in Fewterer’s book.

The difference between the primarily emotive and the more didactic Middle English Lives of Christ is highlighted by Elizabeth Salter in the list that she includes in

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24 Mary Erler speculates that The Fruyte of redempcyon ‘might be seen as the product of a conservative attempt to make scripture (particularly the narrative of Christ’s life and passion) available to a wide general readership,’ and suggests that it may have been ‘part of an episcopal initiative’ (228). It is, as she says, ‘tempting to see an episcopal hand in [the book’s] reissue’ (229). It is also tempting to imagine the Syon authors and Stokesley as working together to supply inspiring, yet orthodox books to the public, with a view to strengthening and supporting readers in conservative beliefs. Against this theory, however, is the fact that Stokesley, though conservative in many ways, not only preached in favour of the King’s title as head of the Church, but convinced dissidents among the Syon brethren to do the same (see below, Part III section 3).
her discussion of Nicholas Love’s book. She organises the list into six groupings, from ‘lives consisting of Biblical material only, with little or no homiletic additions’ to ‘lives consisting of emotional reflection only, of a lyrical and rhetorical nature’ (Salter Nicholas Love’s Myrour 55-56). She lists Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life*, Appulby’s *Fruyte of Redempcyon* and the *Speculum Devotorum* in her fourth category: ‘Lives consisting of Biblical paraphrase, homily, and emotional reflection’ (56). Fewterer’s *Myrrou* is not listed by Salter, and does not fit perfectly into any category in her list. It bears some relation to the works in the abovementioned fourth category, and also to a single manuscript translation of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony, which alone occupies Salter’s sixth category.

Salter argues that ‘as a whole the Lives are not of learned appeal.’ While she observes that Love’s *Mirror* and the *Speculum* ‘assume a certain level of intelligence and education in their readers,’ she considers the translation of the *Vita Christi* a ‘culmination,’ a move forward to a higher level of scholarship (Salter, Nicholas Love’s Myrrou 117). She considers this translation to be ‘intended for technical use by priests or enclosed religious, and lay readers of educated interests. It could never have had a popular public in mind’ (118).

Fewterer’s *Myrrou*, similar in content and style to the *Vita Christi*, attempts for the first time to bring this kind of scholarly material, if not to a ‘popular’ public, certainly to an educated lay audience much wider than that likely to have read the earlier manuscript translation of Ludolphus’ book. Though it is part of a tradition of affective devotion popular since the thirteenth century, the *Myrrou’s* attempt to combine this with scriptural exegesis, to engage the reader’s intellect while still appealing to the emotions, makes it unlike any of the previously printed English lives of Christ. Among late-medieval English publications, it occupies a genre of its own as a solitary English example of the scholarly Latin lives of Christ in the Continental tradition of Ludolphus and Jordanus. Though unique in itself, it is a also a part of a long tradition of meditation on the life of Christ, and of an upsurge of interest in such meditation that occurred just before and during the Reformation.
4. Scholarship on Fewterer’s *Myrrour*

Perhaps because of its lone edition, short-lived readership, and unflattering contrast with more popular works on the same subject, especially Nicholas Love’s, the *Myrrour* has received relatively little scholarly attention. Of the works which do mention it, some are irrelevant or misleading, as until recently scholars have discussed the book without reference to Ulrich Pinder. The general assumption has been that it was Fewterer who chose and arranged the extracts from the works of Ludolphus, Reinhard and others, as well as translating them into English.

Elizabeth Salter cites Fewterer as one of two English prose writers to make use of the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (‘Ludolphus of Saxony’ 27). Although she quotes the phrase ‘I haue translated your boke’ from the *Myrrour*’s preface, she does not speculate about what ‘boke’ Fewterer was working from. She seems to assume that he was working directly from Ludolphus and other listed sources, saying that ‘John Fewterer ... bases a good deal of the text loosely upon the *Vita*, while making stricter versions of the prayers with which Ludolphus closed his chapters. He states that his treatment of the Passion is “approbate and taken of many holy doctours, as of saynt Hierom, saynte Augustine, Bernarde ... and for the more part, taken of Ludolph Carthusiense”’ (Salter, ‘Ludolphus of Saxony’ 27, quoting *Myrrour* f.lviir). Salter’s phrase ‘*He* states that *his* treatment of the Passion’ [my emphasis] seems to imply that the quoted words are Fewterer’s own. In fact he is translating Pinder’s words: ‘Executio huius speculi: ‘puta domine passionis erit declaratio sententiosa: a plerisque sacre scripture professoribus approbata: vt sequitur Hieronymo. Augustino. Bernardo. Symone de cassia. Reinardo de laudenburg. Et per maiori parte Ludolpho carthusiens’ (*Speculum Passionis* 1507, f.17v). As Ludolphus is part of the *Myrrour* only through Pinder, to discuss Fewterer’s use of Ludolphus is to discuss what never occurred.

As well as Fewterer’s biography in the *DNB*, J. T. Rhodes has written two articles about his work. In ‘Devoute Prayers in Englysshe of Thactes of Our Redemption,’ she examines the collection of prayers excerpted from the *Myrrour* (*Deuout Prayers, STC 20193.5*). Like Salter, Rhodes identifies Ludophus, Simon de Cassia, and Reinhard of
Laudenberg as sources, but attributes their use to Fewterer without mention of Pinder’s intermediary role: ‘Fewterer also made use of Simon de Cassia and Reynardus de Laudenberg’ (149), and ‘Fewterer had taken a list of the twenty benefits of meditation on the Passion from the Prologue of Laudenberg’s Passio Domini’ (150). Rhodes notes that although the Deuout Prayers are entirely orthodox in content, their compactness makes them different in style from most English prayers of the period, and adds that a book composed solely of prayers was unusual at the time, looking forward to the second half of the sixteenth century.

In ‘Prayers of the Passion: From Jordanus of Quedlinberg to John Fewterer of Syon,’ Rhodes does observe that Fewterer says: ‘I haue translated your boke.’ She comments that: ‘it sounds as though Fewterer were working from a book that already existed. What we do not know is how much he might have added to, adapted, or even written of the Myrrour as it was printed’ (31). However, in spite of having acknowledged that Fewterer was probably working from an existing book, she continues to discuss the Myrrour as if Fewterer had been its compiler, as well as its translator. She observes that ‘Fewterer cited his main sources’ (31), which were, as we now know, actually Pinder’s sources, not Fewterer’s. Discussing the use made in the Myrrour of the Articuli Passionis and the Vita Christi, she notes that ‘Like Ludolphus, Fewterer moves the prayer to the end of each article ... his immediate source was probably Ludolphus ... but the clearer structure of Fewterer suggests that he went back to Jordanus,’ implying that she considers Fewterer at least partially responsible for the choice and arrangement of the material in the Myrrour.

After listing the sources acknowledged in the Myrrour, Rhodes adds:

The names omitted from this list are significant: Bonaventure, the supposed author of the Meditationes Vitae Christi and the Stimulus Amoris, which is used in the Myrrour without acknowledgement, and Jordanus of Quedlinberg. (‘Prayers of the Passion’ 31)

In her notes to this passage, Rhodes cites examples of the borrowings ‘without acknowledgement’ from the Stimulus Amoris: the prayer at the end of the first particula, and a short passage on f.ii cited by Salter (‘Ludolphus of Saxony’ 34 n.35), who does not explain that not only this passage, but the whole of the ‘exhortation’ in the first
particula (13/1-18/10), is derived from the *Stimulus Amoris* (Salter, ‘Ludolphus of Saxony’ 37 n.64). Fewterer actually does acknowledge the *Stimulus Amoris* in a margin note at the beginning of the first particula (f.i; see below, 13). This is one of three borrowings from the *Stimulus Amoris* acknowledged by Fewterer in Part I of the *Myrrour* (see below, 13, 65, and 66).

Roger Ellis devotes several pages to Fewterer’s *Myrrour* in ‘Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey.’ Like Rhodes, he writes without awareness of Pinder’s book, viewing Fewterer as an author or compiler as well as a translator. As a result, he puzzles over the lack of Bridgettine material in the book, and especially over Fewterer’s apparent choice of Marie d’Oignies over Bridget of Sweden as a role model (237). He reaches the conclusion that the absence of St Bridget from the *Myrrour* is the result of ‘the dangerous times in which writer and reader were living’ (238). He observes that opponents of the Maid of Kent, who was executed soon after the publication of the *Myrrour*, contended that she had ‘helped shape her visions by daily doses of St Bridget’s revelations’ (238). The explanation is clever and logical, but becomes unnecessary once we know that the original compiler of the work was a German doctor and not an English Bridgettine priest.

Alexandra da Costa has pointed out that the articles by Salter and Rhodes that treat the *Myrrour* simply as Fewterer’s work, without mention of Pinder’s *Speculum*, are misleading (‘John Fewterer’s *Myrrour*’). She states that the credit for compiling the work belongs to Pinder, and argues that the credit for recognising its worth belongs to Sir John Hussey, who commissioned the translation. This is reasonable, though Hussey’s choice of Fewterer to translate his book was not random. As we will see, Fewterer and Hussey were both connected to the same circle of religiously conservative humanist thinkers. A comparison of the sources acknowledged in Pinder’s *Speculum* with the authors represented in the Syon library catalogue shows that Pinder’s *Speculum* reflected the interests of the Syon monks in general and of Fewterer in particular. Of the authors represented in the *Speculum*, many appear in the seventy-seven books donated by Fewterer to Syon Abbey (V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey*).
While feeling that ‘Fewterer’s dependence on Pinder’s *Speculum* and Hussey’s agency dents our perception of this monk’s achievements considerably,’ da Costa acknowledges the *Myrrour* to be ‘deeply imbued with Fewterer’s own learning’ (‘John Fewterer’s *Myrrour*’), and recognises the need for closer examination of Fewterer’s book for what it is: not an original compilation by an English monk of the works of medieval Latin authors, but a close translation of Ulrich Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis*. This closer examination is the aim of my own work. By making a detailed comparison between Fewterer’s English and Pinder’s Latin, I have tried to build a picture of Fewterer’s method and style of translation, to answer Rhodes’ question about how much Fewterer has ‘added to, adapted, or even written of the *Myrrour*’ (‘Prayers of the Passion’ 31) and to assess how far his additions and adaptations reflected his own personal and political views.
Part II: Fewterer’s source: Ulrich Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi*

1. Ulrich Pinder and the Content, Structure and Sources of his *Speculum Passionis*

Ulrich Pinder, the compiler of the handbook of Passion meditation which is the source of Fewterer’s *Myrrour*, was not a monk or a theologian, but a town physician with humanist connections and literary ambitions. Little is known about his life. I have found no records of his date of birth, or where he was educated. From 1484 to 1489 he practised medicine in Nördlingen. Then he spent two years as personal physician to Frederick the Wise of Saxony (Santing 209). Helmar Junghans speculates that theologian and fellow humanist Martin Pollich von Mellerstadt (d.1513) helped him to this position (6), which Catrien Santing describes as ‘socially a major step ahead ... usually, personal physicians to princes stemmed from somewhat better-off surroundings and had received a high standard of general education’ (209). From the short duration of his appointment, she concludes that he did not make a success of it. From 1491 until his death (probably around 1518) Pinder occupied the less prestigious position of town physician of Nuremburg, where he ran his own printing press and published a number of medical and non-medical works (Santing 211).

The *Speculum Passionis* is a lengthy compilation of excerpts from many devotional works by medieval authors. It was published by Pinder’s own printing press, first by Pinder himself in 1507 and again in 1519 by Pinder’s son-in-law, who took over the press in 1512 and subsequently published some of Luther’s works (Junghans 10-11). The first edition numbers ninety folio leaves and is lavishly illustrated with woodcuts by Nuremburg artists Hans Schäufelein and Hans Baldung Grien. The second edition numbers seventy-eight folio leaves and lacks some of the smaller illustrations. I have found no significant textual differences between the two editions, so it is not certain which one Fewterer used for his translation. All folio numbers mentioned here refer to the British Library copy of the 1507 edition (London, British Library C.57.g.24).
In 1663, the Speculum Passionis was translated into German and published as Spiegel dess bitteren Leydens vnd Sterbens Jesu Christi. A facsimile edition of this translation, with commentary by Helmar Junghans (on the text) and Christa-Maria Dreissiger (on the illustrations), was published in 1986 (Pinder, Spiegel). The Latin Speculum Passionis has been discussed by Catrien Santing (‘Through the Looking Glass’), Birgit Münch (‘Cum Figuris Magistralibus’) and Erik Saak (Highway to Heaven).

Santing suggests that the Speculum Passionis is the first part of a set of five treatises offering ‘a series of alternative therapies for the fulfilment of men’s craving for happiness’ (216). The five books are: Speculum Passionis Christi (1507), and Speculum intellectuale foelicitatis humane, Compendium breve de valitudinis cura, Speculum Phlebotomiae, and Tractatus simplicum medicinarum (all 1510). She supports her argument that the five books are parts of a whole by observing their ‘identical formats, lettering, as well as several cross-references’ and states that ‘a woodcut of a stern-looking Frederick the Wise and a dedicatory letter to this same prince preceded each part’ (216). In fact there is no image of Duke Frederick and no dedicatory letter in the Speculum Passionis; identical formats and lettering are not unusual in books published by the same press, and cross-references not surprising between books by the same author. It seems to me that the Speculum Passionis stands alone and not as part of a series: it was published separately three years earlier than the other four books mentioned by Santing, and its subject matter, judging from the titles, is quite different.

Santing describes the Speculum Passionis somewhat dismissively as ‘nothing more than a gospel harmony supplemented with other Biblical and theological literature ... converted into a practical meditation manual,’ and adds that ‘the intention of this work was not purely devotional, since it contains various counsels for its readers about how to restore one’s mental and physical health’ (216). However, the only example she offers of such a counsel is the author’s claim ‘that whoever managed to understand the consequences of the crucifixion of Christ, at the same time would discover a remedy for the healing of his own soul’ (217). The image of devout meditation as a cure for man’s diseased soul is too common in devotional literature for
this example to indicate a doctor’s pre-occupation with health, and I have found nothing in the *Speculum Passionis* to indicate that it is not ‘purely devotional.’

Junghans attributes the lack of a third edition of the *Speculum Passionis* to the increasing numbers of handbills and pamphlets being published by reformers. He suggests that readers preferred this simple format to heavy, scholarly books. In 1519, the same year as the second edition of Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis*, Martin Luther published a six page pamphlet on Passion meditation titled *Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des Heiligen Leidens Christi*. This work ran into twenty-four editions and was translated into low German, Latin, Danish, and Dutch (Junghans 27). Pinder’s weighty tome could not compete.

That someone found the work worth translating in 1663, Junghans attributes partly to the 30 Years War (1618-1648) which destroyed libraries and hindered printing. Afterwards, libraries were rebuilt and stocked with German texts (Junghans 29). The seventeenth century also saw a revival of allegory as a way of interpreting the gospels (Junghans 31), and allegory is much used in the *Speculum Passionis*.

**Structure**

The *Speculum Passionis* is in three parts, which in turn are divided into *particulae*. Part I contains ten *particulae*; the first five (the counterparts to the English chapters edited here) being a collection of treatises on the methods and benefits of Passion meditation. These include an ‘ABC’ where each letter of the alphabet introduces a new benefit of Passion meditation, and an exposition of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, each followed by an example from the life of the French beguine Marie d’Oignies. *Particulae* six to ten are narratives of events immediately preceding the Passion: the entry into Jerusalem, throwing the merchants out of the temple, the parting of Christ from his mother, the Last Supper and the washing of the disciples’ feet. Each of these narratives is followed by a short prayer. Part II is a Passion narrative structured around sixty-five *articuli*, each describing an event in the Passion. Each of these is followed by explanation and commentary (*documenta*), and a prayer (*oratio*). Part III describes ten miracles associated with the Passion, then relates events after Christ’s
death, from the Harrowing of Hell to the Resurrection and Ascension, and the Last Judgement. This is followed by a lengthy exposition of ‘tres abyssus dominice passionis,’ which is omitted in Fewterer’s translation (see below, li).

Sources

At the beginning of Part II of the *Speculum Passionis*, Pinder lists six sources for his work: ‘Hyeronimo. Augustino. Bernhardo. Symone de cassia. Reinhardo de Laudenburg. Et pro maiori parte Ludolpho carthusiens’ (f.xxiᵢ). At the beginning of Part III, Pinder refers back to this list: ‘Conclusio huius speculi erit vt supra diximus dominice passionis contestatio miraculosa cum quibusdam approbationibus eorum que promissa sunt in tytulo speculi huius’ (f.lxvᵢ). He lists no sources for Part I, and as we will see, his lists of sources used in Parts II and III are incomplete.

Junghans describes Pinder as a ‘Kompilator’ or compiler, but also says that he included some of his own views and thoughts in his writings (8). Unfortunately he does not specify which passages of the *Speculum Passionis* he considers to be original. His examination of Pinder’s sources acknowledges the gospels of the four evangelists to be the basis of all works on the Passion. He then goes on to provide a comprehensive list of all the medieval theologians, historians and Church fathers acknowledged by Pinder, and notes Pinder’s unacknowledged but extensive use of the *Meditationes* of Jordanus of Quedlinberg.

Pinder himself acknowledges Ludolphus of Saxony (c.1295-1377) as the major source for Part II of the *Speculum*. His writings also appear in Part I, *particulae* 2 and 3 (see table below, xliii). Also known as Ludolf the Carthusian, this fourteenth century monk was the author of the popular *Vita Christi*, of which numerous manuscript and printed copies survive. Like Pinder’s *Speculum*, the *Vita Christi* is a compilation of excerpts from other Latin works. It has been edited by L. M. Rigollot, and Mary Bodenstedt has published a study of it. In her discussion of the sources of the *Vita Christi*, Bodenstedt reproduces a list of authors from the Paris edition of 1865 (51-3 n. 152). To this she has added several more whose work is reproduced in the *Vita Christi*, but neither list includes the Augustinian hermit Jordanus of Quedlinberg (c.1300-1380),
whose writings appear in the *Vita Christi* and also in Pinder’s *Speculum*. Walter Baier’s *Untersuchungen Zu Den Passionsbetrachtungen* is a more detailed study of the *Vita Christi*, in which he supplies a long list of sources, including Jordanus. As well as commenting on the sources and content of the *Vita Christi*, Baier discusses its reception and distribution in Europe and England, and provides background about the life and works of Ludolphus of Saxony.

J. T. Rhodes’ ‘Prayers of the Passion,’ irrelevant as it has proved to be as a study of John Fewterer’s preoccupations, becomes useful in examining Pinder’s *Speculum*. Rhodes identifies the presence in Ludolphus’ *Vita Christi* of ‘practically the whole’ of Jordanus’ Passion meditations (28). However although the compiler of the *Myrrour*, (whom Rhodes assumed to be Fewterer) did sometimes draw on Ludolphus, she considers that he also made direct use of Jordanus’ work: ‘the clearer structure of Fewterer suggests that he went back to Jordanus’ (32).

Rhodes also makes the important point that the *Meditationes Jordani de Passione Christi* and the *Articuli Passionis cum theorematibus et documentis*, though both attributed to Jordanus, are actually different works, and specifies that it is the *Articuli Passionis*, with its prologue based on Exodus 25:40 (‘Inspice et fac secundum exemplar...’) that is reproduced in Ludolphus’ *Vita Christi* and in Fewterer’s *Myrrour* (‘Prayers of the Passion’ 27).

Eric Saak, who discusses Pinder’s *Speculum* in *Highway to Heaven*, also considers that direct use has been made of Jordanus’ *Articuli Passionis*, though he queries Rhodes’ claim that there is a distinction between the *Meditationes Jordani* and the *Articuli Passionis*. He asserts that ‘there is no question that Jordan was the author of the *Meditationes de Passione Christi*. It seems probable that what Rhodes views as two distinct works was actually the result of the wide distribution and diffusion of Jordan’s one work’ (Saak 354, n.26). Probably he is right about Jordanus being the author of both works; they seem to be different versions of essentially the same material, both including sixty-five *articuli* followed by short prayers. However, the prologue beginning ‘Inspice et fac secundum exemplar ...’ which begins Pinder’s *Speculum* does
not appear in the *Meditationes Jordani*, so we can be sure that it was the *Articuli Passionis* that Pinder was working from when compiling his *Speculum*.

As evidence that Pinder made direct use of the work of Jordanus, Saak includes, as an appendix, the text of Pinder’s prologue side by side with its counterparts from Ludolphus’ *Vita Christi* and Jordanus’ *Articuli Passionis*. Pinder’s text is certainly closer to that of Jordanus. Moreover, Saak observes that Jordanus and Ludolphus arrange the sixty-five articles in a different order, and that the *Speculum* follows the sequence of Jordanus, not Ludolphus (540). He concludes that ‘comparison between Pinder, Ludolph and Jordan leaves no doubt that Pinder used the text of Jordan’s *Meditationes* directly, rather than simply gleaning the material from Ludolph’ (540).

With the exception of Saak’s and Rhodes’ comments on Jordanus of Quedlinburg, most discussion of Pinder’s sources has been limited to those he explicitly acknowledges in Part II. For Parts I and III he supplies no list, and these parts have been largely ignored by scholars. Ludolphus and Jordanus play a fairly minor role in Part I, with the prologue drawn from the *Articuli Passionis* and the second (short) particula from the *Vita Christi*. Some, but not all, of the third particula is also from the *Vita Christi*. For the rest of the five particulae edited here, Pinder drew heavily on three other medieval books.

The single most important source for Part I is the *Stimulus divini amoris*, a popular devotional work in three parts, for a long time erroneously attributed to Bonaventure. Clare Kirchberger describes it as ‘a composite devotional work consisting of an independent series of meditations on the Holy Passion, of still unidentified authorship, followed by a treatise on the spiritual life and contemplation by a Franciscan friar of the thirteenth century, James of Milan, and ending with some anonymous meditations on the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, etc’ (15). I have identified many passages in Pinder’s *Speculum* as borrowings (without acknowledgement) from the anonymous Passion meditations in Part I.

The large number of extant manuscript versions testify to the popularity of the *Stimulus Amoris* on the Continent. In England, too, it was well-known in the fifteenth century. A copy is listed in the Syon library catalogue (V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey* 237).
Walter Hilton translated it into English as *The Goad of Love*. Margery Kempe’s confessor was familiar with it, and referred to it when defending her gift of tears (Windeatt 294-5).

It was also printed in a number of editions. It is difficult to say which one Pinder may have been working from. The edition printed in Cologne in 1502 (see bibliography) is the closest match I have found to Pinder’s text, and a digital facsimile is conveniently available online (*Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum*). For these reasons this edition is the one referred to here when making comparisons. However, it is not a perfect match and it is very possible that Pinder was copying from a different version.

Pinder acknowledges Reinhard of Laudenberg as the source of the ABC which appears at the beginning of the fifth *particula*. Reinhard was an Augustinian hermit, and author of *Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi predicata per modum quadragesimalis*, published in Nuremberg in 1501. The ABC in Pinder’s *Speculum* mostly comes from the prologue of this book, though Pinder makes several alterations, shortening some passages and adding to others (see commentary, and Appendix 2). It lists twenty benefits of Passion meditation, each beginning with a different letter of the alphabet. Reinhard himself is compiling from other authors: like Pinder, he borrows from the *Stimulus Amoris*, and he also acknowledges Bernard, Augustine, Origen and others.

The third important source used in Part I of the *Speculum Passionis* is the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican of the early thirteenth century. This is Pinder’s acknowledged source for all the passages about the life of the early beguine, Marie d’Oignies. Vincent has copied his information verbatim from the biography of Marie written by her confessor, Jacques de Vitry. This biography has been translated into modern English by Margot King (*Two Lives of Marie d’Oignies*).

The *Speculum Historiale* is part of Vincent’s *Speculum Maius*, an immense encyclopedia in three parts: *Naturale, Doctrinale, and Historiale*. B. L. Ullman discusses the importance of Vincent’s work in ‘A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais.’ He describes Vincent’s work as ‘almost entirely a patchwork of quotations
from ancient and medieval writers’ and argues that this makes his work valuable evidence about ‘exactly what the intellectual background of Vincent’s age was’ (313).

Of the three volumes of the *Speculum Maius*, the *Speculum Historiale* was the most popular. It was an ambitious work:

> The *Speculum Historiale* comprises 3794 chapters in thirty-one books, a total of 1334 folio pages. It ranges across the entirety of world history, emphasizing the Christian experience, but attempting to present adequate harmonization of the events of secular and sacred history. (McCarthy 11)

The following table summarises the sources that form the basis of the first five *particulae* in Part I of Pinder’s *Speculum*. Pinder numbers the *particulae*, but not the subsidiary chapters: these chapter numberings are from Fewterer’s translation, included here for the convenience of the reader. In some cases the entire chapter is copied from the source text, in others, Pinder has added other material, either original or from a source as yet unidentified. For a detailed explanation of exactly which passages come from the source texts, see Appendix 2.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Chapter</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prologue</td>
<td><em>Articuli Passionis</em> of Jordanus of Quedlinberg; unidentified material</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Particula 1</em></td>
<td><em>Stimulus Amoris</em> (SA) I.1; <em>Speculum Historiale</em> of Vincent of Beauvais (SH); unidentified material</td>
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<td>Chapter</td>
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| *Particula 5*  
chapter 1 | Reinhard; *Compendium Theologiae* of Albertus Magnus; unidentified material |
| chapter 2 | *SA I.14* |
| chapter 3 | *SA I.14* |
| chapter 4 | *SA I.7, I.10, and I.11* |
| chapter 5 | *SA I.13; VC II.58; unidentified material* |
| chapter 6 | *SA I.9; unidentified material* |
| chapter 7 | *SH* |
| chapter 8 | *SA I.9; unidentified material* |
| chapter 9 | *SH* |
| chapter 10 | *SA I.9; unidentified material* |
| chapter 11 | *SH* |
| chapter 12 | *SA I.9; unidentified material* |
| chapter 13 | *SH* |
| chapter 14 | *SA I.9; St. Bonaventure’s *Vitis Mystica* II. 3-4 (PL184); unidentified material* |
| chapter 15 | *SH* |
| chapter 16 | *SA I.9; Hugh of St Victor’s *De Arca Noe*, I.i; unidentified material* |
| chapter 17 | *SH* |
| chapter 18 | *SA I.9; unidentified material* |
| chapter 19 | *SH* |

*Particulae* 1 and 2 are copied almost entirely from the sources listed above. I have been unable to find sources for most of *particula* 3, which is composed mainly of
Biblical quotations and passages from St Bernard’s sermons, with one reference to St Gregory’s homilies and one to the Crux fidelis hymn. The framework uniting these passages is instruction on how we should feel the passion of Christ in five ways: ‘in intellectu, in affectu, in effectu, in defectu, in despectu’ (Pinder f.iii) with words from the Bible and St Bernard chosen to illustrate each of the five. I have found no counterpart for this in the *Stimulus Amoris*, in Ludolphus or in Reinhard; possibly the structure is Pinder’s own. Short passages from the *Summa Theologiae*, by Thomas Aquinas, appear throughout Part I of the *Speculum Passionis*. I have identified these in the commentary on Part I of Fewterer’s *Myrrour*.

Of the saints and Church fathers whose names appear in the *Speculum Passionis*, St Bernard of Clairveaux is the most quoted. Pinder attributes twenty-three quotations to him, most of which come from his sermons, especially those on the Song of Songs. St Augustine is quoted from nineteen times – most often from his *De Sermone Domini in Monte* – and St Gregory seven. Some of these quotations were attributed erroneously; these occasions are specified in the commentary.

Pinder does not acknowledge any of his borrowings from the *Stimulus Amoris*, the *Articuli Passionis*, the writings of Thomas Aquinas or Bonaventure’s *Vitis Mystica*. Ludolphus of Saxony is mentioned at the beginning of Part II as an important source: ‘pro maiori parte Ludolpho carthusiensi’ (f.xxii), but Pinder does not mention the title of the *Vita Christi*, or acknowledge Ludolphus in Part I. He does acknowledge Vincent of Beauvais, Reinhard of Laudenberg, and Albertus Magnus. For Vincent and Albertus he even gives book and chapter references and invites the reader to further reading.

It is difficult to understand why Pinder acknowledged some sources and not others. Why did he not include Jordanus of Quedlinburg in his list of sources at the beginning of Part II of the *Speculum*? Saak speculates that this may have been because: ‘Erasmus was not overly taken with Jordan’s works, and if Erasmus’ opinion was the common one among northern humanists it could be that given Pinder’s association with humanist circles he might not have wanted to have admitted his source that in so many ways offered him the model for his entire *Speculum*’ (540-1). Surely, though, Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure are sources as respectable as Albertus Magnus or Vincent of
Beauvais. And why is the *Stimulus Amoris*, the major source of Part I, never named by Pinder at all?

Pinder acknowledges Reinhard as the source of the ABC in Part I of the *Speculum* and includes him in the list of authors at the beginning of Part II, but he does not inform his reader that the ten miracles at the beginning of Part III are based on Part III of Reinhard’s *Passio Domini*, and he never mentions that the entire structure of the *Speculum Passionis* is based on Reinhard’s book. Pinder summarises the structure at the beginning of Part I:

Hoc speculum passionis domini diuditur in tres partes
scilicet in Prohemium. In executionem. Et in
conclusionem. Prohemium erit dominice passionis
meditatio fructuosa. Executio erit dominice passionis
declaratio sentenciosa. Conclusio erit dominice passionis
contestatio miraculosa. (f.i)

This is copied almost verbatim from Reinhard:

Et diuiditur in tria. scilicet. In prohemium. Executionem.
et conclusionem. Prohemium erit dominice passionis
meditatio fructuosa. Executio erit dominice passionis
declaratio sentenciosa. Conclusio erit dominice passionis
contestatio miraculosa. (sig. A³)

Because of the large amount of copied material already identified, and because of Pinder’s carelessness about acknowledging his sources, I see no reason to assume that the unidentified material in the *Speculum Passionis* is Pinder’s original writing. Some passages may have been written by him, but further source hunting by other researchers will undoubtedly reveal sources I have missed.

2. A humanist book?

Both Santing and Saak call Pinder a humanist. Pinder is known to have associated with the famous humanists of his time, and his only surviving letter describes a plan to establish a humanistic school in Nuremberg (Münch 2). John Hussey, who commissioned the translation of the *Speculum Passionis*, and Fewterer, who executed it, belonged to an intellectual circle which included celebrated English humanists such as
John Colet, John Fisher, and Thomas More. With its compiler, translator and first English reader all bearing the humanist label, the question must be asked, should the Speculum Passionis be considered as a humanist book?

The terms ‘humanism’ and ‘humanist’ have been used so often with differing meanings that scholars usually feel the need to define the term ‘humanism’ before embarking on any discussion of the subject. ‘The difficulty of defining humanism has never been entirely overcome, while the philosophical connotations of the term have led to confused and often anachronistic speculations as to its nature’ (Dowling 1). In his introduction to his seminal work on English humanism, Roberto Weiss gives the following definition:

Humanism will be understood to embrace the whole range of classical studies and activities conceived by the Italians from the days of Petrarch, and by ‘humanist’ the scholar who studied the writings of the ancient authors without fear of supernatural anticiceronian warnings, searched for manuscripts of lost or rare classical texts, collected the works of classical writers, and attempted to learn Greek and write like the ancient authors of Rome.

(Weiss 1)

Interest in classical texts is the factor most consistently emphasised by scholars when defining humanism. Joanna Martindale, after providing a useful overview of the origins and meanings of the word ‘humanism’ (17-19), concludes that in the context of Renaissance Europe humanism was ‘a fresh attempt to rediscover and utilise the classical heritage’ (19). John d’Amico calls it ‘a literary pedagogical movement based on the recovery of ancient culture’ (349). These definitions are samples of a fairly general consensus among modern scholars to understand ‘humanism’ in the sense of studia humanitatis, a term which classical scholars were using as early as the fourteenth century to describe their studies (Martindale 18).

Humanism has often been viewed as being in direct opposition to, or in conflict with, scholasticism. Weiss suggests that ‘the chief attraction of humanism was that it offered several advantages over scholasticism’ (2). Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine refer to the victory of humanism in ‘its battle against scholasticism’ (xiii), though
Charles Nauert argues that although humanists were often scathing about scholastics the two movements were never in direct conflict, as scholasticism was concerned primarily with philosophy and logic, humanism with literature and literary style (9). The change in the style of written Latin is one of the most easily defined and noticeable effects of the humanist movement. This ‘humanist Latin’ or ‘Ciceronian Latin’ aimed to reproduce the classical Latin style of Cicero. It is often contrasted with, and regarded as superior to, the style of the medieval scholastics.

If we take the defining characteristics of humanism to be an interest in classical literature and a return to a classical Latin style of writing, with a hostility to scholasticism, then there is little or nothing in the *Speculum Passionis* to identify it as a humanist work. The authors represented in this devotional compilation are medieval, not classical, mostly dating from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and two of them are the famous scholastic teacher Albertus Magnus and his pupil Thomas Aquinas. Pinder’s own style of writing cannot be determined by studying his *Speculum Passionis*, since most if not all of it is copied verbatim from other books. I see no examples of ‘Ciceronian Latin’ in the *Speculum*.

There have, however, been other, broader definitions of what constitutes humanist literature. Dowling, for example, defines humanism as ‘the reappraisal of religious and secular thinking through examination of the literary bases of theology and philosophy: that is, the Christian scriptural and patristic writings and the “acceptable” pagan classics’ (1). Leaving out the pagan classics, one could try to argue for the presence in the *Speculum Passionis* of this kind of humanism in the many quotations from Scripture and from patristic authors such as Augustine and Gregory. But reliance on Scripture and on patristic authors was present in medieval scholastic as well as humanist writings. Also, Pinder is not ‘reappraising’ religious thinking in his *Speculum*. The interpretations and explanations of the Bible are absolutely standard, the kind of thing one may find in dozens of mid to late medieval devotional texts.

Why, then, was Pinder’s book introduced to England by Hussey and Fewterer, both members of a group of humanist intellectuals? Could it be that, while it does not fit into the standard definitions of humanism, the book might have been viewed as
humanist in a specifically English context? Mary Crane describes English humanism as seeking to ‘replace the existing scholastic and professional training with a curriculum based on the rhetorical study of classical authors,’ but adds that ‘in England ... this project was largely based on the collection, assimilation, and redeployment of textual fragments, and I consider as a “humanist” any person who advocates or uses this method of composition and teaching’ (Framing Authority 6). Pinder undoubtedly collected and assimilated textual fragments, but I would not say that he ‘redeployed’ them. His borrowings from the *Stimulus Amoris*, for example, he uses in the same way they had been used for more than two centuries: to stimulate compassion and devotion to the humanity of Christ. In any case, these were fragments of medieval, not classical texts. The *Speculum Passionis* does not fit into Crane’s picture of humanism, though the similarity of Pinder’s method of composition to that of the English humanists may have been part of his book’s appeal to his English audience.

English humanism, in the early part of the sixteenth century, was inextricably associated with Erasmus, one of the best-known and most influential of Renaissance humanists. Saak has noted that Erasmian thought was likely to be a powerful influence on northern humanists at this time (see above, xlv). His humanist principles included a distrust of scholastic writing, with its involved philosophical discussions, preferring to fix his attention on the person and life of Christ (McConica 15). He advocated a return *ad fontes*, to the gospels and epistles and the ancient Church fathers. In his writing, there is constant emphasis on ‘man’s rational (or spiritual) nature ... and his diverse appetites and affections,’ and on Christ as ‘the ever-present example and object of thought and deed’ (McConica 21).

Pinder’s *Speculum* does follow this Erasmian principle of concentrating on gospels, epistles, and the writings of the Church Fathers. Pinder quotes extensively from St Paul, and also from Augustine, Gregory, and Origen. He often chooses passages of text which emphasise, as Erasmus did, the contrast between man’s spiritual nature and his worldly appetites. However, it would be going too far to say that the presence in the *Speculum Passionis* of some Erasmian-style thinking makes it a humanist book.
The phrase ‘Christian humanism’ is often used to describe a movement which sought to use humanist scholarship as a tool for achieving greater understanding of Scripture. Erasmus and his insistence on *ad fontes* was part of this, as was a preference for the Greek, not the Vulgate, New Testament. By studying the Greek, one could identify and correct errors in the Vulgate. Pinder displays none of this type of thinking in his *Speculum Passionis*. He quotes the Vulgate often and confidently (and Fewterer, in his translation, does the same).

Pinder’s use of a real person, Marie d’Oignies, as an example of the virtues he is extolling, could be called a humanist element, contrasting with the more abstract, logic-based style of argument favoured by scholastics such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, both quoted from in the *Speculum*. But these traces of humanist-style thinking would hardly have been enough to interest a sixteenth-century audience in a compilation of devotional literature dating mostly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pinder’s humanist connections notwithstanding, the *Speculum Passionis* is very much a late medieval work. As we will see in Part IV of this introduction, the book appealed less to the humanist interests than to the religious conservatism of its English audience.
Part III: Fewterer’s Text

1. Content and structure

The structure and content of Fewterer’s *Myrrou* are much the same as Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis*. Fewterer has added a preface addressed to Lord Hussey at the beginning, and a detailed table of contents after the prologue. The preface is formal and formulaic. Fewterer disclaims any talent of his own or great merit in his translation, and describes his reasons for undertaking the work. He writes fervently about the benefits of Passion meditation, echoing sentiments expressed by Thomas à Kempis (see commentary 1/13, 2/15 and 3/20). In the table of contents Fewterer not only numbers the *particulae* as Pinder does, but also numbers the subsidiary chapters, as Pinder does not. Fewterer also provides folio numbers to direct his readers to each chapter. The many woodcuts illustrating Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis* are not reproduced in the *Myrrou*, which contains only three illustrations besides the title page.

Fewterer’s translation omits most of Part III of the *Speculum Passionis* (see above, xxxix). Alexandra da Costa has suggested two possible reasons for this. One is that Hussey requested Fewterer to translate the book only up to a certain point. This is unlikely in view of the fact that no other major changes were made to the text, and there is no obvious logical explanation for this one large alteration. The second and more likely possibility is that the omitted material was missing from Hussey’s copy of the *Speculum Passionis*. Da Costa notes that in both editions, the missing section begins a new gathering (‘Ryght Profytable Men’ 232).

2. From *Speculum* to *Myrrou*: Fewterer’s translation

In discussing Fewterer’s work as a translator it is important to remember that translation in the early sixteenth century could not be simply defined as the task of rendering a work word by word into another language.

Scribe and author: these are the two ends of a spectrum of practice outlined by St Bonaventura in 1250-2 – the middle terms are compiler and commentator – onto which translators’ practices can be usefully mapped. (R. Ellis, ‘The Middle Ages’ 40)
According to St. Bonaventure, a scribe (scriptor) 'writes the materials of others, adding or changing nothing,' while a compiler (compilator) ‘writes the materials of others, adding, but nothing of his own.’ A commentator (commentator) ‘writes both the materials of other men, and of his own, but the materials of others as the principal materials, and his own annexed for the purpose of clarifying them,’ and an author (auctor) ‘writes both his own materials and those of others, but his own as the principal materials, and the materials of others annexed for the purpose of confirming his own’ (Minnis, *Medieval Theory* 94). Ulrich Pinder was, by this definition, either a compiler or a commentator; it is impossible to judge how much, if any, of the unidentified material in the *Speculum* is his own. Fewterer, though generally rendering Pinder’s Latin into English with painstaking exactness, does add his own words of explanation and interpretation; he is, then, a commentator according to the Bonaventuran definition.

In any translation there can be tension between the principle of fidelity to the words of the text, and the need for clarity and style in the target language. Rita Copeland addresses this issue in ‘Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation,’ tracing the interpretation of the phrase ‘non verbum pro verbo’ from its origins in Roman rhetoric through changes at the hands of patristic and later writers. She notes Cicero’s emphasis on technique and style, preferring to render the sense stylishly in the target language rather than attempting a word-for-word translation (46) and then observes that Jerome advocated ‘a converse policy in the translation of Scripture, where the priority of meaning necessitates absolute adherence to the word of the text’ (‘Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation’ 46 n.17).25

In Middle English translation in particular, there can be a visible struggle on the part of the translator to render the text accurately while simultaneously explaining, expanding, and interpreting it for the intended audience. Ian Johnson discusses this subject with particular reference to Middle English lives of Christ. He argues that:

... the literary strategies adopted by the translators of the Middle English Lives of Christ had one over-riding purpose: to communicate

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25 For further discussion of this subject, see Copeland’s other writings: ‘The Fortunes of Non Verbum Pro Verbo,’ and *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages.*
without corruptio the sententia of the gospels. It was a positive duty, not just a literary task. (71)

Johnson describes the translators of these lives as playing the three major literary roles of commentator, compiler, and preacher. He argues that ‘in the later medieval period translation was seen as being akin to commentary’ (71). The translator’s job was not merely to render the words from one language into another, but to elucidate the sententia: not only the surface meaning of the text, but also its deeper significance. As we will see, Fewterer, in his translation of the Speculum Passionis, constantly supplies commentary on, and explanation of, Pinder’s text.

‘Translators,’ says Johnson, ‘were also compilers’ (72). He notes that lives of Christ were usually gospel harmonies, drawing on all four of the gospels; four sources that were different, but equally authoritative (73). They could also draw on the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament said to prefigure the gospels, and could quote from a vast store of Biblical exegesis, to expand and enrich their material. The compilation of the Myrrour’s content was done by Ulrich Pinder, but Fewterer occasionally added additional material (see below, lvii and lviii for some examples) where he thought it supported or expanded Pinder’s meaning.

The third literary role Johnson attributes to the Middle English translators of lives of Christ is that of preacher. He notes that ‘preaching and translating were linked in the Middle Ages, most notably by John Trevisa’ (73). Trevisa, writing in the late fourteenth century, was expressing the controversial Lollard view that the Bible and the scriptures should be translated into English.26 In the sixteenth century, Reformation controversy once again linked translation to preaching, as texts supporting the views both of religious reformers and their conservative opponents were translated into English in order to reach the widest possible audience. Syon, as Vincent Gillespie has observed, was ‘a leading centre’ in the production of English translations of ‘older texts with an impeccably orthodox pedigree or an unimpeachable authorial reputation’ (‘Religious Writing’ 273).

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26 ‘Also the gospell and prophecye and the ryght fayth of holy chyrche muste be taught and preched to Englysshe men that can noo latyn. Thenne the gospell and prophecye and the ryght fayth  of holy chyrche muste be tolde them in Englysshe/ and that is not done but by Englysshe translacyon, for suche Englysshe prechynge is very translacyon, and suche Englysshe prechynge is good and nedefull; thenne Englysshe translacyon is good and nedefull’ (John Trevisa, ‘Dyalogue’ STC 13440, f.2r)
The role of the translator as commentator was also important in the sixteenth century, when there was a growing demand for Continental books. Warren Boutcher describes translation in the early part of the Renaissance as ‘a cheap and reader-friendly way of importing a book and hiring an expert commentator to explain its meaning and relevance’ (‘The Renaissance’ 50). This exactly describes Fewterer’s role in translating Pinder’s *Speculum*. Though Fewterer’s translation is generally very close to Pinder’s Latin, he assists his reader’s understanding by frequent additions of a few words, or occasionally a paragraph, of commentary. These fall into four categories: clarification, interpretation, expansion and correction.

Fewterer’s determination to clarify Pinder’s meaning for the reader appears first in his long, detailed table of contents. Pinder has only a few lines summarising the structure of the *Speculum* (see above, xlvi). Fewterer makes no alterations to Pinder’s divisions and chapter headings, but he assists his reader by numbering the chapters and indicating the folio number where each chapter begins.

In his margin notes, also, Fewterer clarifies Pinder’s meaning when directing the reader to the Biblical and other sources of the many quotations in the text. Where he uses a Biblical quotation, Pinder usually includes the book and chapter in the body of the text, eg: *Philip. ii.* Fewterer expands the reference to include book, chapter, and a letter indicating where in the chapter the quotation occurs: e.g: *Philip. 2. A* (in this edition emended to modern chapter and verse citations, see below, lxxxii). On the many occasions where Pinder neglects to mention a reference for a Biblical quotation, Fewterer seldom fails to supply one.

Fewterer’s margin notes are also valuable in directing the reader to the sources of the many passages from the writings of Bernard, Augustine, Gregory, and others. Pinder almost never gives any reference other than the author’s name, but Fewterer often adds the book or sermon where the passage may be found. Unlike the Biblical quotations, Fewterer has not supplied references for all of the borrowings from the Church fathers. Possibly he was able to identify only those passages that were already familiar to him, for to search for them through the plethora of works attributed to Bernard, Augustine and Gregory would have taken an unimaginable amount of time. If this is so, the
number of references he was able to supply show him to be a well-read man with an excellent memory. Fewterer’s margin notes also direct the reader to sources entirely unacknowledged by Pinder. The *Stimulus Amoris*, for instance, though extensively quoted from, is never mentioned in the *Speculum Passionis*, though acknowledged by Fewterer in three margin notes (see below, 13, 65, and 66).

In his translation of the passages from the *Speculum Historiale*, Fewterer makes few changes to the original except for occasional clarifications. For example, where the Latin says ‘hereticos provinciales,’ he specifies ‘the heretikes called Albigenses’ (130/21). The phrase ‘hereticos provinciales’ is taken verbatim from the *Speculum Historiale*, where Marie’s life immediately follows the chapter ‘De Bello Nostrorum Contra Albigenses.’ In this context it is perfectly clear which heretics are being referred to; in the context of the *Myrrour* Fewterer evidently felt it would not be obvious to his English audience.

Other attempted clarifications in the Marie chapters are less successful, in that they alter the meaning, colouring it with Fewterer’s own misguided assumptions. In *particula* five, chapter thirteen, one of Marie’s ‘spiritual friends’ feels ‘a little pleasure sensuall’ when taking her hand (114/22). God, wishing to protect the man’s chastity but not wanting to embarrass him in front of the holy woman, causes Marie to hear a voice saying ‘Noli me tangere.’ She, not sharing the man’s feelings or even aware of them, is puzzled. She tells the man what she heard, adding ‘but I do not know what it means’ (King 118). In Fewterer’s translation he specifies that the voice speaks ‘in Latyn’ (114/24), implying that Marie’s lack of Latin is the reason for her bewilderment, but here he misses the point. The Latin text of Vitry, reproduced by Vincent and Pinder, makes no mention of any linguistic difficulty, and Margot King translates ‘Noli me tangere’ into English along with the rest of the text (118). It is not the words that Marie fails to understand, it is their import. Because she is totally unaware of the man’s feelings, she cannot imagine why a voice from heaven should be saying: ‘Do not touch me’. The Latin text credits her with innocence, Fewterer’s translation merely with ignorance.

In *particula* five, chapter seventeen, Marie expresses a longing to go on crusade against the Cathars. Her friends are amused by the idea and ask her teasingly what she supposes she could do there. Marie replies seriously ‘There I would honour my Lord by
witnessing his name where so many impious men have blasphemously denied him’ (King 126). Fewterer’s version, ‘Though I can nat fight, yet at leest I wolde there honour & glorifie my lorde God, & there confesse his name, whereas those wicked heretikes hath blasphemyd hym and denied hym’ (131/8), is much weaker. The addition of ‘Though I can nat fight, yet at leest’ is presumably intended to emphasise that she has no pretensions to enter a man’s sphere by joining the battle, but it introduces a self-deprecating tone that is not present in the Latin text. Marie’s original reply presents honouring the Lord as a worthy thing in itself, and puts her sniggering friends firmly in their place. In Fewterer’s version she seems meekly to acknowledge her contribution as less than that of the crusaders, and the force of her reply is lost.

Fewterer often adds his own brief interpretations of his source text, especially when translating verses from the Bible. There are examples in the Myrrour of each of the four ways of interpreting Scripture elucidated by Thomas Aquinas and popular among medieval scholastics: the sensus historicus or literalis, explaining the literal meaning of the words; the sensus tropologicus, the moral or instructive meaning; the sensus allegoricus, where a meaning other that the literal is offered; and the sensus anagogicus, which encourages the reader to ‘the contemplation of heavenly things’ (Caplan 283).27

Many of the Biblical quotations in the Speculum Passionis are interpreted according to the sensus allegoricus; and where Pinder has supplied no interpretation, Fewterer often adds one. Deuteronomy 6.13, ‘qui eduxit te de terra Egipti,’ is rendered as: ‘whiche hath delyuered the from the thraldome that thou had in the land of Egipte.’ Fewterer adds the word ‘thraldome’ to the quotation and explains: ‘that is from the thraldome of the deule’ (26/13). Similarly in John 6.12 he identifies ‘fragmenta’ as ‘the particular paynes of his [Christ’s] passion’ (27/14). Translating Hosea 9.11, ‘Effraim quasi auis avolavit. Effraym hath flowen away or taken her flight as a wylde hawke,’ Fewterer has a great deal to add:

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27 For more on the fourfold interpretation of Scripture, see Caplan’s article, which contains a useful summary, with examples to illustrate the four methods. See also McGrath, Christian Theology 131-133, Minnis, Medieval Theory 34, and Dante’s Letter to Cangrande, in Michael Caesar’s Dante: The Critical Heritage.
Effraym is, as moche to say by interpretation, as *augmenta*: encreasinges, and it may wel signifie: suche people as here haue their pleasure in worldly honours and pastymes, and encrease in them; suche people, lyke unto vngentell or wylde hawkes, flye from the hand and fauour or loue of God, vnto the caryon of the bodye or of the worlde, and fede therof. (43/29-44/4)

Fewterer employs similar methods to aid the reader in interpreting St Bernard’s words as well as Bible verses. ‘Thither thou reducest or bryngest agayne the wanderynge shepe that dyd erre from the flocke,’ says St Bernard, to which Fewterer adds the allegorical interpretation: ‘that is mankynde, the whiche by his synne was put out of Paradyse’ (17/17).

Other quotations are interpreted by Fewterer according to the *sensus tropologicus*, offering moral instruction to his readers. Examples of this are his translations of Proverbs 24.27: ‘Prepara foris, opus tuum. That is to say: Suche deuotion as thou hast inwardly conceived by affection and loue, let it be shewed outwardsly in thy dedes’ (31/2), and Luke 9.23: ‘Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem quotidie. If any man will be my disciple and cum after me, let hym denye hymselfe, that is forsake his owne wyl and pleasure and take his owne crosse, that is, put his owne body to payne and that daily. For we must continue in penaunce, and so folowe Christe in our lyuyng, outwardly and nat onely inwardly’ (31/14-20).

Fewterer very often adds a brief explanation of the *sensus historicalis* of Biblical quotations, as in John 6.12, where he elaborates ‘pereant’ to: ‘lesse they perisshe from your herts by forgetfulnes’ (27/16), or John 17.5, where ‘pater clarifica filium tuum’ becomes ‘Father clarify thy son, or make knowne the noblenes of thy son’ (74/5). Fewterer’s explanations are never striking or original; they are standard readings of the verses, such as may be found in the *Glossa Ordinaria* or indeed in many medieval devotional works.

Examples of anagogical interpretations (those which encourage contemplation of heavenly things) are less frequent. The entire book is designed to encourage contemplation of Christ’s Passion, so perhaps Fewterer felt little need to repeat that message when interpreting Scripture, preferring to concentrate on the literal and allegorical senses. Still, there are occasional examples, as when translating
Lamentations 4.20, ‘In vmbra tua viuemus,’ Fewterer explains: ‘We shall lyue in his shadow; that is, we shal haue the lyfe of grace thrugh the deuout & feruent remembraunce of that his dethe and passion’ (62/2-4).

Occasionally Fewterer expands the text by adding extra material in support of Pinder’s argument. In the first *particula*, he translates this passage from the *Stimulus Amoris*:

For he wyll neyther fede nor norysshe it [the soul], nor yet laboure to quiete or reste it in the loue of God, though he myght so do with moche more ease, swetnes and also pleasure, without comparison, than to content and saciat the body. (14/1)

Then he continues on this theme in his own words, using a quotation from Revelation:

For God is prest and redy to euery man; ye, he offereth hymselfe to man, yf man wyl receyue hym. Ecce sto ad ostium et pulso. Beholde (he sayth) I stande at thy dore (that is thy herte or soule) and knocke; yf any person wyl here [f.i'] my voyce and open the dore of his soule vnto me, I shall entre therin and suppe with hym and he with me. (14/6-11).

A margin note directs the reader to the chapter of Revelation the quotation comes from, and Fewterer has interpreted for his reader the symbolism of the door as the heart or soul.

Similar additions by Fewterer of comments and Biblical quotations to expand on Pinder’s words occur at 41/13, 71/8 and 124/19 (see commentary). Later, Pinder makes a glancing reference to Solomon and Sheba, from 3 Kings, chapter 10: ‘quomodo regina saba audiens sapientiam salomonis venit a finibus terre audire sapientiam eius etce’ (f.xv'). In place of Pinder’s *etce*, Fewterer adds more of the story from the same chapter of the Bible:

...& she cam to hym with a great cumpany. And kynge Salomon taughte hyr in all thynges that she requyred of hym. And so she, seynge and considerynge the wysdom, his house that he had builded, his ministers and seruauntes, & the order of them, theyr rayment, his buttelers, and the hostes or oblacions that he dayly offred, she (I say) consideryng all these, hyr spirite in a maner failed hyr, for great maruell and wonder therof. (132/20-26)
In the ABC, the first chapter of the fifth *particula*, Fewterer expands Pinder’s text by continuing a story which Pinder has begun. Here Pinder is borrowing from (and acknowledging) Reinhard of Laudenberg’s prologue from his *Passio Domini*. In the second section (the letter B) is a story of the Emperor Constantine going into battle:

... Constantino qui crucis signum faciebat preferri suo exercitui vt militibus pugnantibus passio domini robur daret: et ibidem legitur quod cum quidam ex timore tale vexillum crucis a se daret ipse statim vulneratus fuit & solus de exercitu corruit.

(Pinder f.v+)

Fewterer translates this as:

...the noble emperour Constantine, whiche caused the signe of the crosse to be borne before his hoste or army, to the intent that the passion of Christe shulde gyue strengthe vnto his knyghtes and sawdiours that faught vnder that baner of the crosse, and so it dyd. For as we rede in Historia Tripartita, whan theyr enemys came agaynst them, he that bare the baner of the crosse was sore afrayd, and for that feare he wold nat beare that banar, but toke it vnto another man, and so fled from ye felde, but or that he could conuey hymselfe away, he was wounded and slayne ...

(52/6-14)

Pinder has no more to say about this battle, but Fewterer continues the story with:

... whereas the other person that bare the baner of ye crosse, thorowe the vertue of the passion of Christe was saued from all hurt, though ofte tymes he were in great daunger of his enemyes, and many darters shotte at hym, whiche all dyd lyght in the baner and cleued fast therin. (52/14-19)

Fewterer’s reference to the *Historia Tripartita*, which is not mentioned by Pinder, shows that Fewterer has followed up Pinder’s reference and consulted Reinhard’s book himself. Reinhard prefaced the Constantine story with: ‘legitur in historia tripartita li. i ca. v.’ Reinhard, however, is not the source for Fewterer’s addition; he, like Pinder, ends the story with ‘de exercitu corruit.’ The ending to the story comes from the *Historia Tripartita*, book 1, chapter 5, as Reinhard has indicated:

Ille vero qui sacrum suscepit tropheum multis se iaculantibus permansit illesus. Mirabiliter enim diuina regente virtute sagitte hostium ligeabantur in signo.
Fewterer has followed up not only Pinder’s reference to Reinhard, but also Reinhard’s to the *Historia*, using material from there to flesh out the story. He makes the material fit the theme of Passion meditation by translating ‘diuina regente virtute’ rather freely as ‘thorowe the vertue of the passion of Christe.’

Further on in the ABC, Fewterer expands Pinder’s description of a tree turning into stone when placed ‘sub aqua’ (Pinder f.vi), by borrowing from Ranulf Higden’s *Polychronicon* a description of a petrifying well (Higden 1. 326-7; also see commentary 65/2). For some reason he changes the location of the well from Norway to England (65/3). This is almost certainly deliberate: he supplies a reference in the margin to the chapter in the *Polychronicon* that mentions the well, so is probably not working from memory alone, and the *Polychronicon* is too clear about the location of the well for Fewterer to be easily mistaken. Perhaps he felt that local colour would make the image more interesting to his readers.

In his careful following up of Pinder’s references, Fewterer has identified and corrected several errors. In the first *particula*, Pinder incorrectly attributes to Thomas Aquinas the passage about wounds bleeding in the presence of a murderer (f.ii). Fewterer refers to this in a margin note merely as ‘a naturall example’ and changes Pinder’s ‘Scribitur enim in libro de mixtionibus elementorum’ to ‘It is comenly sayd’ (see commentary 15/12).

Comparisons of Reinhard of Laudenberg’s original ABC with Pinder’s version of it in the fifth *particula* of the *Speculum*, and Fewterer’s translation in the *Myrrour*, show that Pinder was copying faithfully from Reinhard, while Fewterer was checking and correcting as he translated. Reinhard’s work includes several incorrect Biblical citations, which Pinder reproduces in the *Speculum*; in the *Myrrour*, Fewterer supplies the correct references (see commentary 54/12, 54/24 and 58/4). He is, of course, not infallible: at least once he replaces a correct citation with an incorrect one (see commentary 60/15).

Fewterer brought more scholarship than style to his task of translation. The *Myrrour* is written in plain, wordy and somewhat ponderous English, in which he seems to aim more at conveying, with painstaking accuracy, the sense of Pinder’s Latin, than

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28 Though most of *particula* one is copied verbatim from the *Stimulus Amoris*, the passage containing the reference to Aquinas’ *De Mixtione Elementorum* is probably Pinder’s addition. See commentary 15/12.
at achieving any particular style of his own. He does, however, display confidence in writing the vernacular, at a time when scholars were debating the suitability of English as a language for learned men to write.

English was regarded by many as crude and inferior not only to classical Greek and Latin but to other modern languages (R. Jones 10). At the same time, the demand for English texts was steadily increasing, especially in the area of devotional literature. Charles Barber observes that ‘the controversies [of the Reformation] were usually carried on in English, since the disputants wanted a wide national audience ... the Protestant insistence on biblical translation, and the existence and wide-spread use of an English Bible, raised the prestige of the vernacular’ (71). In spite of this growing demand for English books, through most of the sixteenth century many authors felt a need to justify their decision to write in the vernacular. Richard Foster Jones cites many examples of prologues and epilogues in which authors make some sort of apology for using English, from Caxton in 1491 to Henry Savile in 1591 (R. Jones, chapter 1).

The Syon Abbey authors, however, seem to have been confident of the value of literature in English. They were eager to reach a wide lay audience with their books, and felt no need to apologise for writing in English. Richard Whitford, in his epilogue to his translation of the *Golden Epistle*, explains that he had been asked to improve ‘an olde translacyon rough and rude’ (*STC* 1912) but it is the old translation, not the English language itself, that he criticises, and he offers no apology or justification for his willingness to ‘write new the whole’ in better English. Fewterer himself never questions the value of an English version of Pinder’s *Speculum*, apologising in the preface only for his own ‘symple wit and [poor] learning,’ and suggesting that if his translation is poor, at least he has ‘gyuen occasion to odre to amend and performe that I rudely and barbaraously set forward’ (1/10-11).

Another point under debate in the early sixteenth century was whether or not English prose should attempt to imitate the Ciceronian Latin style favoured by many humanists. Ian Gordon describes early sixteenth century English prose as a spectrum, with Thomas More’s ‘Anglo-Saxon simplicity’ at one end, and at the other the ‘strange Latinisms’ of Edward Hall and Sir Thomas Elyot, who described the English language
as ‘rude’ and barbarous’ (Gordon 74-75). Fewterer’s writing falls somewhere in the middle of this spectrum. It certainly bears no comparison with the spare, concise prose of Thomas More, but neither does it struggle to imitate Ciceronian Latin. Fewterer makes no attempt to force Latin syntax onto his English sentences, though he frequently borrows words from his Latin source.

‘One of the chief linguistic concerns in the Early Modern English period was vocabulary building’ (Nevalainen 45). The sixteenth century saw the introduction into English of a large number of words, many of them loan-words, with a high proportion of loans from Latin. However, the use of many of these words proved to be short-lived (Barber 166-7). Perhaps because he thought English vocabulary inadequate, or perhaps because of a conscientious wish to keep as close as possible to Pinder’s text, Fewterer often uses words derived from his Latin source, many of which are now listed as obsolete or rare in the OED. Take for example, ‘auidiously’ (108/12), his translation of auidius. The OED notes that adjectives ending in -ious are sometimes formed in English by adding -ous to the stem of Latin adjectives ending in -i-us, e.g. the Latin vari-us becomes ‘various’ in English. This seems to be the basis for Fewterer’s use of ‘aavidiously.’ The word seems never to have been commonly used in English. The OED lists only two examples of ‘avidious’ and two of ‘avidously,’ while the MED has one example of ‘avidiously’ and none of ‘avidious.’

Similarly, the word ‘reclamatorie,’ a translation of reclamatorium used by Fewterer synonymously with ‘lewer,’ is not in the OED, though it appears in the MED with a single example from the fifteenth century. Translating fructificare, Fewterer uses ‘fructify’ as a transitive verb, with the fruit as object, to mean ‘bring forth, bear.’ This sense matches a definition of the Latin fructificare: ‘to produce (as fruit) also fig’ (Latham 1: 1015), but is not a common use of the word in English. The OED gives only intransitive meanings for ‘fructify,’ though the MED has one example with a similar transitive meaning for ‘fructifici.’ The word ‘ampliate’ (39/10) is Fewterer’s translation of amplius; a slightly odd choice, as ‘ampliate’ is a past participle adjective usually derived from the Latin ampliatus.
Though he sprinkles his English with these Latinisms, Fewterer does not despise more colloquial English words or phrases. Doublings abound in his writing, and often consist of a word derived from its Latin counterpart in Pinder’s text, coupled with some more commonly used English equivalent: eg: obumbrata: ‘obumbrate & shadowed’ (137/24), assimilari: ‘assimulate or made lyke vnto’ (108/9), contumelias: ‘contumeliouse or rebukyng’ (64/16). Nor does he despise simple Anglo-Saxon terms. Other doublings consist of a word of Latin or French origin alongside an Anglo-Saxon derived synonym: ‘thyrle and perse’ (18/7), ‘yocke and captiuitie’ (108/27) and ‘embrace and halse’ (17/7). Occasionally a doubling consists of a pair of words of Old English origin: ‘vgsommmes or loathsommes’ (98/7-8), ‘byrle and gyue’ (135/20). Much of the wordiness that characterises Fewterer’s style is due to his providing, as many Middle English translators did, a gloss rather than a single translation of each Latin word.

Apparently anxious to spell out every nuance of meaning, Fewterer very often gives two or more English alternatives for one Latin word. Thus immerge is rendered as ‘wasshe or drowne’ (24/2), adding the nuance of spiritual cleansing to the idea of immersion. Affectu is given as ‘wyl, desire, loue and affeccion’ (28/24), using four English words to convey the rather complex meaning of the Latin one. He adds words to expand the meaning of such simple phrases as sibi unire, which he translates as ‘joyne to his godheed in one persone’ (13/11), and pro nobis, which becomes ‘for our saluacion and sanctification’ (15/21). Sometimes he adds to the Latin to elucidate the true meaning as he sees it: occidimus, for example, becomes ‘we have slayne or were the occasyon of his death’ (15/16). While acknowledging that occidimus means ‘we have slain,’ Fewterer labours the point that while we were the reason or ‘occasion’ of Christ’s death, we did not literally kill him.

Fewterer’s meticulous references, corrections and glossing of key words show his approach to translation to be scholarly and painstaking. For a late-medieval translator, he did not interfere very much with his source. His additions to the text, though frequent, are short, and almost always designed to clarify, or at the most enlarge upon, the sententia of Pinder’s Latin, not to express new ideas of Fewterer’s own. Compared,
for example, to Richard Whitford, who freely added extra material of his own to his translations.²⁹ Fewterer’s translation is a close one, and reveals comparatively little of his own thoughts and opinions. Unlike Whitford, who was an enthusiastic, prolific and original writer, Fewterer produced his solitary published work upon request, and as a religious duty. No wonder, then, that the impression one receives is of a writer who was conscientious rather than inspired.

²⁹ For example, Whitford added to his translation of the *Golden Epistle* a set of instructions for intercessory prayer, based on the order of the six grammatical cases. These instructions must have been considered useful by someone, as they were copied into the private devotional handbook of Dame Anne Bulkeley, BL MS Harley 494 (Wyvill, *Devotional Texts from Anne Bulkeley’s Book* xli-xliv). For more about Harley 494, see Alexandra Barratt, *Anne Bulkeley and her Book.*
Part III: Social and political contexts

1. John Fewterer and his world

John Fewterer began his ecclesiastical career at a time when England was still firmly and enthusiastically Catholic. A. G. Dickens’ *The English Reformation* summed up a view that had long dominated Reformation histories: that medieval Catholicism was, before the Reformation, in a state of decay and rapidly losing popular support, and that change was eagerly welcomed by the English people. This view has been largely overturned by revisionist historians such as Christopher Haigh (*English Reformations*), J. J. Scarisbrick (*The Reformation and the English People*) and Eamon Duffy (*Stripping of the Altars*). These revisionists argue that traditional religion in England was in fact healthy, popular, and continuing to develop, when its direction was abruptly and forcibly altered by the events of the Reformation. ‘On the eve of its dissolution,’ writes Duffy, ‘the old catechetical formula was showing its ability to adapt effectively to changing circumstances’ (*Stripping of the Altars* 87).

The revisionists have not gone unchallenged. Duffy, for example, has been criticised for painting an idealised picture of traditional religion, and for minimising or even ignoring the influence of Lollardy upon medieval spirituality. Dickson has defended his own position with some vigour, saying that Scarisbrick and Haigh argue their point ‘without setting forth much local evidence’ (*Late Monasticism* 101). Michael Zell’s review of Scarisbrick’s work is scathing, saying that Scarisbrick selected evidence that supported his arguments while ignoring a larger body of evidence that would have contradicted it, especially when referring to early sixteenth-century wills (492). He advises readers to ‘stick to Dickens’ *The English Reformation*’ (493).

However, for some time most historians have been leaning towards a view of pre-Reformation religion as powerful and popular, though not without its flaws and its

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30 David Aers, in his reflections on *Stripping of the Altars*, argues that the suppression of Lollardy by the Church and the Crown meant that royal interference in religious practice was nothing new. In the preface to the second edition of *Stripping of the Altars*, Duffy replies to these criticisms by arguing that Aers’ view assumes a pre-Reformation world in which traditional Catholicism struggled to hold its own against Lollardy, succeeding only by means of ‘sustained persecution and counter-propaganda’ (xxii). He asserts that Lollardy ‘seems to have been less of an irritant to most diocesan authorities than womanising priests’ (xxiii) and that ‘from about 1430 in most places it was almost certainly in recession, and no new texts were produced to nourish it’ (xxv).
critics. Duffy’s vast array of evidence supporting the vitality of late-medieval Catholicism continues to be convincing. I think few would now dispute that at the time John Fewterer began his studies at Cambridge at the beginning of the sixteenth century, orthodox Catholicism was, if not entirely unchallenged, certainly the dominant voice in English spirituality.

In the *DNB*, J. T. Rhodes gives the following overview of Fewterer’s education and university career:

Fewterer, John (d. 1536), Bridgettine monk and author, was the son of Thomas Fewterer and his wife, Margaret; nothing else is known of his origins or early life. In 1501–2 he supplicated for a grace at Cambridge, graduating BA in 1502–3 and MA on 9 May 1506; he supplicated for graces in 1514–15 but never took the degree of BTh. Elected to a fellowship at Pembroke College in 1505 he held various university and college offices over the next ten years: keeper of the Neel and Wythorn chest in 1507–8, junior college treasurer in 1509, senior college treasurer in 1513 and 1515, and university preacher in 1510–11. He was ordained deacon in February 1507 and priested on 3 April that year. The minimum age for the priesthood was, at that time, 24 (Harvey 119), so Fewterer could not have been born later than 1483.

About 1517 he became a monk at Syon Abbey, which had, as we have seen, a great reputation for learning. The size and scope of the brothers’ library shows the importance attached to scholarship. As well as many classical and patristic authors, and great medieval writers such as St Bernard and St Bonaventure, it contained works by Continental humanist authors such as Erasmus and Mirandola (V. Gillespie, *Syon Abbey*).

The Syon Abbey library also contained many of the principal sources named in the *Myrrour’s* margins. Several, including the writings of Simon de Cassia and Ludolphus of Saxony, were donated by Fewterer himself. His donation of seventy-seven books was the second-largest, exceeded only by the ninety-four donated by Richard

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31 For a bibliography of the literature surrounding the debate, see Newton Key, *Sources and Debates*, 74-77.
Reynolds, the ‘Angel of Syon’ (see below, lxxiii). Fewterer’s books reflect an interest in many of the authors whose works are sources for the *Myrrour*, and also in humanist writers. Vincent Gillespie also lists two other books owned by Fewterer,32 one of which contains Psalm commentaries by German humanist Johannes Reuchlin (*Syon Abbey* 577).

In 1523 Fewterer became confessor-general. As we have seen, it was during the period of his and Agnes Jordan’s leadership that the majority of the Syon books were published. As confessor-general of a large and important monastery, Fewterer was inevitably involved in conflict as the King insisted on his new position as head of the English Church. Fewterer’s politics will be discussed more fully below, in section three; the following is a brief overview of his actions at the time of the Reformation.

At first, Fewterer showed every sign of being against the King’s divorce and his claim to the title of head of the Church. He belonged to a circle which included notable opponents of the divorce such as John Fisher and Thomas More. John Hussey belonged to the same circle, and the *Myrrour*’s dedication to him suggests that Fewterer sympathised with his views. When Prior Houghton, of the neighbouring Charterhouse of Sheen, asked Fewterer’s advice about whether or not to accept the royal supremacy, Fewterer encouraged him to die rather than to do so (Hendriks 131). Houghton was steadfast in his refusal and was executed for it.

Fewterer then either changed his mind, or lacked the courage to follow his own advice. In 1534 he preached twice in support of the royal supremacy and earned approval from Cromwell’s agent Thomas Bedyll, even when other Syon brothers were still resisting. Later, eight brothers from the Charterhouse were sent to him ‘on purpose that he might cure their obstinacy’ (Gairdner 2. 7) and he is quoted as having expressly recanted his earlier advice to Houghton: ‘I am guilty of the death of your reverend Father, of which I was the cause; for I encouraged him to die in the cause for which he suffered, and for which you are brought hither. Now, however, I am of another mind, and I perceive that the cause is not one for which we are bound to suffer death’ (Gairdner 2. 7, citing Chauncy 114).

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Fewterer went on to sign a postscript endorsing a letter written by other conformable Syon brothers to the Charterhouse of Sheen, urging them to accept the royal supremacy (see below, lxxiv). He died soon after, in September 1536, and was buried at Syon (Rhodes, ‘Fewterer, John’ DNB).

2. The Myrrour’s audience

In spite of a reference in the preface to ‘readers and herers’ (1/10), which suggests the Myrrour may have been intended for reading out loud, possibly in a monastic context, it seems fairly clear that the book is directed primarily at a lay audience. Originally compiled by a German physician and translated at the request of an English nobleman, there is nothing about the book to indicate an intended monastic audience. The brethren of Syon, judging by the contents of their library, preferred to do their devotional reading in Latin. Though they produced English devotional books for the nuns, the Myrrour does not fall into this category. The use of a female mystic as an example notwithstanding, the book shows no signs of being directed particularly at a female audience.

As Fewterer states in the Myrrour’s preface, he translated Pinder’s Speculum Passionis at the express request of Sir John Hussey, who presumably supplied the copy of the Speculum used by Fewterer, as Fewterer calls it ‘your boke’ in his preface, and there is no copy listed in the Syon library catalogue. Hussey, as the first reader of the Myrrour, was probably representative of the type of readership it was intended for.

This readership, then, was composed of wealthy, educated laymen with humanist connections and conservative religious views. Rhodes describes the Myrrour as ‘a large and relatively expensive volume’ (‘Prayers of the Passion’ 33); this would make it an unlikely choice for any but the well off. The sheer volume of words, as well as the thick sprinkling of annotations in the margins, would probably have deterred any unerudite reader.

Though little is known of his early life, Hussey’s interest in literature and his association with Fewterer’s humanist circle (see below, lxx-lxxi) show that he was well educated. He was also a religious conservative, opposed to the King’s divorce and his
reforms of the Church. It was this that led to the end of his successful career as a courtier, and to his eventual execution. He had held various administrative positions in the court of Henry VII; at the time of the old king’s death Hussey was comptroller of the household. He continued at first to be successful in the service of Henry VIII. In 1514 he attended the wedding of Mary Tudor to Louis XII of France. In 1521 he was appointed chief butler of England (Hoyle, ‘Hussey, John’ DNB).

In his home county of Lincolnshire Hussey was sheriff from 1493-1494. In the early sixteenth century he was Justice of the Peace, knight of the shire and in 1529 became Baron Hussey, ‘reflecting his local prominence, wealth, and abilities’ (DNB). At this time he was clearly still in favour with the king. In 1530 he was chamberlain of Princess Mary’s household. This meant that he was required to enforce Henry’s decree that she give up the title of princess, and to confiscate her jewels and plate. He appears to have had ‘little relish for this role’ (James 243 n.288). Nevertheless he was still at least outwardly conformable, and was present at the coronation of Anne Boleyn, and the christening of Princess Elizabeth in 1533 (DNB).

By September 1534 he was unhappy enough with the king’s Reformation to discuss his views with the imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, expressing the hope that Emperor Charles might intervene in England. While that conversation seems to have remained secret, it is likely that his views were known to be conservative (DNB). The Myrrour’s publication in December 1534, with its dedication to Hussey, would have further identified him as a religious conservative. As we will see, the Myrrour, while not overtly attacking the Reformation, was subtly critical of it. In 1536 Hussey’s wife spent a short time in prison for persisting in calling Henry’s daughter Mary ‘Princess.’ Soon afterwards Hussey was deeply involved in the Lincolnshire Rebellion, for which he was executed in 1537.33

The importation and translation of books from the Continent was a popular activity among sixteenth-century English humanists, and Pinder’s Speculum Passionis was one of many Continental books to be imported into England and translated into English in the early 1500s. Other examples include devotional works by the famous

33 For more on Hussey’s life and the Lincolnshire Rebellion, see R. W. Hoyle’s article in the DNB; also Mervyn James, Society, Politics and Culture, (Cambridge: University Press, 1986) chapter 6, 188-269.
humanist writers Desiderius Erasmus and Pico della Mirandola, whose works began to appear in English translation in the English press in the 1520s and 1530s. The *Speculum Passionis*, however, was not typical of the books being imported and translated at this time. Devotional works were usually written or compiled by clerics; the *Speculum Passionis* was the work of a layman. The humanist books by Erasmus and Mirandola were new works that appealed to their readers’ interest in current developments in religious and literary scholarship. The *Speculum Passionis* could not be described as current, or even recent. Its introduction to an English audience occurred, in fact, some years after it had ceased to be of interest on the Continent.

The Protestant Reformation is usually considered to have begun with the publication of Martin Luther’s *95 Theses* in 1517, ten years after the first publication of the *Speculum Passionis*. The second edition of the *Speculum Passionis*, published in 1519, coincided with the appearance of the above-mentioned *Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi* by Martin Luther, and, as we have seen, it was Luther’s work and not Pinder’s which appealed to this early Reformation audience and achieved popularity (see above, xxxviii). The *Speculum Passionis* was not printed for a Continental audience again until 1663, but in the different atmosphere prevailing in early sixteenth-century England, there was an audience to value it, less for its limited humanist elements than for its reassuring orthodoxy. As I have already observed, the *Speculum Passionis* was compiled from old and trusted orthodox texts, and orthodox works, especially on the Passion, had a special appeal for English religious conservatives.

James McConica describes Fewterer as ‘an intimate of More, Fisher, and Houghton’ (132), connections that place him in the thick of a group of humanist thinkers of a type McConica calls ‘Erasmian conservatives’, men who combined intellectual and humanist interests with the staunch religious orthodoxy that would place many of them in danger over the following turbulent years. More, Fisher and Houghton

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34 Two examples are Erasmus’ *Enchiridion*, printed in 1533 (*STC* 10479), and Mirandola’s *Rules of a Christian Life*, translated by Thomas Elyot and printed in 1534 (*STC* 6157) and 1539 (*STC* 6158). Some of Mirandola’s works had been translated some years earlier by Thomas More (*STC* 19897.7 and 19898).

were all executed for their refusal to renounce the Pope and accept Henry VIII as head of the Church, and the fate of John Hussey, also a member of this circle, has already been mentioned. These men sought to reconcile their humanism with orthodox religion, in contrast to other humanist scholars who later supported the king’s cause, attracted by the Erasmian nature of some of his reforms (McConica 159).

Syon was connected to Erasmus, one of the most famous Renaissance humanists, through the patronage of the Blount family. William Blount, fourth Lord Mountjoy, is described by McConica as ‘Erasmus’ principal English patron’ (60). He was also a patron of Richard Whitford, Syon brother and prolific author of devotional books. In 1498 Whitford, then a fellow of Queen’s College, Cambridge, accompanied Lord Mountjoy to Paris. There they became friendly with Erasmus, who later accompanied them to England (Rhodes, ‘Whitford, Richard’ DNB). After the dissolution of Syon Abbey, Whitford seems to have joined the household of the fifth Lord Mountjoy, where he continued to write and publish devotional material.

Sir Richard Sutton was, with Bishop Smith, the co-founder of Brasenose College, Oxford, which McConica describes as an early centre for humanist learning (82). Sutton became steward of Syon Abbey in 1513; in 1519 he funded the publication of The Orchard of Syon, and he named Fewterer, along with the Abbess of Syon, as executor of his will (McConica 81). The Brasenose College circle also included Sir John Hussey, who was related by marriage to the Mountjoy family. This circle of devout, educated laymen had in common with Hussey intellectual interests and conservative religious convictions; it was people like this who were probably the intended audience of Fewterer’s Myrrour.

Though this circle included some eminent humanists, and the books donated to Syon’s library by Fewterer show his strong interest in humanist writing, the translation of the Speculum Passionis appealed to its readers’ religious conservatism rather than their humanist interests. These ‘Erasmian conservatives’ welcomed literature that celebrated orthodox texts and bolstered them in their opposition to the reform of the Church.
3. Mirror of Fewterer’s politics?

Syon Abbey is known not only for piety and scholarship, but also as a centre of resistance to Henrican reform. David Knowles describes the well-known family names which appear in surviving lists of Syon nuns as ‘at once a clear indication of the circles from which the house drew its recruits and a strangely complete epitome of recusant lists of a succeeding age’ (Religious Orders 3. 212). This opposition forms the background to the publication of Fewterer’s *Myrrour*.

1534, the year of the *Myrrour*’s publication, was also the year of the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Succession. The Act Against Appeals to Rome had already been passed in 1533. At Syon there was considerable opposition to the King’s divorce and to his claim to be head of the English Church. Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent, visited Syon, and there discussed the King’s divorce with several of the brethren, including Fewterer. John Fisher sent a copy of one of his books supporting the King’s first marriage, as well as copies of some of his correspondence with the King (Bernard 167).

Nicholas Watson describes Fewterer, along with Richard Whitford, as having ‘fought a rearguard action against religious reformation’ (‘Censorship and Cultural Change’ 833). It is at first surprising to see these two men bracketed together as opponents of the Reformation, for their behaviour was very different. While Whitford consistently defied efforts to persuade him to accept the royal supremacy, Fewterer was, as we have seen, at least outwardly supportive of the new regime.

Because of Syon’s size, wealth, and importance, much time and energy was devoted to persuading the brethren and sisters to accept the King’s reforms. Thomas Bedyll, Cromwell’s agent, visited Syon repeatedly and wrote to Cromwell reporting progress. As confessor-general, Fewterer was under great pressure to conform. His associations with Fisher, More, and Hussey, as well as the orthodoxy of his *Myrrour*, all indicate that his true sympathies were unlikely to have been with the King, but he seems to have been anxious to co-operate and stay out of trouble.

When examined by Bedyll in 1534, Fewterer admitted having seen Fisher’s correspondence and possessing his above-mentioned book against the divorce; he
surrendered the book, and Bedyll described him approvingly as ‘a sad man, bothe tractable and conformable to do everything according to his dutie’ (Aungier 436).

By contrast, Richard Whitford was a troublemaker. In August 1534 Bedyll wrote to Cromwell complaining of ‘the obstinacy of divers religious men addict to the bishop of Rome.’ When Richard Whitford preached, he ‘said nothing of the King’s title.’ One Ricot, preaching on St Bartholomew’s Day, ‘did as he was commanded, but added that he who so commanded him should discharge his conscience.’ Probably he was referring to Fewterer. Nine of the brethren, including Whitford, then showed their disapproval by walking out. Bedyll indicated that such insurrection needed to be dealt with firmly, singling out Whitford as ‘one of the most wilful’ (Aungier 435). In the same letter, Fewterer receives nothing but approval. He seems to have been reporting on the behaviour of his brothers; Bedyll’s information about the preaching is credited to him. Bedyll also reports that Fewterer had already preached twice in support of the King’s title.

In spite of the chilling example of Richard Reynolds, the ‘Angel of Syon’ who flatly refused to renounce the Pope, and was executed in May 1535, Whitford remained stubborn. In December 1535 Bedyll wrote again to Cromwell reporting the Syon brethren ‘as obstinate as you left them.’

Here were on Tuesday Dr. Butts and the Queen’s almoner to convert Wytford and Litell, and on Wednesday Dr. Aldrigge, Dr. Curven, Dr. Bawghe, and Dr. Morgan, sent by the King for that purpose, but they nothing profited. I handled Whitford in the garden both with fair words and foul ... but he hath a brazen forehead which shameth at nothing. ... We wish advice what to do with Whitford and Litell, and one Turnyngton, who is very sturdy against the King’s title. (LP 9. 986)

There is no record of Whitford ever having capitulated. In spite of his obstinacy he was awarded a pension when Syon Abbey was suppressed in 1539. This may have been due to the protection of the powerful Mountjoy family, in whose household he probably spent his last years. There he continued to write, publishing *Diuerse Holy Instructyons* (*STC* 25420) in 1541, in which he still styled himself ‘the wretch of Syon.’
Fewterer, on the other hand, not only co-operated but urged others to do the same. He joined Bishop Stokesley of London in urging the Syon nuns to capitulate (Bare Ruined Choirs 102). In 1536, two of the Syon monks wrote jointly to the brethren at the Charterhouse in London, urging them to accept the King’s title as supreme head of the Church. (These were Coppinger and Lache, who had headed Bedyll’s list of the nine monks who walked out of Ricot’s St Bartholemew’s Day sermon, but were later brought to conformity by Bishop Stokesley). Fewterer endorsed their message in a postscript:

Good brethren, if I were in health I would write my full mind unto you, but now I beseech you to be contented with the charitable writing of my lerned and devout brethren, which you may surely follow with good consciences. (LP 8. 78)

Vincent Gillespie suggests that Fewterer’s illness may have been ‘a politically convenient sickness’ (‘Hid Divina’ 190). David Knowles takes his claim to ill-health at its face value: ‘the mortally sick Fewterer added a postscript of approval’ (Bare Ruined Choirs 102).

Though Fewterer’s outward behaviour from 1534 onwards makes Watson’s classing him with the stubborn Whitford seem unreasonable, his one known published work does suggest a certain hostility towards the Reformation, even though he stopped short of open opposition. The dedication to Sir John Hussey was in itself a statement of the author’s commitment to religious orthodoxy and implicit hostility to the King’s reforms. Although Hussey was not openly in trouble until 1536, as early as 1534 he was secretly consulting the imperial ambassador in the hope that Charles might invade England (see above, lxix). Hoyle suggests that ‘Hussey's hostility to the king's policy and to the direction religious reform was taking was well known before the rebellion in Lincolnshire broke out at Louth on 2 October 1536’ (DNB). If that was so, his name may well have indicated to at least some readers of the Myrrour that the book was critical of the Reformation.

Fewterer’s liberal use of margin notes to refer to the sources of the quotations used in the Myrrour is a mark of his commitment to religious orthodoxy. Rhodes describes the number of references to source texts in the margins of books by Fewterer,
Whitford and Bonde as ‘unprecedented ... for vernacular works ... Their significance is, however, surely their assertion of orthodoxy’ (‘Syon Abbey’s Religious Publications’ 17).

Alexandra da Costa has observed that the choice of illustration for the *Myrrour*’s title page is significant (‘Ryght Profytable Men’ 166). It depicts the story of Mucius Saevola and King Porsenna (Livy 2.12) in which Mucius, a Roman soldier, steals into the enemy camp in order to assassinate Porsenna, but kills the wrong man by mistake and is subsequently captured. Porsenna threatens to burn him alive, and Mucius thrusts his hand into the fire to show his contempt for the threat. Porsenna is so impressed by his bravery that he lets him go.

Da Costa has traced the history of this woodcut in detail. To summarise her findings: it was most notably used by Pynson for Henry VIII’s *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (1521, 1521, 1522, *STC* 13078-9), Edward Powell’s *Propugnaculum Aduersus Martinum Lutherum* (1523, *STC* 20140), and an edition of John Longland’s sermons in which Henry is referred to as ‘fidei defensoris’ (1528, *STC* 16797). Da Costa sums up:

> ... of its nine known occurrences, six were in books involved in the fight against heresy and closely associated with the royal court. Another two were written by prominent humanists with strong ties to the court ... Consequently, the border chosen to illustrate Fewterer’s translation of the *Speculum Passionis* is one that was closely associated with both orthodoxy and Henry VIII’s early commitment to it. (‘Ryght Profytable Men’ 166)

She further suggests that whereas the woodcut, on the cover of Henry’s *Assertio*, encourages the reader to see Henry as Mucius, its use on the cover of the *Myrrour* invites the interpretation:

> ... that Henry had ceased to be Mucius and was now in the role of Porsenna. He had become the enemy at Rome’s gates, and it was those who opposed him who ran the risk of being burnt for treason (if female) or hung, drawn and quartered (if male). Perhaps the
Of course it is uncertain whether the Mucius woodcut was chosen by Fewterer or by Robert Redman. The woodcut depicting the Crucifixion (Myrrour; sig. +vi'; Hodnett 1475) seems to have been Redman’s standard choice for illustrating Passion texts, as he uses it in Deuoute Prayers (STC 20193.5 sig. Ai') and in his edition of Appulby’s Fruyte of Redempcyon (STC 22559.5 sig. Aii') as well as in the Myrrour. However it was also used in Pynson’s 1526 edition of William Bonde’s Pilgrimage of Perfection and in Redman’s 1531 edition of Richard Whitford’s Werke of Preparacion; perhaps it was a choice favoured by Syon authors. It is difficult to estimate how far Fewterer may have been involved in the choice of illustrations for the Myrrour. If the Mucius woodcut were chosen with the intention of casting the king in the role of Porsenna, it was probably not Redman’s choice, as Redman is usually considered to have been sympathetic to religious reform (A. Gillespie, ‘Redman, Robert’ DNB; Loades 280).

Fewterer presumably had some say in the choice of illustrations, as the Myrrour also contains the well-known woodcut of St Bridget which is not associated specifically with Redman, but appears in many books of Syon origin, published by different printers. It has been described by Martha Driver as ‘an imprimatur or seal of approval ... the Bridget woodcut signifies Bridgettine approbation of certain texts’ (149). If the St Bridget woodcut was Fewterer’s choice, then possibly the Mucius woodcut was his choice also, and for the reasons da Costa has suggested.

I have argued elsewhere (‘From Thirteenth-Century France’) that the figure of Marie d’Oignies, whose virtuous example was used by her biographer Jacques de Vitry to combat Catharist heresy, may have appealed to Hussey and Fewterer as a good example of orthodoxy to counter unsuitable Reformation ideas. In Vitry’s introduction to Marie’s Vita, the Bishop of Toulouse, driven out of his diocese by the heretics, is drawn to Liège by ‘the fragrance and reputation of certain women, soldiers for God in their true humility’ (King 40). In the Myrrour, Marie is once again seen as a ‘soldier for
God,’ invoked by supporters of traditional religion to bolster themselves and others against heretical views.

Patricia Kurtz has outlined some of the basic tenets of the Catharist heresy, and indicated how Vitry’s biography of Marie preaches against these views. The Cathars believed in two creators, a good and an evil, rejecting the idea of the Devil as a lesser being than God; Marie battles fiends and demons several times in the *Vita*. The Cathars denied the humanity of Christ, believing that he was present in this world only in a spiritual sense; Marie has intense visions of the Christ child, and weeps uncontrollably as she imagines his Passion. The sacraments, often denied by the Cathars, play a vital role in Marie’s life, especially those of matrimony, penance, and the Eucharist (188-193).

I have argued that a similar comparison between key issues of the Reformation with the values preached in Marie’s *Vita* shows that Marie could also set an inspiring example to opponents of the Reformation (‘From Thirteenth-Century France’). The Reformation caused tension between traditional and new values: Marie possesses not only the wisdom to know right from wrong, but the courage to battle against evil. Some clergy were preaching for and some against the Reformation; Marie is gifted with the ability to tell a worthy priest from an unworthy. Opponents of the Reformation were under pressure to conform; Marie, while politely listening to other people, ultimately goes directly to God for guidance. Opposing the Reformation was dangerous; Marie applauds the brave crusaders who died in battle, and asserts that they went straight to heaven without purgatory.

Da Costa takes the idea of Marie as an example of orthodoxy a stage further, viewing her as a symbolic Maid of Kent. She argues that by presenting female mysticism in a positive light, the *Myrrour* may have encouraged readers to view Elizabeth Barton (executed for treason in 1533), in a similarly positive light, and to take seriously her warnings about the King’s divorce. Da Costa presents a strong argument for ways in which the portrayal of Marie in the *Myrrour* could be seen as supportive of the Maid of Kent. Elizabeth Barton was criticised for her ‘wild and physical trances’ while Marie’s violent physical symptoms are viewed as evidence of genuine devotion.
Elizabeth’s visions of devils were suspect, while Marie’s are unquestioned in the *Myrrour*. Elizabeth’s tendency to go off by herself led to insinuations of bad behaviour; Marie’s habit of hiding herself in the woods near her cell is viewed as entirely innocent (‘Ryght Profytable Men’ 170).

Bearing in mind the religious views of Hussey and Fewterer, the original purpose of Marie’s biography as an exemplar to combat heresy, and the parallels between Marie’s life and Elizabeth Barton’s, it seems very likely that the presence of Marie in the *Speculum Passionis* was one of the elements that attracted Sir John Hussey to the book. Deciding the extent to which Fewterer saw, or appreciated, such a view of Marie is, however, problematic.

It should be remembered that the Marie chapters come directly from Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis*. Pinder is quoting almost verbatim the words of Vincent of Beauvais, who in his turn is quoting the words of Jacques de Vitry, written in the thirteenth century. While it is very possible that Fewterer knew of Vitry’s use of Marie’s example to preach against the Cathars, and was aware of possible parallels with the Maid of Kent, it is important to note that his translation does nothing to highlight these parallels. The chapters about Marie in the *Myrrour* are a very close translation of Pinder’s words, with few instances of Fewterer adding commentary of his own.

In those chapters from Marie’s biography where Fewterer does add words of his own to his translation, these are, as I showed in Part III of this introduction, concerned with clarifying and interpreting Pinder’s words, not with adding commentary specific to sixteenth-century English politics. Fewterer’s translation of Pinder’s words, which were written years before the Reformation began in Europe or in England, is too close to the Latin to be interpreted as his own response to the English Reformation. Fewterer may or may not have viewed the Marie passages as arguments against the Reformation, or as specifically supportive of Elizabeth Barton, but if he did, he was content to let the original content speak for itself.

The subtlety of the *Myrrour’s* implicit political commentary is in line with Fewterer’s somewhat ambiguous words when seemingly co-operating with Cromwell’s agents. Repenting of his advice to Prior Houghton, Fewterer did not say that his
opposition of the royal supremacy was wrong, but merely that ‘the cause is not one for which we are bound to suffer death’ (Gairdner 2. 7). His endorsement of the letter urging the Carthusians at Sheen to capitulate contains the rather cryptic ‘If I were in health I would write my full mind unto you’ (LP 8. 78), which invites speculation as to what exactly his ‘full mind’ might be.

While the *Myrour* contains no reference to the Pope and no direct criticism of the Reformation, its conservative orthodoxy may be measured by the degree of offence the book caused later to at least one Protestant reader. A copy of the *Myrour* in the Illinois University Library is described in the catalogue as containing ‘extensive annotations, in ink, attacking the book and Catholicism.’ The unknown annotator renamed the book ‘The Mirror of Popish Religion,’ and took the trouble of filling the margins with comments such as ‘popish blasphemy to attribute the werke of our redemption to the virgin Mary’ (f.cxxvii), and ‘popish error, they did think all soules in the power of hell untill christ dyed for them to redeem them out of limbo’ (f.cxxxii).\(^{36}\)

The *Myrour* appealed to an audience of religious conservatives while stopping short of the sort of overt criticism which could get its author into trouble. Unlike Whitford’s *Pype or Tonne*, which openly addressed the question of heresy and aimed to correct any wrong-thinking readers, the *Myrour*, though entirely orthodox, contains nothing really inflammatory. Only the title page (which may or may not have been Fewterer’s own choice), the dedication, and the content drawn from tried and trusted Biblical, patristic and popular medieval sources, make a quiet plea for the alert Catholic reader to respond to.

### 4. Concluding Remarks

This partial edition represents a fraction of the research that could be done on Fewterer’s *Myrour*. A full critical edition including Parts II and III would shed more light on the use made of Jordanus of Quedlinberg, Ludolphus of Saxony, and Reinhard of Laudenberg. Did Fewterer always translate the material from Jordanus and

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\(^{36}\) A few sample pages of the Illinois University Library copy of the *Myrour* are included with the digital version of the British Library copy available on EEBO, and my comments on the annotations refer to these pages.
Ludolphus exclusively from Pinder’s excerpts, or did he consult Ludolphus as he consulted Reinhard, using Pinder’s original source texts to correct and expand the excerpts in the *Speculum Passionis*? A close comparison of Fewterer’s English with his Latin source, made over the whole book instead of only a part of it, might produce a clearer picture of the translator’s thoughts and attitudes as they appear in his additions, omissions and alterations to the Latin text.

A detailed study of the St Paul’s manuscript might determine more positively whether it dates from the second half of the sixteenth century, as as I have argued, or was written out much earlier by Fewterer himself, as Alexandra da Costa has suggested (see above, x-xiv), and whether or not the commentaries on the Psalms were also authored by John Fewterer.

A more complete list of the sources used by Pinder in compiling the *Speculum Passionis* would assist a greater understanding of Pinder’s choice of material, and make it possible to trace the changes undergone by these texts as they passed through the hands of Pinder and Fewterer.

I hope that one day critical editions will be made of all the Syon books. Together they provide an important window into orthodox English spirituality on the eve of the Reformation. Critical editions would enable scholars to trace in detail the growth and development of the Syon literary culture throughout its brief flourishing in the early sixteenth century. A further interesting study would be the few Syon books that continued to be reprinted after the Reformation (one example is Richard Whitford’s translation of the *Golden Epistle*), and why they, rather than others, survived.
Editorial Policy

This partial edition of *The Myrrour or Glasse of Christes Passion* contains the preface, prologue, table of contents and the first five *particulae* of Part I. These five *particulae* are comprised of treatises on the methods and benefits of Passion meditation. Since many modern editions of Middle English Passion narratives exist already, I have chosen to end the selection before the subject matter changes to Passion narrative in *particula* six.

I have aimed to produce an edition that interferes as little as possible with Fewterer’s text, while still presenting it in a way that is easily accessible to a modern reader. I have therefore preserved the original spelling, but introduced modern punctuation and paragraphs. Emended words are indicated by square brackets and listed in Appendix 1. The text is transcribed entirely from the British Library copy of the *Myrrour* (BL C.53.d.16, available on EEBO). As I mentioned above, this copy was the most widely available, and the most readily accessible to me.

Fewterer’s translation is, in general, close to Pinder’s Latin. Where Fewterer has added a few lines of his own, or omitted to translate a phrase of Pinder’s, this is explained in the commentary. Small additions by Fewterer of a word or two are not indicated unless they make a significant difference to the meaning; examples of Fewterer’s major and minor additions are in Part III, section three above. Where elision occurs of *the* with the following word (‘theternall’, ‘thinnocent’), I have replaced the missing *e* with an apostrophe (‘th’ eternall’, ‘th’ innocent’). Abbreviations, in both English and Latin, are expanded, with the missing letters italicised, eg: ‘continuall’ and ‘domini’. When transcribing Fewterer’s margin notes, to save space I have not expanded the following truncated words: ‘ser.’ for ‘sermone’, ‘li.’ for ‘libro’ and ‘ca.’ or ‘capi.’ for ‘capitulo.’ Other abbreviations are expanded in the margin notes as in the text, with missing letters italicised, eg: Fewterer’s truncated *Sermone de tempore*, ‘Ser. de tpe.’ becomes ‘Ser. de tempore’.

Biblical quotations in the *Myrrour* are printed in Roman type, contrasting with the Gothic style of the rest of the text. In my edition I have also made the Biblical quotations stand out from the main text, but have used underlining instead of a
contrasting font. When providing references for Biblical quotations, Fewterer was working from a Bible with chapters that were divided, not by numbered verses, but into sections marked with a letter of the alphabet. For the convenience of the reader, I have replaced the letters with full chapter and verse citations. Thus ‘Leui. 23. C’ becomes ‘Leui. 23.29.’ I have not expanded Fewterer’s abbreviations of the names of books of the Bible, as most of these should present no difficulties to a modern reader. I note here the three possible exceptions: ‘Treni.’ (Lamentations), ‘Esa.’/‘Esay.’ (Isaiah), and ‘Apocalypse’ (Revelation).

Whenever possible, I have included in the commentary the sources of the many passages from the writings of Bernard, Augustine, Gregory and other Church fathers. Where I have been unable to find a passage in the CCL or PL, I have at least tried to note other texts in which it occurs. A particularly valuable reference has been the Manipulus Florum, a medieval compilation by the Dominican monk Thomas of Ireland, containing a large collection of quotations grouped by subject. A searchable online edition of this book is in progress (ed. C. Nighman). It is possible that Pinder himself made use of the Manipulus Florum, as the wording of some of the quotations in the Speculum, while varying from versions in other sources, matches almost exactly that in the Manipulus (see commentary 7/25 and 53/5).

In the commentary, all references to Pinder’s text refer to the folio numbers of the 1507 edition. References to the Vulgate Bible refer to the Stuttgart edition, and where I quote Bible verses in English, I have used the Douay-Rheims translation. Folio references to the Stimulus Amoris refer to the Cologne edition of 1502 (see Appendix 2, and list of works cited.).
THE MYRROUR OR GLASSE OF CHRISTES PASSION

[sig.+ii'] The Preface.

To the honorable lorde Husey

My lorde, accordyngly vnto your desyre I haue translated your boke & put it into our natyue & mother tongue as my simple wit and power lernyng wold suffer me. And though it be nat so well done as (I surely knowe) many other myght & can haue done it, if it wolde haue pleased your lordship to haue desyred them, and if also it wold haue lyked them to haue taken that labour; yet I trust I haue so done, that it may be comforth to the readers & hearers, or at the leste I haue gyuen occasion to odre to amend and performe that I rudely and barbarously set forward.

Surely, my lorde, the chyefe cause of this my labour was for that I thought this boke shulde be moche profytable to the readers, and edefyeng to all that wolde diligently hear it. And to say the treuth, I know nothynge more comfortable to man. For amonges all the exercyses that helpe the spirite to obteyne the loue of God, and specially to hym that wolde begyn & use a spiritual lyfe, nothynge is thought always more frutful than the continual meditacion of the passion of our lorde God Jesus Christ, for the exercyses of all other spirituall meditacions may be reduced and brought vnto this.

As by an example: if a man desyre to bewayll and weape for his vices and synnes, for his vnkyndnes and vilenes; if he couit to purge & amend his negligence & defautes; he shall fynde none more vehement and redy meane to pricke hym forwarde to his intent than to remembre the most innocent death and passion of his redeamer; that is to consyder what bitter paynes he suffred for man, to spare and kepe man from payne eternall, where, after justice, he shulde haue rather dampted man for his synnes. And here man may see both the justice and also the mercy of God. Man may consyder in hymselfe the great mercy of God, in that God wold forguye and pardon hym of his
synnes. He may also perceiue the iustice of God, in his owne synnes, whiche God dyd correcte & punysshe, accordyng to iustice, in hymselfe, bycause he wold nat suffre them unpunished.

And thus in this meditation man may fynde how to weape and mourn for his synnes, for the which the Son of God was bet, woundyd and crucified; and all that God suffred to cure man of his synnes & kepe hym from eternall Payne. Here may also man bewayle [sig.+ii⁴⁺] his owne vnkyndnes, consyderyng how vnkyndly he rendreth to so faythfull a louer so many yuell dedes contrary to God’s pleasure, and also dayly contemptes and despysynges, for his tendre loue and kyndnes and for his manyfolde gyftes, which man dayly receyueth of hym.

Morouer, this contemplacion of the death of Christ indureth man to hope and to fear, wherby he may be releaued of two temptacyons; for if the enormitie of his synnes moue any man to dispaire, he hathe here in this exercise wherby to put away his synnes, and to make satisfaction for them; he hath here wherof to redeme himselfe: yat is ye blode & deth of his lorde God, & therfore he nede nat to feare his synnes, if he ordre hymselfe yat he dye with Christ; dye (I say) from synne and ryse in a new lyfe. And on the other parte, if man be vexed by presumpcion or vayne lyghtnes and myrth without the fear of God, he hath here how to abate his vayne myrth, consyderyng how that heuen was shyt from the moste holy frendes of God by many yeres, ye, aboue iiii thousand yeres, and how that the glory of God was denyed to man, or at the least differed by so many yeres, vnto the tyme that our lorde and sauour Jesus, whiche neuer dyd synne, suffred death for our synne, so that no man may come to that glory but by payne; & thus shall mannes vayne myrth be put downe.

If, peraduenture, man be dull and slouthfull to all goodnes, where shall he haue a more spedy remedy to pricke forwarde his
dulnes than to consyddre how his lorde God, moste pure and innocent man, suffred so greuouse paynes for hym? Some man wold peraduenture exercise himselfe in his owne knowlege and so to come to meknes. But I pray you, where shall he haue a better occasion therunto, than to ponder and way the difformite and great difference of his owne study and labour, and shortly the ordre of his hole lyfe, and of the labour & lyfe of Jesus Christ; that is: remembre, man, howe contrarie thy lyfe is to his wyl & preceptes, how vnlike to his vertues, how farre from his ensamples; remembre, man, how frayle thou art & redy to fal, how vnstable in all thy good purposes, how vnready or rather loth to folowe thy lorde, howe vnapte to all goodnes, as every man may dayly se in hymselfe.

Forthermore, if man wold be enflamed to loue God, where may he haue better help than by this exercise? For if it be natural to rendre loue for loue – and the loue of God was neuer more openly shewed to man than in his redemption, that is in the passion and death of our redeamer Christ Jesus – it is than manifest [sig.+iii] that by this remembraunce of his passion a man is moste strongly excited and moued to loue God. And if man desyre to be pricked forward in that loue, let hym remembre the benefites of God, which be as signes & tokens of his loue. And these benefites most euidently appere in his passion, as ye shall more clerely se in this boke.

At last, if man desyre that all his lyfe be continuall and perpetuall prayer, and that he wold haue his herte euer lyfted vp to God, and his deuotion or feroour euer renewed, he shal neuer get it more easly than by the remembraunce of the lyfe and passion of his lorde God; for there he may haue in euerie worde, acte, behauiour and paine that Christ spake, dyd, vsed, and suffred, how to be compuncte and sory in hert & how to be conforted in spirite. For in the consyderation of them, now he may wepe by compassion, now, by
gyuynge thankes, he may haue swete affections. Nowe he may desyre
to be confourmed vnto hym, and to his wyl, now he may labour and
wysshe to be holly transfourmed into hym. Thus may man go from
one exercise vnto another to auoyde tediousnes and so euer to be in
prayer.

And shortly to conclude, there is no kynde of spirituall exercise,
but that it may be founde in the lyfe and passion of Christ, or els by
moste pleantuouse fruyte it may be reduced and applied to it. And this
shall better appere in the fyrst parte of this boke the thyrde pertycle.

Nowe, my lorde, I haue shewed what was the pryncypall cause
mouyng me to accompllysh your desyre, and if I may perceyue that
ye or ony other take profyt therby, I shall gyue prayses to God from
whom all goodnes commeth, and I beseache your lordship to pray
with me that mocch profyt and comforth myght come to them that shal
rede this boke and folowe the exercices therof. And thus I commende
you and all youres to the passion of our lorde. From Syon the vi day
of Decembre, 1533.

Your dayly oratour

Johan Fewterer.
Beholde and worke accordyngly to the examplar that is shewed vnto the in the mount. Christ, althoughe oftymes in scripture be compared to a mount, or so called for the excellency of his moste hyghe perfection, yet moste specially in that he was exalted on the crosse in the mount of Calvary, he may be called a mount [for] the excellent merit of his most bitter and sacrate passion. In this mount (that is in Christ crucified) is this day (that is by all the tyme of our lyfe) shewed to us a glasse or an examplar, whome we shuld nat onely behold, but also with moste diligence folowe his steppes, for it is nat sufficient to a Christian to behold Christ crucified. For so dyd the Jues and also the Gentyls, his crucifiers. But it is required of a Christian y^st he lyue and worke accordyngly to the examplar shewed to hym in y^e mount that is Christ crucified. And that is the intent of our fyrst wordes spoken to euery faythful person. Behold and worke accordyngly to the example of Christ crucified. Beholde (I say) hym, incorporatyng or depely knittyng his paynfull passion vnto thy hert by inward compassion, and worke accordyngly vnto his example, vnfaynedly folowyng hym.

For so saynt Petre teachethe vs, sayng: Christus passus est pro nobis. Christ suffred for vs. This is the fyrst thyng: that we shulde diligently beholde, with the inwarde ey of our soule, Christ crucified. And it foloweth: Nobis relinquens exemplum vt sequamur vestigia eius. Leuyng to us an example that we myght folowe his steppes, in ordryng our lyfe accordyngly to his wyll and example. And this is the second thyng belongyng to a Christian: vnfaynedly and truely to folowe his sauiour’s example. And in these two thynges shall stande
the hole summe of our purpose and of this treatise, which be necessary to be ofte remembred vnto the Christian.

For if the lyues [and] passions of holy sayntes and martyrs be recounted to man, to induce hym into deuocion of herte, to contricion for his synnes, to the loue of God, despisyng of the world and patient sufferance or bearyng of tribulations and paynes; how much more than shulde the passion of Christ be remembred and preached, which is moste holy of all sayntes, ye, the sanctifier of al sayntes, lorde and God ouer al, [sig.+iii²] the iudge of [the] quicke, & the resurrection or reaser of the deed?

This passion (I say) shuld be remembred, that men hearyng it myght knowe how moche God the Father hated synne, for the destruction wherof he wold haue the preciouse blode of his moste deare beloued onely son shed vpon the erthe with moste grevous tormentes and woundes, and also that man myght knowe how moche he loued mankynde, for whose saluacion he wold gyue his only sonne to so cruell tormentes & paynfull death. Thyrdly, that we should knowe how preciouse and deare a thyng is the kyngdom of heuen, which he wold nat open and gyue vnto mankynd but by the preciouse blode and deth of his naturall sonne, Jesu Christe. And fourthly to declare vnto vs how moche he loueth and reioyceth in the penaunce of man, for the declaration and example wherof he wold his deare beloued sonne to be nayled fast vnto the crosse and spred abrode on the same, as a boke open wherin we myght rede and lerne howe to do penaunce.

What other thyng do signifie vnto vs his teares or wepyng, his sorow, his woundes, his armes spred abrode, and his moste swete and godly wordes, but mocions and callynges vnto penaunce? He hath called vs vnto penaunce by his worde, by his Euangely, and moste of all by his holy lyfe and example. Therefore behold and loke vpon this
examplar & glasse; loke vpon the face of thy sauiour Christ and worke accordyngly to the examplar that is shewed to the in the mount of Caluarye. And if this spectacle or glasse ought to be beholdyn at all tyme, moche more than it shuld be consydered this tyme whan the churche remembreth the passion of our sauiour Christ, that by the consyderyng therof our soule myght be excited & moued to gyue thankes to God for it, and also to haue compassion in our soule of Christ crucified.

For as almyghty God sayth by his prophet Moises: Anima que non fuerit afflict a die hac, perebit de populo suo. That soule or person which wyl nat take vpon hym some paine, affliction or compassion this day or tyme of the passion of our lorde shal peryshe from his people, that is, shall nat be accompted or taken for a Christian.

Therfore let vs say in signe and token of compassion that which saynt Bernard sayd in his mournyng. Quis dabit capiti meo aquam &c. ‘Who shall graunt or gyue water vnto [my] heade or the fountayne and well of teares vnto myne yen, that I myght wepe both day and nyght, vnto the tyme my lorde appere vnto his seruaunt, and comfort hym eyther slepyng or wakyng? O ye swete teres by whom commeth the plenteouse ryuers of graces. O ye deuote teares the aboundaunt fountayne of my helth, come into [sig.+iii‘] my hert, flowe out of myne yen, fall vpon my chekes & make my mournyng bitter.’

Also in another place Bernard mouethe vs to the beholdyng of this examplar, our sauiour crucified, saynge in the person of Christ: ‘O thou man, beholde what I suffred for the. Se the crosse on the whiche for thy loue I dyed. Beholde the nayles wherwith my handes and my fete were persed and fastened to the crosse for thy synne. Is this no sorowe and payne that I suffred for the? And though this outward sorowe & payne be moche greouse, yet moche more paynfull it is to
me inwardly to see the so vnkynde, for whom I suffred all these greuouse tormentes and paynes.'

Wherfore, O thou Christian, behold Christ crucified & gyue hym thankes for his kyndnes, lesse peraduenture thou mayste hear the rebuke that was spoken vnto ix leprose cured by our sauiour Jesu, to whose rebuke he sayd: Nonne decem mundati sunt et nouem vbi sunt? Was there not x persones cured, and but one (that was a straunger) y\textsuperscript{th} gyueth thankes for his benefyt receyued, where be y\textsuperscript{e} other ix?

Beholde, I say, Christ crucified & remembre his kindness accordyng to y\textsuperscript{e} councell of y\textsuperscript{e} wyse man, sayng: Gratiam fideiussoris tui ne obliuiscaris dedit enim pro te animam suam. Forget nat y\textsuperscript{e} kyndnes of thy suerte or frende, for he hathe gyuen his lyfe for the. This shulde be diligently remembred.

Here endeth the prologue.
The diuision of this treatise or mirrour.

This boke or treatise on the passion is diuided into the iii partes, that is into a prohem, begynnyng or preface; the execution or declaracion of the sayd passion; and into the conclusion. In the fyrst parte is declared the fruteful meditacion of Christes passion. In the seconde parte be declared the actes & articles of the sayd passion. And in the conclusion be declared certein miracles wrought at the same passion, with certein chapitres of the Resurrection, appeyryng, Ascension, of our lorde, sendyng of the Holy Ghost, &c.

The prohem, preface or begynnyng conteyneth x particles, of the which summe of them be diuided into dyuers chapitres.

The fyrst particle is an exhortacion to muee men vnto the meditation of Christes passion. Ca. primo. fo. primo. An example of the same exhortation. Ca. secundo. fo. iii.

The seconde particle is of the mean and maner of the remembrance of Christes passion. fo. iiii.

The thyrde pertycle is howe we shulde feale in ourselfes Christes passion. And this particle is diuided into v Chapitres.

Howe we shulde feale in our vnderstandyng Christes passion. The first Chapitre. fo. v.

Howe we shulde feale and perceyue the same in our wyl, loue & affection. Ca. ii. fo.vi.

Howe we shulde feale the same in our actes and operations or dedes. Ca. iii. fo.vii.

Howe we shulde fele the same in our pouertie and necessities. Capitulo. iiiii. fo. viii.

Howe we shulde fele Christes passion in our rebukes and despyysenges. Ca. v. fo. viii.

The iiii particle is of diuers maners and wayes to remembre Christes passion. And this particle is diuided into vi Chapitres.
Howe we may consyddre Christes passion with a mynde to folowe it,  
Ca. primo. fo. ix.
Howe we may consyddre Christes passion with a mynde to haue  
compassion therof. Ca. ii. fo. x.

5 Howe we may consyddre Christes passion with a mynde to maruayll  
therof. Ca. iii. fo.xi.
Howe we may consyddre the same, to reioyse or ioy therof. Capitulo  
iii. fo. xii.
Howe we may consyddre Christes passion to resolue or relent our  
hertes into it. Ca. v. fo. xiii.
Howe we shuld consyddre Christes passion, to reast swetely therin. Ca.  
vi. fo. xiii.

10 The v particle is diuided into xix Chapitres, of the whiche the fy rst  
conteyneth xx profites that commeth to man by the  
Howe in the passion of Christ is conteyned all perfection of al the  
ordres of aungels. Ca. ii. fo. xxii.
Howe in the passion of Christe is conteyned all the beatitude or blysse  
of men. Ca. iii. fo. xiii.

15 Howe in Christes passion do shyne the vertues theologicall, the gyftes  
of the Holy Ghost, the beatitudes of the gospell, and also the  
fruytes of the spirite. Ca. iii. fo. xxiii.
Howe by the passion of Christ, we haue the efficacite and vertue of all  
spirituall goodnes. Ca. v. fo. xxv.

20 Howe the vii. gyftes of the holy ghost ar conteyned in Christes  
passion, and Howe through the feruent remembrance therof they  
may be optayned. And fy rst of the gyft of fear. Ca. vi. fo. xxvi.  
An example of this gyft of the feare of god. Ca. vii. fo. xxviii.
Howe the gyft of pyte is opteyned by the feruent remembraunce of  

An example of the gyft of the spirite of pitie. Ca. ix. fo. xxxi.
Howe the gyfte of science is optayned by Christes passion. Capitulo. x. fo. xxxii.
An example of this gyfte of science or knowledge. Ca. xi. fo. xxxv.
Howe the gyfte of strenght is optayned by Christes passion. Capitulo xii. fo. xxxvi.
An example of this gyfte of gostly strenght. Ca. xiii. fo. xxxviii.
Howe the gyfte of councell is gyuen to man by Christes passion. Capitulo. xiii. fo. xxxix.
Howe the gyft of vnderstandyng is goten by Christes passion. Capitulo xiv. fo. xli.
An example of the same gyfte of godly councel. Ca. xv. fo. xlii.
Howe the gyft of vnderstandyng is goten by Christes passion. Capitulo xvi. fo. xli.
An example of the gyfte of gostly vnderstandyng. Ca. xvii. fo. xliii.
Howe the gyfte of wysdome is goten by Christes passion. Capitulo xviii. fo. xlv.
An example of the same gyfte of godly wysdom. Capitu. xix. folio. xlviii.
The vi. particle is of our lorde sittynge vpon the asse and vpon her fole or colte.
The vii particle is of the eiection or castyng out of the byers and sellers in the temple. fo. li.
The viii. particle is of the sorowful departyng of our lorde from his mother Mary. fo. lii.
The ix particle is of Christes last supper or maundy. fo. liii.
The x and last particle is of the washyng of his disciples fete. folio. lv.
The seconde parte of this treatise is diuided into lxv articles of Christes passion. fo. lvii.
The thyrde parte, that is the conclusion, is diuided into xi. Chapitres.
The fyrst is of x. myracles done byfore, at the death, and after Christes death. Ca. primo. cxlii.
Why Christe wold suffre so many and suche greuouse paynes for vs.

Ca. ii. fo. cxlvi.

 Howe Christe descended vnto the helles. Ca. iii. fo. cxlvii.

Of Christes Resurrection. Ca. iii. fo. cxlix.

 Howe Christe appered to his mother Mary. Ca. v. fo. cl.

 Howe Christ appered to Mary Magdalen. CA. vi. fo. cli.

 Howe Christe appered to his Apostles, Thomas beynge present.

Capitulo vii. fo. cliii.

Of Christes Ascension. Ca. viii. fo. cliii.

 Of the sendyng of the holy ghost. Ca. ix. fo. clvi.

 Of the Assumption and prayse of our glorious lady. Capi. x. folio clvii.

 Of the last iudgement and commyng of the iudge to the same.

Capitulo xi. fo. clviii.

FINIS.

TABVLE.
Of the first perticle that is an exortation mouyng men vnto the meditation of the passion of Christe.

The fyrst Chapitre.

O ye people that walke and wander in vanitees, come hether and beholde in this Glasse Christ crucified, & inwardly consider the greate charite of God to you. And on the other parte, behold your owne blyndnes and malyce towards hym. Sith it has pleased the Sonne of God to be ioyned vnto the nature of man and neuer to be departed from it, howe moche more gladly shuld ye desyre that your soule shulde be vnite & ioyned vnto hym vnseperably. And sith the Sonne of God wold, through the great feruoure of his charite, ioyne to his godheed in one persone so vyle asshes and dust as the nature of man is, how much more desirous shulde eche one of you be to open your hert, and dilate it or sprede it abrode to receive him into it? What folysshenes, or rather madnes, is it, that ye – dispisynge or lytell regardynge this inestimable charite – wyl rather open your herte vnto the filthy pleasures of the body or vanytes of the worlde, and to be ioyned vnto them by loue, rather than to God?

The Sonne of God toke nat a mortal body to the intent yat man shulde loue bodily or carnall pleasures, but that – as Christ, hauyng a mortall body, dyd by continuall penaunce subdue his body, contempne all carnall worldly pleasures, and was euer ioyned to God by loue – so in lyke maner shuld mortal man mortifye his body by continuall penaunce, dispise all vayne pleasures, and euer erecte or lyft up his soul to God and heuenly thynges.

O the meruaylous blyndnes of man made of two substaunces: that is the soul and the body; and althoughtghe the soule, without comparison, be moche more noble than the body, yet he wyl spend and occupy all his tyme in a maner aboute the prouisyon of his body, or in suche thynges as the flesssh desireth, and in nothynge regarde
his soule, as yf he had none, or that it were of no value. For he wyll neyther fede nor norysse it, nor yet laboure to quiete or reste it in the loue of God, though he myght so do with moche more ease, swetnes and also pleasure, without comparison, than to content and saciat the body.

For God is prest and redy to euery man; ye, he offereth hymselfe to man, yf man wyl receyue hym. Ecce sto ad ostium et pulso. &c. Beholde (he sayth) I stande at thy dore (that is thy herte or soule) and knocke; yf any person wyl here my voyce and open the dore of his soule vnto me, I shall entre therin and suppe with hym and he with me.

Se, thou vnkynde man, howe our lorde offereth hymselfe vnto the, and requyreth none other pryce of the but the deth of his sonne, with thyne obedient herte; therfore gladly receyue hym to thy spirituall comfort. All corporall and temporall thynges fle frome man and forsake hym, and thoughe with great study, anguysshe and payne he labour to get and kepe them, yet he shal neuer haue ye ful possession of them to his quietnes, excepte he wolde say that he hath the ful possession of them, the whiche holly and fully contemneth and despiseth them all, for that person is saciate and contente with the wante of them.

But wyll ye se a more meruaylous blyndnes of this wretched man? The soule of man – which is made to the ymage of God, and the whiche shall neuer be saciate and content but only with God – that same soule, nat constrayned (though partely enclyned and moued by the flesshe) wyfully subdeweth herselfe vnto the flesshe, redy to fulfyl the vayne pleasures and desyres of the flesshe. But she contemneth or despiseth to subdue herself to God, though she be continually moued thervnto by dayly exhortacyon or prechynge, continuall receyuynge of his benefytes and graces and also by inward
inspirations. Ye, moreouer, she wyll nat do the wyl of God in his owne
gyftes that he gyueth to her. Truely yf the soule were nat worse or
more bestial than any brut beste, she wolde loue God aboue all
thynges, vnto whose ymage she ys made, and so lytell or nothynge
regarde all creatures in comparison of God.

Wherefore, thou soule, yf thou wylt loue the flesshe or the body,
loue none other than the flesshe and the body of Christe, whiche was
offered for the and for the helth of mankynde on the auter of the
crosse. Therfore dayly remembre in thy herte his passion, for it, so
remembred in the soul of man, is continually offered and presented to
the syght of the Father omnipotent for our consolation and comfort.

It is comenly sayd that if any man kyl or slee another man, yf
that mansleer come afterwarde in the presence of that deed corps or
body so that he se it, it wyl incontinent blede or voyde at the wounde
fresshe blode. So yf we wolde beholde, with the deuoute eyen of our
soule, the blode and passion of Christe, whom we haue slayne or were
the occasyon of his deth, nat onely by our original synne, but also by
our manyfolde actall synnes, we shuld fele or perceyue, by spiritual
grace of deuotion in our soules, howe that, by our compassion of his
passion, his blode flowethe plentuously out of his body and is offered
and [f.ii'] presented vnto his Father for our saluacion and
sanctification. For yf the nayles that persed his handes and feet were
sanctified and called holy by the tochyng of his blessed membres, how
moche more then shulde our reasonable thoughts, whiche cleue fast to
Christ crucified by continual or ofte remembraunce of his passion, be
called holy?

O most delectable passion. O most meruaylous deth.
Meruaylous? Ye, what may be more meruaylous? For this deth doth
gyue life; it cureth our wounds, it maketh blode whyte – that is, it
purifieth and clenseth our soule from the blode of synne.
Great bitternes and sorowe is ofte times tourned to moche swetenes and pleasure. The openyng of the syde of Christ ioyneth his herte to our herte. The sonne hyd from vs by the clowdes, whan the clowdes be gone and paste it shineth more clerely. The fyre quenched is shortlyer or soner kyndeled & maketh the greater flame. The ignominious and shamefull deth of Christe glorifieth both hym and vs. Christe thristyng vpon the crosse doth inebriate and saciate vs with the drynke and liquore of grace. Christe hangynge naked on the crosse clotheth ye ryghteous persones with the garmentes of vertue. His handes nayled to the crosse dothe unknytte or loose oure handes, his feete nayled dothe make vs ronne to vertue. Christe yeldynge his spyryte into the handes of his Father dothe inspyre and gyue lyfe of grace. And he also, spred abrode on the crosse, doth call vs to heuenly thinges.

O the wonderfull passion of Christe, the whiche doth alyenate and chaunge the herte and mynde of hym that hath remembraunce and compassion of it. For it nat only maketh hym angelical, but also diuine and godly. For he that continueth, by meditation, in the tormentes and passion of Christe seeth nat hymselfe, bycause he alwayes and onely beholdeth his sauioyr Christe crucified.

This person wolde bere the crosse of Christe with hym, and he also bereth, in his herte, hym which susteyneth both heuen and erthe, with whome he may easely susteyne and beare all heuy burdens and paynes. This persone also, that thus continueth in the meditation of Christe crucifyed, wolde be crowned with thornes with Christe and for Christe, and he is crowned with the sure hope and trust of the crowne of glory. He wolde hynge naked on the crosse with Christe, and so shake for colde, and he is heated in his soule with the feruent fyre of loue. He wolde taste of the bitter and sharpe vynacre and gall with Christe, and he drynkethe the wyne of unspeakable swetenes. He
wolde be mocked and scorned with Christe on the crosse, and he is honoured of aungelles. He wolde be dispysed and forsaken with Christe, and our Lady hath chosen hym to her sonne. He wolde be heuy with Christe, and he is conforted. He wolde be tormented and scourged with Christe, and he is relyued with great ioy & gladnes. He wold hynge with Christe on the crosse, and Christe most swetely doth embrace and halse hym. He wolde be pale in face and inclyne his heed downe for feblenes with Christe, and Christe confortably lyftynge up his heed, doth most swetly kysse hym.

And therefore saynt Barnarde sayth: ‘O good Jesu we beleue, and so it is, that whoso bereth thy crosse, he bereth thy glory. And he that bereth thy glory, he bereth the. And hym yest bereth the, thou bereth on thy sholdre. Thy sholdre is stronge and very hygh, for it recheth vnto the fete of the father in heuen aboue all the orders of aungels, aboue all principates, potestates & vertues. Thither thou reducest or bryngest agayne the wanderynge shepe that dyd erre from the flocke, that is mankynde, the whiche by his synne was put out of Paradyse.’

‘Good lorde, I may compasse, go about, and serche both heuen and erth, the see and the lande, & nowhere shal I fynde the but in the crosse. There thou slepest, there thou fedest, there thou restest in the hete of the day. In this crosse my soule is lyfted vp from the erth, and there it gathereth the swete apples vpon the tree of lyfe. In this crosse the soule, cleuynge fast to her lorde God, doth swetely synge and say: 

\[\text{Susceptor meus es tu, gloria mea, et exaltans caput meum}\]. Thou art my defendour, my glory, and thou exalteth vp my heed – that is my soule – from the consideration of all vayne & transitory thynges, vnto the meditation of thyn vnspeakable goodnes shewed vnto man on the crosse.’

O most amyable deth. O moste delectable deth of the most noble body of our lorde Jesu Christe, from whom I wolde neuer be seperate,
but in hym to make thre tabernacles: one in his handes, another in his fete, and the thirde in the wounde of his syde. There I wyll reste and slepe, ete and drynke, rede and pray; and there I will perfourme all my besynes that I haue to do. There I shal speake vnto his herte and optayne of hym whatsoeuer is nedeful for me. Thus doynge, I may folowe ye steppes of his most swete mother Marie, whose soule ye sworde of sorowe dyd thyrle & perse at the deth of her sone. If I be thus wounded with Christe, I may from hensforth suerly speke to her & moue her in al my necessites, and she wyl nat denye me, bycause she seeth me crucified with her sonne Christe.

Here foloweth an example of this exhortation.

[f.iii] We may take an example of this exhortation to rememtre the passion of Christe (in the boke called Speculum hystoriale Vincentii) of certayne singuler persones whiche had this special grace. We rede there that, in the partes of the Dioces called Leodium, a noble and deuout preest called Jacobus de Vitraco, the whiche afterwarde was the bysshop of Tusculane and cardinall, and this holy man se there diuerse women of so meruaylous affection, and so feruent in the loue of God, through the continuall remembraunce of the passion of Christe, that by that feruent loue and desyre they were so syke that by many yeres they coulde nat ryse out of theyr beddes but very seldome, hauynge none other cause of sekenes or disease but onely the said feruent loue. For their hertes (by ye continuall remembraunce of the infinite charite of God shewed in the passion of Christe) were so relented by that meditation that the more that they were conforted in soule, the more syke & weyke they were in theyr bodyes, sayeng and cryeng in herte – though for shame they durst not speke in wordes – the sayng of the spouse in the canticles: Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis, quia amore languedo. Comforte me with

Libro. xxxi Capi. x et xiii
Canti. 2.5
flowres, strength me with apples or other frutes, for I am seke or languysshe for loue.

And in some of these women (a meruylous thyng) it myght be perceyued sensibly howe that when theyr soule in a maner melted, throughe the vehemence of loue, theyr chekes and the coloure of them sensibly fayded and fel away. In other of them, throughe the swete consolations that they recelyued in theyr soules, there rebounded into theyr mouthes a pleasaunt taste, as if it had ben of hony or other swete meat, and that they were felte sensibly. And so it refresshed them both corporally and spiritually, and this taste also moued them to swete teares, and preserued or kepte theyr hertes in deuotion.

Some of them also receyued so great grace of wepynge in deuotion, that as ofte as God was in theyr herte, by remembraunce of his goodnes, so ofte the ryuers of teares flowed from theyr eyen by inward deuotion, so that the steppes or pryntes of the teares dyd afterwarde appere in theyr chekes thorough the custome of wepynge. And here note a meruaylous thyng: that the wepynge or teares dyd nat hurt their brayne or heed as it doth comenly in al other persones, but rather in them it comforted theyr myndes with a full & plentuous deuotion. It made swete or pleasau n theyr spirites with a swete vnction of grace. It meruayously refresshed their bodyes and it gladded al y e hole congregation of y e seruauntes of God there.

Moreouer we rede in the same boke of an holy and deuoute woman called Maria de Ogines, of whome the forsayde mayster Jacobus de Vitriaco, beynge in great feruoure of deuotion, cryed with a lowde voyce vnto almyghty God, sayng: ‘O lord God, thou arte very good to them that trusteth in the; thou arte faythfull to thy seruauntes that trust and abyde thy promisses. Thy handmayde, good lord, hath dispised and forsaken, for thy loue, the honour of the worlde, with all the pleasures of the same, and thou, accordyngly vnto
thy promisse in scripture, hath rendred and gyuen to her an hundreth
tymes more in this worlde, and also everlastyng lyfe in the kyngdome
of glorye.’

The fyrst fruites or begynnynge of her loue to the was the
remembrance of thy crosse, passion and deth. For on a certayne day,
when she (preuented with thy grace and mercyfully visited by the)
considered the great benefites whiche thou, of thyn vnspeakable
goodnes, shewed vnto mankynde in workynge our redemption, she
founde or opteyned so great grace of compunction, and suche
abundaunce or copye of teares in thy crosse and passion, that we
myght haue traced or folowed her thorowthe churche by her teares
that fel on ye grounde from her.

And for a longe tyme after that she had this swete visitation and
grace of teares, she myght neyther see nor beholde the ymage of the
crucifix, nor yet speke or here other speke of the passion of Christe,
but forthwith she fel in swowne. Wherfore, that she might somwhat
tempre and abate that great passion and sorowe, and restrayne the
abundaunce of her wepynge, she lefte the consideration of the
humanite or manheed of Christe, and tourned her mynde holly to the
meditation of the maiestye and godheed of Christe, that in his
ernetinye and inpassibilyteye she myght fynde some consolation and
comforth. But where she thought and laboured to haue stopped and
restrayned the floode of her teares, there rose and sprang marvailously
greater abundaunce of teares. For when she considered of what glorie
and dignitie he was, that wolde suffer so vyle and shamfull deth for
our redemption, then her sorowe was renewed in her, and her soule so
relented for deuout compuaction, that moche more plentye of teares
departed from her; and moche more ye may see in the sayde boke if it
please you.
A prayer.

[f.iii'] O lorde Jesu Christe, the Sonne of the liuynge God, for thyn vnspeakable pitye, and the moste excellent lyfe of [thy] moste holy mother Marie, and for the merites of saynt Francisce and of al the sayntes, graunt (we beseche the) vnto vs most wretched synners, vnworthy any of thy benefites, that we myght loue the alone and euer be burnynge or feruente in thy loue, and that we might continually magnifie the werke of our redemption; that we myght euer desyre thy honour and dayly here and remembre in our herte the benefyte of thy passion; that we myght knowe and consyдрre our miserye, and continually desire to be dispised and rebuked for thy loue, so that nothynge shulde comforth vs and abide in our herts but thy deth and passion, and nothynge displease or trouble vs but oure owne synne and wretchednes. Amen.
Of the meane and maner of the remembraunce of the passion of Christe. The second particle.

Nowe I shall shewe vnto yowe howe we shulde vse and exercise ourself in the passion of Christe, in the whiche vii tymes in the day at the leeste euery Christiane shuld exercise hymselfe, accordyngly to the sentence or mynde of saynt Barnard, sayng: ‘The continual or dayly lesson of a christiane shulde be the remembraunce of the passion of Christe.’ For there is nothynge that so moche kyndeleth the hert of man as the manheed of Christ and the ofte and deuot remembraunce of his passion.

Howe this may be, we shall perceyue it in this maner, that is this: whosoeuer wyll profite in the meditation of Christs passion, let him ordre hymselfe as if Christe were put to all the paynes of his deth and passion in his presence, and so let hym considre depely, diligently, and with deliberation al the poyntes of his passion; therunto fixe his hole mynde, perseuerantly leuynge and settynge aparte all other cures and busines, withdrawinge hymselfe with as great diligence as he can from all superfluouse meats and drynkes and from all dilycates, from al fyne garmente and softe beddes, from all vayne sportes & lyghtnes, from vayne ioy and from all vayne and ydle speche. For all these and suche other lyke ben clene contrarie to the frutefull remembraunce of Christes passion, as we shall shewe more clerly herafter.

And therfore it is necessarie that if a man wyll profyt herein, that he thynke hymselfe as yf he were presente at the passyon of Christe, and so ordre and behaue hymself in his speche, in his sight, in his sorowyng and in al his other outwarde actes, as if he sawe before his face [f.iii] Christe hyngynge on the crosse. If a man thus order hymselfe, Christe crucifyed shal be spiritually with hym and in his presence, as he thynketh in his owne mynde, and so shall gladly
behold his dedes and thoughtes, and also graciously accepte his vowes
and promysses.

But take hede that this remembraunce be nat soone lost and
shortly put away, specially whan deuotion and tyme wyl serue with
conuenient oportunitye, and se that this remembraunce be with a
faythful and herty maner and with a mournyng compassion. For
suerly, yf this most swete and pleaantaunt tree of the crosse be nat
affectuously & louyngly chewed with the teethe of feruent deuotion,
the sauour therof (though in itselfe it be very delicious) shal neuer
5
moue the. And if thou can nat wepe with Chryst that wepte for the,
and sorowe with hym that sorowed for the, at the leest thou ought to
10
ioy in hym, and to render thankes to hym with a deuout herte for his
manifold benefytes, gyuen to the without anythyng deseruynghe. And if
thou felest thyselfe noder moued vnto compassion, nor yet to gyue
thankes with a feruent desyre vnto God for his benefites, but rather
depressed, with an hard herte, in the sayd remembraunce,
15
neuerthelesse, with that same hard herte, ronne vnto the holsome
remembraunce of Christes passion, and gyue suche thankes to God as
thou may for that tyme. And that which thou can nat haue, nor felyst
nat in thyselfe, committe into the handes of his most mercifull
goodnes.

And if yet thou continue in thy stubbernes and harde herte – for
peraduenture thy herte is tourned into the hardnes of a Dymant,
which can neuer be broken but with the hote blode of a gote, as
20
Plinius sayth in his naturall historie – here I offer & shewe vnto the
the greate copie and plentie of blode of the gote, and also of a lambe
incontaminante, vnspotted or vndefyled: Jesu Christe, which is very
hote and burnynge with an incomparable feruent loue and charitye,
which thorough the strength of his heet hath broken and dissolved that
25
harde and Dymant wall of enmitie, which the synne of our fyrst
parentes and also our actual synnes hath made and put bytwyxt God and man. Wash or drowne thyselfe in the copiouse blode of this gote and lambe, O thou adamant herte, and lye in it that thou may be made warme, & thou so heated or made warme may be molifyed or made softe, and so molified may shed plentiously ryuers of teares.

Moyses smote twyse on the stone and brought suche plentye of water; so smyte thy harde stony herte twyse, that is with the inwarde hertye remembraunce of Christes passyon, and withe the outward laboure of thy bodye, as [f.v'] exercysynge thyselfe in lyftynge vp thy handes or thy syght vnto the crucifixe, in ofte knockynge on thy breste, in deuoute genuflexions, knelynges, or payne takynges, or in exercysynge thyself in takyng disciplines or scuryngs, or in other lyke outwarde exercise, and so continue vnto thou haue goten the grace of teares, wherby thy reasonable soule shal drync the waters of deuotion, and thy sensual or bestly bodye, by the experience therof, shal be humbled and subdued vnto the reasonable soule.
The thirde particle: howe we shulde fele in ourselfe the passion of Christ; and this particle is deuided into v chapitres.

Firste is howe we shulde fele the passion of Chryste in our vnderstandyng and reason.

Saynt Poule sayth: Hoc sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Iesu. Fele and perceiue in yourselfe that Christ Jesu felt, that ye myght sucke & drawe watres frome the fountayns of our sauiour. For whosoeuer exercise themselfe faythfully in this passion, they shal sucke & drawe from thens al maner of graces, as we said afore. For suerly this exercise hath his diuers degrees, wherby we may come to the perfeccion of all sanctitye or holyynes. Wherfore we ought (accordyngly to th’ admonition of saint Poule) fele in oureselues the passion of Christ. And that v maner of wise. First in our vnderstandyng, secoondly in our wyl, loue and affection, thirdly in our actes and operation, fourtly in our pouerty and necessityes, fyftly in our reprouynges or dispisinges.

First, I say we shuld fele the passion of Christ in our vnderstandyng or reason, so that we, diligently and with attencion, fourme our thoughtes accordyngly vnto the paynes & passion of Christe. Hereunto we be moued by the wordes of the prophet, sayng in the person of Christ crucified: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus. O all ye that passe thorough the way of this worlde: take hede (that is, thynke with a diligencet & attend mynde) and depely consider if there be any sorowe lyke vnto my sorowe. And this is done truely and faythfully when the passion of Christ is remembred rather with an attent mynde & cogitation, than with deuotion. For cogitation hath his signification & name of abidyng, tarieng, or ells constrainynge, after some doctours. Forasmoche as in such cogitations whan reason & vnderstandynge hath nat that gyft & grace of knowlege that it wolde
haue, it is constrained to abyde, tary & reuolue it in his cogitation, vnto the tyme yat he hath gotten some perceuyynge therof. And of this constrained speketh saynt Barnarde, saynge: [f.v'] ‘Let the outwarde senses be gathered together in one, and constrained or subdewed vnder the discipline and rule of the good wyll, and so kepte vnder with the burden of good werkes, and made obedient to the seruice of the spirite, that in no meanes they be suffred to come at large at theyr sensuall pleasure.’

Of this diligent kepyng of our thoughtes speketh also our lord in his lawe sayng: Caue ne vnguam obliuiscaris domini dei tuui qui eduxit te de terra Egipti. Beware that thou neuer forget thy lorde God, whiche hath delyuered the from the thraldome that thou had in the land of Egipte (that is from the thraldome of the deule) by the merites of his glorious passion. We may alwayes thynke of this benefite, though we can nat at al tymes deuoutly remembre it. And theryfore, to remembre or thynke euer of God, we be constrained by his commaundement. But to remembre hym with deuotion we be nat bounde, for deuotion is onely of the speciall grace of God which is nat in our power.

And theryfore we be exhorted & taught to continue the remembraunce of God and of his commaundementes sayng:
Meditaberis ea sedens in domo tua, et ambulans in itinere, dormiens, atque consurgens, et ligabis ea quasi signum in manu tua, et mouebuntur ante oculos tuos, scribesque ea in limine et in ostiis domus tua. Thou shalt (sayth Moyses in the name of our lorde) remembre them (that is the commaundementes and benefytes of God) sittynge in thy house and walkynge in thy iourney, slepyng and rysynge, or at thy downe lyenge and up risynge, and thou shal tye and fasten them vnto the as a signe or a marke in thy hand, and they shal
be euer before thyne eyne or syght, and thou shalt wrytte them in the 
postes & doores of thy house.

And though these wordes, in the litterall sense, ben spoken of 
the x commaundementes of God, yet we may so moche the more 
conueniently applye them to the remembrancie of the passion of our 
lord, forasmoche as it was more to our profite and comforth that our 
lorde God wolde suffre deth and passion for our redempcion than y\textsuperscript{at} 
he gave to vs his commaundementes. And also that is the law & ordre 
of y\textsuperscript{e} benefites of God, that [the] more that they be profitable to vs, the 
more we shulde remembre them.

Therefore al the articles or particular paines of the passion of our 
lord shuld be diligently gadred togeder & [commended] to memory, 
accordyng to the wordes of our sauiour sayng: Colligite fragmenta ne 
pereant. Gather vp together the fragmentes (that is the particular 
paynes of his passion) and put them togider as it were in a litel fagot, 
& so commende them to memory lesse they perisshe from your herts 
by forgetfulnes; in this maner dyd y\textsuperscript{e} spouse as we rede [f.vi'] in the 
canticles, whereas she sayd: Fasciculus mirre dilectus meus michi 
inter vbera mea commorabitur. My dere beloued spouse is to me as a 
lytell fagot of myrre; he shall abyde in my herte & memory.

Saynt Bernarde, declarynge this same text, sayth in this maner: 
‘Brethren, this hath ben myne accustomable maner from my firste 
conversion. I have ben diligent to gather a lytell fagot of myrre, the 
which I put into my bosome as a tresure, to recompence for the great 
hepe of merites I shulde haue had, but my vnkyndnes to God is suche 
that I want suche merites, and therfore I say I was dilygent to gather to 
me a lytell fagot of mirre of al the paynes and affliccions of my lord 
and sauiour Jesu: fyreste of his great pouertye, necessitye and affliction 
or paynes, that he suffred in his yong and tender age; after that of his 
great labours that he had in preachynge; his fatigation and werynes in
goyng about from cyte to cyte, from towne to towne, frome cuntrye to cuntrye; his continuall watche in prayer; his temptacions in his fastyng; his wepynges and teares in compassion of the miserable people; the disceites and craftes of the scribes and phariseys, that lye in awayt of hym, to take hym in a trype with some defaute in his communicacyon or speche; and laste of the parylles and daungers that he was in amonges his awne nacion & frendes: of his rebukes, mockes, scorones, dispises, spittynges, buffetynges, betinges, scurgyngs, with al other that he suffred for our saluacion.’ Of al the whiche is there plenteously made mencion in the foure euangelystes.

‘These things to remembre’ (sayth Saint Barnarde) ‘I recounted for wisdome. In these things I set the perfeccion of my iustyce, in these stode all my cunnynge & knowlege, in these I put the ryches of my helth and the aboundaunce of my merites, of these somtyme I drank a draught of holsome bytternes or peynaunce, in these agayne I receyued the swete vnction of consolacyon. These thynges done strength me & also erecte me in aduersityes, they gyde me and lede me by a sure way in this lyfe, where as is nowe sorowe nowe ioye, nowe pleasure nowe payne, so that I der not go out of the ryght way as longe as I folowe them.’

**Howe we shulde fele Christes passion in our loue, wyll and affeccion. The seconde chapitre.**

Secondly we shulde fele (I sayd) the passion of Christ in our wyl, desire, loue & affeccion. For this passion which hitherto hath ben onely remembred in our thoughtes & vnderstandynge, if we wyl profit, it must procede into our affeccion, so that it be nat onely [f.vi\textsuperscript{r}] remembred in our thoughtes, but that also the deuotion of the rememberer be enflamed by loue in his wyl. And suerly, yf our vnderstandynge do his diligence in the remembraunce of the said passion, it shall shortly moue our affeccion. And so the passion of our
lord shall nat onely in our cogitations be remembred, but also it shal
inflame your wyl by deoute compassion & pitye. Wherunto we be
admonysshed by our lord saynge: *Pone me vt signaculum super cor-
tuum*. Put me (sayth our lord) as a seale vpon thy herte. A seale (as ye
knowe) if it be imprynted into wax, it leaveth in it his image. So our
lord wolde that his passion shuld be so imprinted in our hertes, nat
onely by ofte remembraunce but also by deoute compassion, that the
prynt and image therof abyde in our affection and feruent desire; so
that as Jesus Christe was made reed and blody on the crosse, so our
deuocion in vs may be made reed and feruent by the vertue of
compassion. And herunto we be counsellled by the wordes of Moyses
saing: *Sumes de sanguine vituli et pones super cornua altaris*. That
thou shal take of the blode of the calf signifieng the blode of Christe,
and thou shal put it vpon the corners of the aulter, that is vpon thy
thoughts & affections, with feruent remembraunce of the blode of
Christe. And so we shal fulfyll the admonition of saynt Poulle, saynge
as I sayde before: *Hoc sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu*. Feale
in yourself that Chrieste Jesu felt.

And thus we may feele hym in our soule [in] ii maner of wayes.
First, by the bitter affection of compassion, and that is when we
remembre the passion of Christe with so great compassion that it
bringeth forth of vs most bytter teares, so yat suche a deuoute soule
may say with the wise man: *O mors quam amara est memoria tua*. O
deth howe bitter and sorrowful is thy remembrance and specially the
remembrance of the deth of Christe. Secondly, we may feele hym in
our hertes or soules by the moste swete and pleasauent affection of
deuotion, and that is when we remembre most inwardly & depely the
great loue and charite of Christ that wolde suffer so greevous paynes
and shamefull dethe for so vyle wretches and vnkynde as we be. And
so this deuout remembrance bringeth forth of vs most swete teares of
deuotion, so that we may say that is written in the boke of Judith: Fontes aquarum obdulcorati sunt. That is: the bitter fountayns ben made swete and delectable.

A figure hereof we rede in scripture, whereas our lord commaunded to Moyses to put a tree (that was both longe and bitter) into the water, that was so bitter that no man culde drynk therof, and so therby the waters were made swet and delectable. [f.vii'] What is signified by this water but the passion of our lord, which is so bitter and paynfull that no man may taste therof? And by this long and bitter tree is signified the longe and continual remembraunce whiche, if it be ioyned and put to the passion of our lord, it shal make it swete and pleaasunt so that the more we taste of it by deuout remembraunce, the more delectable it shal be to vs.

And therfore our holy mother the Churche sayth in a certen hymne: Dulce lignum, dulces clauos, dulce pondus sustinet. That is: The swete tree of the crosse susteyneth and bereth a swete burden, nayled fast with swete nayles. For that which was most bitter and paynfull to our sauiour Jesu in his passion, somtyme is moste delectable and comfortable to vs in our deuoute meditations.

These two maners of teares, that is: bitter and swete, sprynge out of this deuoute affection of the passion of our lorde. And herevnto speaketh saynt Barnarde as we sayd afore. ‘In the remembrance of paynes that my sauiour Jesu suffred for me, I drynke somtyme a draught of holsome bitternes. And somtyme agayne I receyue the pleaasunt vction or oyntment of deuoute consolation.’

Howe we shuld fele Christes passion in our actes and dedes.

The thyrde Chapitre.

Thyrdly, we shulde fele the paynes of Christe in our effectes and outward operations, that, lyke as the deuout remembrance of Christes passion enflameth our affection and loue inwardly, so it might appere
& be shewed outwardly in our warkes and lyuing. Hereunto we be counseled by the wyse [man], sayng: *Prepara foris opus tuum*. That is to say: Suche deuotion as thou haste inwardly coneyued by affection and loue, let it be shewed outwardly in thy dedes. For as saynt Gregore sayth: ‘the dede outwardly done is a sufficient argument or proue of the inward loue.’ So by the [outward dedes] of man is shewed or knoen his inwarde compassion. Also, it is written in the seconde boke of the kynges: *Omnia que habes in corde tuo, fac quoniam dominus tecum est*. As if he shulde say: whatsoeuer good thynge thou hast coneyued in thy hert, show it outwardly in thy dedes. Also it is written in Exodo: *Fac secundum exemplar quod tibi monstratum est in monte*. Performe, in thy lyuynge, that goodnes whiche thou receyued of God in thy soule.

And therfore our lorde sayth to vs in his gospel: *Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem quotidie*. If any man will be my disciple and cum after me, let hym denye hymselfe, that is [f.vii] forsake his owne wyl and pleasure, and take his owne crosse, that is, put his owne body to payne and that dayly. For we must continue in penaunce, and so folowe Christe in our lyuynge, outwardly and nat onely inwardly, and hereunto saith saynt Paule: *Ostentionem caritatis vestre ostendite in faciem ecclesie*. That is, shewe your good wyl and charite openly in the face of the Churche, that is, in our werkes and in our dedes.

And saynt Peter sayth: *Christus passus est pro nobis relinquens exemplum vt sequamur eum*. Christ hath suffered paynes and deth for vs, gyuynge vs example to folowe hym. He doth nat say that we shuld haue a wyl & desyre only to folowe hym, but he sayth playnly that Christe hath left vnto vs an example that we shulde folowe hym in our dedes, in sufferynge paynes as he dyd. And then it myght be truely sayd of vs that we fele in ourselfe that Christe felte, whan [we] suffere
lyke paynes as Christe suffred, so that, by suche sharpe penaunce and harde labours, our bodyes be subdued and our blode minysshed. And so the sayng of scripture may be verified in vs: Effudit sanguinem belli in pace. He hath shed the blode of battell in the tyme of peace.

They do shed the blode of battell in the tyme of peace, which, by sharp penaunce & great bodyly labours, so subdue theyr bodyes that theyr blode is moche minisshed and theyr face made pale. Suche maner of exercises of the body, done for God, is reputed as a martirdome, and therby somwhat we reanswere vnto the passion of our lord.

Herunto speaketh saynt Barnard sayng: ‘this dayly penaunce and affliction of the body is a certayne kynde of very martirdome and effusion of blode; it is a litel more gentyl and nat so hugsome as is tormentes and deth by the swerd or other lyke, but it is more paynfull for the continuance therof,’ the other is sone done, but this lasteth long. ‘This is necessarie & profitable for vnperfite persons, that be weyke in spirite and nat stronge in fayth, and therfore dare nat auenture to suffer martyrdome and deth for Christe, but they be content to supply it by this martyrdome, that is dayly and continuall penaunce, whiche, by the continuaunce, is more paynfull.’

And thus the deuoute persones do fele in themselfe, by theyr outward penaunce, the passyon of our lord. As whan, by sharp penaunce, they subdue theyr bodies, ouercome vyce and all sensuall passions, and so continue in this crosse of penaunce with Christe.

How we shulde fele Christes passion in our pouerte and other necessites. The fourth Chapitre.

[f.viii] Fourthly, we shulde fele the paynes of Christe in our penury, pouertie and other necessites, so that, remembrynge the passion of Christe, we shulde gladly suffer all pouertie and penurie, and neuer to desyre that thynge that is pleasaunt to the bodye for the
pleasure therof, or takyng anythinge more then very necessitie requyreth, saynge with holy Job: *Donec deficiam non recedam ab innocentia mea*. As long as I lyue, I shall nat forsake myn innocencie, though we be in a maner consumed and lost, thoroughge hunger and penurye, so that we may say with the prophet David: *Defecit in dolore vita mea*. My lyfe is consumed thorough sorowe, my bodye and my herte also.

And surely this maner of penurie and necessitie, nat onely of meate and drynke, but also of all thynges that may be delectable to man, is accompted to good men in this lyfe as a kynde of martyrdome, by whiche necessityes, if we strongly and gladly bere them for God, we satisfye partly to our lord for his passion. And hereunto speaketh saynt Barnard, saynge: ‘Wylfull pouertie is a certen kynde of martyrdome.’ Almyghty God, descendyng from the inestimable riches of heuen and commynge into this worlde, wolde nat any of these ryches of this world, but cam in so great pouertie that anon as he was borne, for his credell he was layde into a crybbe in a vyle stable without the towne, for his mother culde haue no lodgyng in the cytie. Of his pouertie also appereth by his answere that he made to one the whiche sayd that he wold folowe hym where so euer he went.

And our lord answered and sayd: *Vulpes foueas habent, et volucres ceili nidos, filius autem hominis non habet vbi caput suum reclinet*. Foxis haue cauys or dennys, and byrdes of the ayre haue nestes, but the sonne of the virgine hath no place wherin to hyde or reste his heed.

In this necessitie was the apostle Paule, as it appereth by his wordes, saynge: ‘I was in many labours, ofte in peryll of dethe, in perylles of flodes, in perylles of theues, in perylles of Gentyles, in daungers within the cyte, in great daungers also in [the] wyldernes and also in the see, in perylles of the fals Jues. I was also in labour & great miserie, in great watch, in hunger and thrist, in moche
abstinence, in cold & in nakednes.’ These and many mo did the apostle suffer. And the mo y^st we paciently suffer of these or suche lyke, the more shal we fele Christes passion in ourself.

**How we shuld fele Christes passion in our rebukes and dispisynges. The v. Chapitre**

[f.viii^v] Fyftly, we ought to fele the passion of Christ in our rebukes and reproues, that, with most profound mekenes we shulde utterly dispise ourselfe and thynk ourselfe the warst of all other, sayng euer in our hertes, with mournynge: ‘I am gyltye of Christes deth, for I am the cause of his deth. He suffered for me, and I in no thynge reanswere to his benefytes.’ And therefore, it is conuenient that we somwhat recompense, with a contrite and meke spirite, that whiche we can nat or do nat in our warkes or dedes outwarde; that, as Christe dyd meke hymselfe for vs vnto the deth, yea, to the most vyle and shamfull deth of the crosse, so we shulde meke ourselfe as gyltie and culpable for his deth.

These maner of wayes we shuld fele that Christe suffred for vs, for these maner of wayes we were in hym. Fyrste, we were in his vnderstandyng eternally, before the begynnynge of the worlde, and so in his mynde that he wyll neuer forget vs. And therefore he sayth by his prophet Esaye: Nunquid potest obliuisce mater infantem vt non misereatur filio uteri sui? Et si illa oblivita fuerit, ego tamen non obliuisce tui. May a naturall mother (sayth our lorde by the prophet) forget her yonge chylde borne of her owne body, and so forget hym that she wyl nat haue any pitie of hym? as he myght say: Nay. And though it so be that she forget hym, yet I assure the I wyl neuer forget the.

Secondly, we were in Christ, nat onely in his vnderstandynge or mynde, but also in his affection and loue. And this appereth wel by his owne wordes, spoken by the prophet Hieremy, whereas he sayth thus:
In charitate perpetua dilexi te, ideo attraxi te, miserans tui. I haue (sayth our lorde) loued the in a perpetual charitie, and therfore, hauing great compassion on the, I haue drawen the to me.

Thyrldly, we were in hym, that is in the effecte of his werkes, for all that God wrought in this worlde was to the helpe of man. And whatsoeuer Christe dyd, or suffered, in this world, was nat for his owne profit, but all was for the comfort of man. And hereunto saynt Barnarde (after that he had recounted or noumbred all the labours and paynes that Christe suffered in this lyfe) sayde: ‘Who is he that knoweth whether the fruite and profyt of all these labours and paynes redounde or come to my profyt or nat?’ And he answereth and sayth: ‘It is all done and gyuen to my profit and comforth. For it coude be gyuen to none other. Nat to aungell, for he had no nede therof. Nat to the deuyll, for he myght take no profit therof, for he shall neuer ryse [f.ix’] from dampnation. Also our sauiour toke nat of hym the nature and similitude of aungell, nor yet the similitude of the deuyl, but he toke the nature of man.’

Fourthly, we were in Christ, that is, in his pouertie and penurie, for all the payne, pouertie and miserie that he suffred was for vs. And herunto speakeyth saynt Paule, sayng: Christus cum diues esset factus est pro nobis pauper, vt illius inopia nos diuites essemus. Christe, beynge most ryche, became poore for vs, that, by his pouertie and necessitie, we may be made riche.

Fyftly, we were in Christe, that is, in his rebukes and dispisynges, for all the mockes, scornes, repreues and dispisynges, with other lyke, that Christe suffred, was for vs, that therby he myght reconcile vs to his Father in heuen, and promote vs vnto the euerlastynge glorie. And therefore, as Christe dyd all these for vs, let vs suffer with hym and for our euerlastynge profyte.
The iii particle. Of diuerse maners and wayes to remembre Christes passion; and it is diuided in to vi Chapitres. Howe we may considre Christes passion with a mynde to folowe it. Chapitre i.

And that thou may the better bere in mynde our lordes passion, thou ought to knowe that a man may behaue hymself in remembraunce therof vi maner of wayes. Fyrst, he may considre this passion with a mynd to folowe it. Secondly, to haue compassion therof. Thyrdly, to meruyl therof. Fourthly, to ioy therof. Fyftly, to resolue or relent his hert into that passion. And sextly, suerly to rest therin, so that this imitation or folowyng shal be to the purgation & direction of his soule. The compassion: to the vnion and loue; th’ admiration or merueyling shal be to the leuation or lyftynge vp of his mynde; the ioy and gladnes to the opening and dilation of his herte; the relentynge shal be to his perfecte conformation; and the rest or quietnes shal be to the perfection of his deuotion. Of eche one of these seuene we shall write a lityll, so that the paynful passion of our moste louynge sauiour Jesu myght the more rather enflame and kyndle our dull affection and loue, illumyne and lyghten our blynde reason or vnderstandynge, and also that it myght be the more strongly inprinted in to our sliper memories.

Fyrst, I say we shuld considre the passion of our sauiour Christe [f.ix'] with a mynde to folowe it. For the imitation and folowyng of Christe is the most hyghe and perfite religion and rule of a perfite person. To folowe Christe (I say) in his passion and deth, by a continuall remembraunce, a louynge and affectuous compassion, and by vertuous operation is th’exemplar of perfection of all lyfe and trueth, so that this passion be our rule and th’ ordre of our liuyng, in all our meritorious dedes. For Christe is as a boke layd open on the pulpyt of the crosse, whereas he taught obedience, pacience,
mekenese and charitie, for the whiche – if we dayly use and and performe them – we shall be crowned in evertall felicite. And specyally we shuld lerne here how our sauiour Christe behaued hymself, in the chapitre whiche was holden and kepe for hym. Of the whiche saynt Barnarde speketh, sayng: ‘Jesus stode before the president, inclynynge or bowing down his heed, speakyng but fewe wordes with a softe voyce, a quiyte chere or countenaunce, lokynge downwarde to the erthe, and redy to receyue or beare patiently all rebukes and beatynge.’ Which thynges, whan we do nat, or elles be negligent to do and suffer them, how can or may we say that we folowe Christ?

Truely, so moche the more be we desolate of goodnes, in how moche we be separate or departed [fro] this exemplar and rule: our sauiour Jesu. We shuld haue a wyl and mynde (as moche as is in vs) to be dispised of all men; deiect, troden vnderfoote, set at nought, mocked & scorned; to be scourged, whipped, bet and to suffer persecution for Christ; and also to be rebuked in our good dedes or werkes for Christe. Also we shuld haue a desire to be poore or naked with Christe, nothyng couetyng or desiryng, and that namely inordinatly, but to be fully content with suche pouertie as God sendeth vs. And moreouer, it shuld be a greuous payne to vs, and moche sharpe sorowe to our hert, to haue anythyng and that superfluous. We shulde abhore to tast of any delectable and swete thyng, rather desiryng to be fed with yle and bitter meates or drynkes, remembryng that our sauiour Jesu was so fed at his passion.

And shortly to conclude, we shuld remembre and depely considire what our sauiour Jesu suffred for vs, and how he ordered hymselfe in his passyon and paynes, that we myght conforme ourselfe to hym inasmoche as we may. For his passyon shall nat saue vs synners that haue vse of reason, except we enforce ourselfe to folowe hym, and to conforme ourselfe vnto his pacience in some maner; or at
leest haue a full wyl & desyre therunto, accordyng to the sayng of the
prophet Esay, whereas the Sonne of God complaynethe to his father of
[f.x’] suche as wyll nat folowe hym, saynge: In vacuum laboraui, sine
causa et vane fortitudinem meam consumpsi. I haue laboured in
vayne, without fruyte, or vaynly I haue consumed or wasted my
strength, for fewe take hede to folowe me. Also the prophet Hieremy
sayth: Frustra conflauit conflator, malicie enim illorum non sunt
consumpte. That is: the trier or goldsmyth hath tryed, blowen and
laboured in vayne, for the rust of theyr malice or synne is nat
consumed. Of the whiche texte the glose sayth: the onely passion of
Christe shall nat saue them, except they folowe it in good lyuyng.

And hereto saint Gregory sayth: ‘If we serche & labour to haue
here pleasaunt and delectable thynges, what trust we to haue in the
lyfe to come? He that wyll nat mourne here, whereas he is as a
pilgrem, he shall nat ioy in heuen as a cytezen or as of the household
of heuen.’ Therfore, the more thou perceyue thyselfe to abounde in
temporal goodes, in worldly honour, and corporal pleasure or
consolation here in this lyfe, the more cause hast thou to be heuy and
sad, forasmoch as thou art farre from the true conformitie and
folowyng of Christ, and so farre from the consolation of God.
Wherefore, if we will reigne with Christe, it is necessarie that we
suffer for Christ, for there is no disciple aboue his mayster. Sith
therfore we be put in this world as in a felde to feight, whereas our
maister Christe faught strongly vnto ye dethe, that sowdiour or person,
the which here suffereth no beatyngs or woundes for Christe, shall
ryghteously appere, in ye world to come, vnglorious and without glory
or vnworthy rewarde.

And therfore saint Gregory expoundyng these wordes of our
lorde: Angusta est via que ducit ad vitam. It is a narowe or streit way
yat ledeth man to euerlastyng life, saith thus: ‘It is a strait way yat
ledeth to heuen, for if we wyl come thider, we must liue here in this worlde & yet nothyng to haue or to folowe of the concupiscence of the worlde; to couit nothyng that apperteineth to any other man; to gyue & forsak our owne goodes; to dispise the laudes and praisynges of the world; to honour them that dispise vs; to forgylene hertly injuries done to vs, and also to loue them, with hert and continually, that doth suche wronges vnto vs, and to do good to them,’ whiche all our sauiour Christe fullfylled here in this lyfe, leavyng example vnto vs to folowe his steppes; which steppes and examples, the more narowe and paynfull or strayt they be in this lyfe, the more they shal be ampliate, comfortable & ioyful in this lyfe to come.

And therfore the prophet David sayth. In tribulatione dilatasti mihi. In tyme of tribulation thou hast opened and spred abrode to me [f.xv] thy consolations and comfortes. And therfore, the holy seruauntes of God, whan they perceyue themselfe to abounde in the prosperities of this worlde, then they be very ferefull, suspectynge lest that they shuld receyue here in this lyfe the fruite and reward of theyr labours; fearyng lest that the iustice of God shulde se in them any priuy or lorkynge wounde of synne, for the whiche, of the ryghteousnes of God, they ought to be dampned. And therfore he, rewardynge theyr good dedes here in this lyfe with temporall pleasures, wyl expel them from ye true inward & eternal pleasures.

How we may considre the passion of Christ with a mynde to haue compassion therof. The ii. Chaptre.

Secondly, we shulde considre the passion of our lord to haue compassion therof; that is to say: we shulde ofte remembre in our hertes his beatynge and woundes, mockes and rebukes; and euer ymaginyng in ourself what deiection, contempt, sorowe and affliction he suffred in his herte and in his bodye, as we sayd before.
O how then the sweetness and pleasure of angels, Jesus Christ, was replenished with great bitterness and sorrow of pain. O how much that pain dyed grievous hym, but much more our unkindness. And above all dyed grievous hym the trouble and affliction of his mother, whom he so tenderly dyed love, and again was so derely loved of her that, for compassion of his pain and death, she was in a manner as dead or seemed to dye. In remembrance herof we have great matter and cause to weep, for our sins were the cause of his passion and death, and also of her compassion and great dolore or heaviness.

Wherfore, to have compassion of Christ's passion, let us deeply and inwardly consider that we were the occasion of the death of the only Son of God; we were false traitors unto hym and so deserved death, but he, of his inestimable charity, would suffer that shameful death to deliver us from eternal death. Let this charity—his scourgings, wounds, mockes, rebukes and death—perse the inward deepness of our heart; let there be nothing in us, but that it be anointed with this compassion, and also be wrapped with sorrow and heaviness for that death; and so we should daily mourn, as the loving mother mourneth the death of her only and tenderly beloved son.

O how much ought we to love hym and to be kynd to hym, which suffered so shameful a death for our redemption. Wherfore let us study and labour, in all that we may, to be associate and joined to hym with a most fervent love. For the more [f.xi] fervently we love hym, the more shall we have compassion of his passion; and so this fervent love and compassion shall so much increase together and be augmented, that they shall bryng vs to the perfection of love, and to the fruition of our lover. Wherfore let us be sorry with hym, trustynge verely, and that without any doubt, that if we be founde here to be partakers of his sorowe, in sorowynge for his deth and passion, we shall be made his felowes and companyons or partakers of his ioy and
consolation. For surely he that wolde nat hyde his ressurrection from Marie Magdalene, that with sorowe sought hym, he wyll nat denye his glorie to vs, that religiously and deuoutly do mourne with hym for his passion.

And therfore saynt Paule sayth: Si tamen compatimur vt et simul glorificemur. If we here suffer with Christe, we shal be glorified with Christe. Also our sauiour Christe saith: Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iusticiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum. Blessyd be they that suffer persecution for iustice (that is for Christe) for they shall haue the kyngdome of heuen. And contrariewyse saynt Austen sayth: ‘If thou be excepte from passion and payne – that is if thou suffer nat here some payne – thou shalt be exempte from the nombre of the chylderne of God. For as saynt Paule sayth: Quem dominus diligit, corrigit, castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recepit. Whom our lorde loueth, hym he doth chastyse, he correcth every one of them whom he receuyeth to his mercy and fauoure.’ Therfore if ye be nat vnder correction, as all the chyldern of God be, ye be nat the chylderne of God, but of the deuyll.

Hereby ye may perceyue that good lyfe doth nat stand principally in good fare or wel liuynge, but rather in paciently sufferyng wronges for Christe; though it be a comen prouerbe that he liueth well, that feadeth well. Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi, but carnall men speke carnally, and so deceuyse themselve with lyes, for, as Gerson sayth, ‘the more that sensual nature is oppressed and overcome for God, the more grace we receyue, & our inward man is dayly reformed into th’ image of God, with newe visitations of grace.’ And therfore I may say that man is conformed, vnit and incorporate to God by werynge that moste noble and precious garment of payne and passion, whiche our sauiour Jesus, lorde and maker of all creatures, dyd were and suffer in his owne bodye in this lyfe.
Hereunto sayth saynt Gregore: ‘The torment and payne that our lorde suffered, gloryfyet hym bothe inwardlye and outwardlye. In vs also, it compelleth hym to come to grace, that wolde nat come. [f.xi"] It teacheth and enformeth the ignorant, it kepeth vertue, it defendeth from seknes of synne, it quickeneth the dull person, it meketh the proud person, it crowneth and rewardeth th’ innocent and it stirreth or moueth man to suffer gladly dethe, wherby he may come to euerlastynge lyfe.’ Prayers and thankes be to God the Father, whiche hath gyuen vnto vs the victorie, thorowe the deth and passion of his son Jesu Christe. Amen.

**Howe we may consydre the passion of Christ with a mynde to meruayl therof. The iii Chapitre**

Thyrdly, we shulde considre the passion of Christ to meruayl therof. It is a wondrous thyng to consydre who suffered, what he suffered, and for whome he suffered. Fyrst, I say it is a meruaylous thyng to consydre who suffered. It was the sonne of God, th’ eternall and onely sonne of God, very God and man; all God, all myghty, all wyse; the kynge of glorie.

And what dyd he suffer? To be layd and to abyde as an infirme and frayle chylde ix monthes in his mother’s wombe; to be poorly borne; to be chased and dryuen into a straunge countre; he sufferd hongre, thrist, heat, colde, penurie, pouertie, tempestes, stormes, persecutions; lyeng in waite to accuse hym, beatynges, bondes, scourgynges, mockes, rebukes, sclaunders, with many other paynes and sorowes as we shewed before; so that the glorie of God was bespewed and all defowled with spittynges, the iustice of God was contempned, the iudge was falsly iudged, he that neuer offended was blamed, the innocent was accused and scalundered, God was blasphemed, Christ was dispysed, lyfe was sleyne; and therfore the sonne withdrewe and hyd his lyght and the mone waxed blacke and
derke. These, and many other mo paynes, suffered paciently our most louynge sauiour Jesus, whiche as a meke lambe was led vnto the dethe; and he wold nat ones resist his enemyes, though with one worde or one thought he myght haue cast downe or drowned all his enemyes in the depest pyt of hell.

But for whom suffered he all these great paines? Surely for hys most cruell and synfull enemyes; for his most wycked seruauntes or bondmen; for false tratoures; contempners or dispisers of his Godly maiestie; and for moste vnkynde wretches vnto theyr creatour and maker.

Syth therfore suche a glorious kyng, pure and innocent, suffred so many paynes and rebukes for so vile, false, wycked and most vnkynd caytiues, to whom he had [f.xii'] exhibite and shewed before that tyme all signes and tokens of benignitye and goodnes, was nat this a wondrous and meruaylous thynge?

Who may sufficiently meruayl of this thyng, to considre and se the most wyse, pure, myghtie, holy, and the euerlastynge beautie of the glorie of God, to suffer so shamfull deth for so stynkyng carion? In all these thynges we may well wonder and meruayl of the great goodnes and charitie of God.

For he, of his infinite charitie, made (of his owne flesshe and bodye, made reed with his owne blode) a reclamatorie or a lewer, to call vnto his mercy and grace those wylde hawkes and vnkynde people, the whiche, by inordinate loue to the flesshe and the worlde, had taken theyr flight from the hand and fauour of the noble fawconer our sauiour Jesus.

Of the which hawkes speakes the prophet Osee, saynge: Effraim quasi auis auolavit. Effraym hath flowen away or taken her flight as a wylde hawke. Effraym is, as moche to say by interpretation, as augmenta: encreasinges, and it may wel signifye suche people as here
haue theyr pleasure in worldly honours and pastymes, and encrease in them; suche people, lyke vnto vngentell or wylde hawkes, flye from the hand and fauour or loue of God, vnto the caryon of the bodye or of the worlde, and fede therof. And if they wyl nat be reclaymed vnto ye hand of this fawconer, neyther by his callynge or cryenge, nor yet by the shewynge of his lewre – that is by the remembraunce of his passion and dethe – they shal be lefte vnto the power and handes of the rauenar of hell, the deuyll.

Herunto our lorde speaketh by the wyse man saynge: Vocaui et renuistis, extendi manum meam, et non fuit qui aspiceret. &c. I haue called you (sayth our lord) and ye wold nat come. I haue extended my hand, shewynge my lewre – that is, gyuynge my benefytes vnto youe, and specyally myne owne precyous bodye and blode – but there is none that wyll beholde or regarde it and gyue to me due thankes theryfore. And it foloweth: Ego quoque in interitu vestro ridebo. And I shall laughe at you, whan ye shal be deuoured by the deuyles of hell. We myght here also shewe many other occasions of meruaylynge, whiche be written in diuerse places of this treatyse, and specially in the fyrste particle of this parte.

How we shuld consydrde Christes passyon to rejoyse and ioy therin. The iii Chapitre.

[f.xii'] Forthy, we shulde considre the passion of our lorde to ioy therin. For we shuld ioy therof for the redemption of mankynde, for the reparynge and restorynge of the ruyne and decay of aungelles. And also we shuld ioy of the greate charitye and goodnes of God, shewed in the sayd passion.

Fyrste, without doubte, we ought greatly to rejoyse and ioy in our redemption, whiche we had by the deth and passion of Christe. Who is he (I beseche you) that wyll nat be ioyfull and gladde of this deth and passion, whan he considereth that therby he is redeemed from
eternal damnation, from the rebuke of sin, from the power of the devil, and from the miserable pains of hell?

Secondly, we shuld joy that ye fall of angels is repaired by the passion of Christ. Suerly it may be a great rejoysyne to vs, whan we considre that so noble a college as is the company of angells, thorough the deth of Christ, shal be repared and fulfilled with vs, so that of angelles & of men shal be one heerd or flocke vnder one herdman: our sauiour Jesu Christ; so that they and we may be all one in hym.

Thirdly, we oughte moste specyally to rejoyse, beholdynge in al the forsayd thynges the great and inestimable charitie of our sauiour Jesu Christ, our lorde and God. Howe, or in what thyngye, myght he haue shewed more clerely, or more to our comforth, his most benigne goodnes, then in his most glorious passion, whereas he suffered so shamfull, sharpe and greuous paynes for the deliuerance of his enemy, and to glorifye hym that was worthy to be punysshed with eternall dethe?

And therfore the scripture sayth: Inundationes maris quasi lac sugent et thesauros altissimos arenarum. They that sucke, as it were mylke, the swellnynges or inundations and tempestes of the see, and also the depe and hyd treasoures of the sande or grauell. By this suckynge is signifyed the confortable swetnes that we haue in the receyuynge of the precious bodye of our lorde, the whiche we receyue in the remembrancie of the passion of our lord, and of the great treasure that was hyd in the manyfold paynes and sorowes that he suffred before his dethe, wherby we were redemed; whiche we ought at all tymes to remembre.

And therfore the prophet Dauid sayth: Adhereat lingua mea faucibus meis si non meminero tui. I wolde my tunge shulde cleue fast to my iawes if I do nat remembre the. Then dothe the tunge cleue fast
to the iawes, when a man, nothynge regardynge spirituall pleasures, enforceth hymselfe to folowe worldly or carnall pleasures. The swetnes that commeth in to the soule by receuyng of the sacrament [f.xiii'] redoundeth in to the iawes or chekes that be wel disposed. That is to say, it is nat onely comforth to a good soule, but also to all the poures of the bodye, as the suckynge of the salt water from the see, wherby is signified the bitter paynes of Christes passion. And these spiruall consolations be the treasures more precious than golde and precious stone. Also they be hyd treasures, for no man knoweth them but he that receyueth them. And as the prophet Dauid sayth: they be moche more to be desyred then golde or precious stone, and more pleasaunt or swetter then hony or any honycombe. For they that be replenysshed with this hyd treasure – that is, with th’ abundauent remembraunce of the passion of Christ, through the plenteousness therof – they speake wordes of swetnes and comforth, and ioy in a great iustice, for they haue the great plenteousnes of graces.

And herunto the prophet Esay sayth: Gaudete super eam gudio vniuersi qui lugebatis super eam, et vt sugatis et reampleamini ab vberibus consolationis eius. &c. All ye that in tyme past mourned or wept, in the consideration of the passion of Christ, ioy now therof in considerynge the great profites that cometh therof; sucke them – that is, depely and inwardly considre them – that ye may be replenisshed with the teates or pappes of his consolations. And also ye shall mylke those pappys, that ye may abounde in all spirituall pleasure, by the consideration of his great glorie. In the remembraunce of the passion of Christe, when we considre his most greuuous paynes, and how yst we were the cause of them thoro our vnkyndnes and synnes, then we sucke out of it sorowe and heuynes. And when we considre what profit comethe therof vnto mankynde, then we suck out of it great comforth and ioy. And these two be the teetes or pappys of the

Psal. 18.11
Esa. 66.10-11
whiche the prophet Esay speaketh, and of the whiche the faythfull people sucke great comforth, in receuyynge the sacrament of the bodye of our lorde. From these pappys, whan they be sucked, cometh the mylke of chastitie and puritie of lyfe, and also the swetnes of all vertue. And when they be milked with our handes – that is, when nat only we considre the passion of Christe as is before sayd, but also in our lyuyng and werkes we conforme ourself therunto, and werke therafter – then we mylke and drawe them, and so shal we flowe in th’ aboundaunce of spirituall pleasures thorough the consolation of the Holy Gost.

We myght also, here for our purpose, bryng in the saynge of our lorde in the gospell, whereas he sayth: *Gaudium erit angelis dei in celo super vno peccatore penitentiam agente, quam super nonaginta nouem iustis.* There is more ioy in heuen [f.xiii\(^{v}\)] vnto the aungelles of God vpon one sinner, converted from synne and doyng true penaunce, then of nynety and nyne iust and ryghteous men that nede no penaunce. Who is this one synner but our sauiour Jesu Christe, whiche, though he were no synner indede, yet he was reputed as the most great sinner, and so he wold be reputed and taken, for he came to beare our synnes, and to do penaunce and to suffer for all our synnes.

**How we may considre Christes passion to resolue or relent our hertes into Christ and his passion. Chaptre v.**

Fyftly, we shulde considre the most blessed passion of our sauiour Christe, to resolue and relent our hertes into our sauiour Christe and into his passion, and that by a perfite transformynge of ourselfes into hym. And that is done when nat only we do folowe that passion, haue compassion therof, do meruayll therof, and ioy therof; but also, in a maner, the hole man is converted into our lord and sauiour, Jesus Christ crucified, so that, in a maner, at all tymes and all places Christe crucified is present with hym. And furthermore, that
person is then in his mynde abstract and withdrawn from all thynges, and eluete or lyfted vp aboue all creatures, and holly conveted into his lorde God, crucified for vs.

But this conversion and relentyng of our hertes into Christ crucified can nat conueniently be, except there be a congruitie or a conuenient proporcion taken of some similitude bytwixt our hertes and the sacrament of the aulter, recyued of vs sacramentally, or elles spiritually, with the remembranrece of the passion of our lorde crucified for vs. For, as the philosopher sayth, nothyng norysseheth but that whiche is lyke vnto the thyng norysshed. Wherfore, sith this heuenly and spirituall foode – that is, the bodye of our lorde – doth moche norysshe, it folowethe that it must be moche lyke vnto the person noryssshed. The digestion or norysshyng is then, whan the meate is altered and conveted into the thyng norysshed. And therfore, for that the materiall and corporall foode or meate is conveted into that bodye that is fedde, it foloweth that the digestion must be both of the meate and of the drynke. Herunto it is written in the first boke of the kyngs. *Digere paulisper vinum quo mades.* Digest that wyne that thou hast dronke.

But in this spirituall meate, forasmuche as it is nat tourned into vs, but contrariewayse we be conveted in to it, it foloweth that the digestion must be, in vs, vnto the similitude of this heuenly and holsome meate. And this similitude, or congruite of [f.xiiiif] this spirituall meate vnto the person fed, standeth in v thynges: that is in our digestion or conversion in to this heuenly meate; in the similitude of ymage; in the conformitie of nature; in the payrnese or good ordre of our conversion; and in the takynge of our miserie, by paynes in a maner vntollerable. And these v bene more largely declared by the great clerke and noble doctor called Albertus Magnus, in his boke de
Eucharistia, that he wrote of the sacrament in a chapitre of these same
thynges.

How we may considre Christes passion to rest our selfes
swetely therin. Chaptre vi.

Sextly, we shulde considre this most blessed passion to rest
ourselfe moste swetely therin. And that is whan our herte (as we in the
last consideration sayd) relented, converte and transformed into our
lorde crucified, doth nat yet cease, but with a feruent desyre
remembreth the sayd passion, entryng mekely and deuoutly into that
hyghe and depe treasure of Christes passion, as farre as is possible for
man; meltynge and relentyng thoroughg loue and feruent deuotion; in
a maner fauyntynge or faylyng in ourselfe, and restyng in our lorde
Christe Jesu crucified for vs. And then, in how moche the more we
faynt or fayle from ourselfe, so moche the more we rest and cleue vnto
our deare beloued lord crucified for vs. So that these ii, that is, this
rest or cleuyng to our lorde, and this feruent deuotion of loue, do
augment and encrease themselfe in themselfe, for the one helpeth the
other. For, as we sayd before, the more that our nature is oppressed,
ouercome, and doth languysshe or waxe seke for loue, the more it
approcheth and draweth nygh vnto her deare belouyd, and the more
grace we receyue, & our inward man, that is our soule, is dayly visited
with newe visitations and reformed vnto the ymage of God, vnto the
tyme that it, holly faylynge in itselwe, be absorpte and taken into that
feruent chymney of loue of the passion of our most beloued Jesu, and
there to rest swetely, as the spousesse swetely restyng in the armes or
bosome of her deare beloued spouse; the whiche sayth thus in his
canticles: Adiuro vos filie sion: ne euigilare faciatis dilectam donec
ipsa velit. I adiure and charge you, O you doughters of Syon, that ye
do nat vnreste, vnquiete, or wake my deare beloued spousesse, vnto
suche tyme it shall please her.
This penetration and inward entrynge of our hertes into our lorde God, & there restyng, as we sayd before, is perceyued and vnder [f.xiii"'] standyd by the forsayd congruitie or conueniency taken of a similitude, as we declared in the fyfte consideration, as ye may more clerely perceyue by the declaration of the noble forsayd doctor Albert, in his sayd boke de Eucharistia, distinctione tertia tractatu primo, capi. vi.

The v. particle is diuided in to xix Chaptres.

The first is of xx profites and fruities that cometh to man by the medytation of Christes passion, and that by th’ ordre of the letters of the Alphabete or A.B.C. Fyrste Chapitre.

These profites bene writen by a deuout father of th’ ordre of saynt Austen, a reder of diuinitie or holy scripture, called Rycharde of Laudenberge, in his passionarie or boke yat he wrote of the passion of our lorde Jesu Christe, and for your comforthe we wryte them here.

The fyrste profite. Animorum purgat feditatem.

The meditation of the passion of Christe dothe purge the fylthynes of our myndes or soules. Hereunto saynt Johan sayth: Sanguis Iesu Christi emundat nos ab omni peccato. The blode of Jesu Christ doth clense and make vs clene from all synne. And in his Apocolipse he sayth: Lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo. He hath washed us from our synnes in his blode. And therfore Christe, in his gospel, called his passion a baptisme, bycause it purgeth vs from our synnes, sayng thus: Baptismo habeo baptisari et quomodo coartor vsque dum perficiatur? I must be baptysed with a certain baptisme, and I am in great anguisshe vnto it be performed and done. And therfore, the synners that be in good wyll & mynde to clense theyr consciences from the spottes of vices and synnes, shulde ofte remembre the passion of Christe.
Euery mortall and damnable synne is, as it were, a buckler or a shelde to defende the deuyll, that he be nat expelled from the soule of the synner; but Christe brake this buckler and shelde by his passion and deth, that he suffered on the crosse. And therfore the prophet Dauid sayde of Christe. *Arcum conteret et confringet arma et scuta comburet igne.* He shall breke the bowe and the armour, and he shall burne in the fyer the sheldes or bucklers; that is, he shall burne and consume our synnes (whiche be the bucklers [f.xv] of the deuyll) with the feruent fyer of charitie, whiche he had in his glorious passion that he suffered on the crosse.

And therfore we may say that he burned vii bucklers – that is the vii deedly synnes – with the foresayd fyer of charitie. Fyrst pryde, by the inclynation and bowynge downe of his heed; it seamed as that he wolde haue fledde from the solempe title that was written aboue his crosse: *Iesus nazarenus rex iudeorum.* This is Jesus of Nazereth ye kyng of Jues. Secondly, he consumed enuy by th’extention and castying abrode of his armes, as redy to receyue & halse his enemyes for the great loue he had vnto them. Thyrdly, he burned the bukler of auarice or couitice, in his large gyftes that he gaue in his passion. And herto [sayth] saynt Barnarde: ‘Lerne, thou Christiane, how moche thou ought to loue thy sauiour Christe, whiche gaue hymselfe vnto the deth for our redemption; he gaue his flesshe vnto vs in meate, his blode to our drynke, the water of his syde to wasshe vs, his garmentes to his crucifiers, his bodye to his disciples, and his mother to his disciple Johan.’ Fourtly, he burned slouth, by his wyful and spedy comyng to his passion. Fyftly, he consumed wroth, by his sylence and softe or gentyll speche. Sextly, he distroyed glotony, by the drynkyng of asel & gall. And seuenta, he ouercame lychery, by the openynge and woundynge of his syde. And therfore we may say well, that the
meditation and remembraunce of the passion of Christe doth purge and clense the fylthynes of our soules.

The ii. profit. Bellatorum roborat pusillanimitatem.

The remembraunce of the passion of Christe doth conforte and strength warryours or fyghters, and that as well in iust corporal batel as in [spirituall]. Of corporal batell it appered in the noble emperour Constantine, whiche caused the signe of the crosse to be borne before his hoste or army, to the intent that the passion of Christe shulde gyue strengthe vnto his knyghtes and sawdiours that faught vnder that baner of the crosse, and so it dyd. For as we rede in Historia Tripertita, when theyr enemys came agaynst them, he that bare the baner of the crosse was sore afrayd, and for that feare he wold nat beare that banar, but toke it vnto another man, and so fled from yᵉ felde, but or that he could conuey hymselfe away, he was wounded and slayne; whereas the other person that bare the baner of yᵉ crosse, thorowe the vertue [f.xvʳ] of the passion of Christe was saued from all hurt, though ofte tymes he were in great daunger of his enemyes, and many dartes shotte at hym, whiche all dyd lyght in the baner and cleued fast therin. The passion of Christe doth also strength vs in our spirituall battell, for therby onely we opteyne victorie. Herunto speaketh sayth Paule: Deo gratias qui dedit nobis victoriam per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Praysed and thanked be God, that hathe gyuen to vs the victorie by the merites of our lorde Jesus Christe.

The iii. profit. Christianorum excitat tepiditatem.

It also exciteth and stirreth the dulnes and coldness of Christians vnto deuotion. And herunto sayth Paule sayth: Recogitate eum qui talem sustinuit a peccatoribus contradictionem, &c. Remembre hym that suffered such contradiction of synners agaynst hymselfe; that is, suche rebukes, dispisynges and shamfull deth, that ye, by suche remembraunce, shulde nat faynt or waxe dull in your myndes. As if he
sayde: If ye haue in mynde the passion of Christe, ye shall haue no
tediousnes or dulnes in your good and meritorious werkes.

The iii. profit. Diabolorum fugat potestatem.

It chaseth away the power of the deuyle. And therfore saynt
Austen sayth: ‘The signe of the crosse chaseth away from vs our
gostly enemy, if so be that God inhabit our hertes by ofte
remembraunce of his passion.’ We rede that David, with playenge
on his harpe, chased away the euyl spirit from kynge Saul. Not yat
there was so great vertue in the herpe, but in the signe of the crosse
figured and signified by the tree of the herpe and th’extention or
streynynge of the strynges.

And therfore at euery suggestion or temptation of the deuyll, it
is expedient for vs to haue recours vnto the meditation of ye
passion of Christ, and to the signe of the crosse, of the whiche the deuyll is
afrayd, and by it he is chased away, lyke as the dogge is afrayd and
fleith away whan he seith a staffe lyfted vp. And no meruayll, for
thorowe the vertue of the passion of Christe, the whiche he suffered
on the crosse, the deuyll was smyten downe and overcome. Herunto
speaketh the prophet Esay, saynge: A voce domini pauebit Assur virga
percussus. Assur, smyten with the rodde of God, [f.xvi’] shall feare the
voyce of God. Assur is, as moche to say by interpretation, as
Negotiator, a marchaunt that laboureth in many places or labours,
and it signifieth the deuyll, the whiche, laboryng and comynge
about the worlde, searcheth whome he myght deuoure. He is neuer
idle, but, forasmoche as he was ons smyten with the rodde of the
crosse in the passion of Christe, therfore he is greatly afrayd
whansoeuer he seeth the signe of the crosse made of that persone that
faythfully calleth on the Father, on the Sonne, and on the Holy Gost,
saynge: In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Moreouer, lyke as a
knyght, or any other valiant man overcombe in battel, wolde be
ashamed to abyde in that chambre or place whereas his falle or vaynquesshynge were paynted, so the deuyll, ouercome thorowe the passion of Christe, wyll in no meanys abyde in that soule, whereas he seeth the passion of Christe lyuely paynted by diligent remembraunce therof.

5

The v. profit. Erroneorum reuocat pusillanimitatem.

The meditation of the passion of Christe doth call agayne those that bene in erroure. For Christe hath made a caller or a lewer of his owne bodye, dyed, made reed with his owne precious blode, to call agayyne his hawkes, the whiche hath flowen away from the hande of the noble man; that is, the soule of them that haue forsaken Christe by synne or errore. Of whom the prophet Osee sayth: Effraim quasi auis aulauit. Effraim hath taken his flyght lyke vnto a wylde hawke. Effraim is, as moche as to say by interpretation, as fat or encreased, and it signifieth those persones that be encreased and made fatte in worldly and carnall pleasures, or in folowynge of theyr owne frowarde wylles and sensuall reasons. Suche persons haue taken theyr flyght from the loue of God, and if they wyll nat retourne and come agayne to the voyce of the caller or preacher, or at the shewynge of his lewer – that is, at the remembraunce of the passion of Christe – he wyll dimysse them; leue them to the rauynous fauconoure of hell; to the deuyll.

10

It is wryten by the prophet Hyeremye that our lorde sayth thus: Reuertere ad me, et ego suscipiam te. Though thou haste done neuer so many synnes, or folowed all hereses, yet retourne to me, and I shall receyue the. Also our lorde saythe by the prophete Esay: Reuertere ad me quoniam redemi te. Retourne to me thou synner or erroneous persone, for I haue [f.xvi'] redemed the and bought the agayne with my precious blode and passion.

15

Osee 9.11

Heire. 3.1

Esa. 44.22
Take heed unto this callyinge, and obey therunto, for I assure you it is moche perilous and daungerous to withstand it. And it apereth wel by the wordes of our lorde, spoken by the wise man, saynge: Vocaui et renuistis; extendi manum meam, et non erat qui aspiceret; ego quoque in interitu vestro ridebo. I haue called you and ye refused to come to me. I haue extendyd my hand with greate gyftes and benefites. I haue shewed vnto you my lewer, shed my precious blode for you, and ye wolde nat regarde these thyngs, and therfore I shal be glad & ioyful of your perdicion.

The vi profit. Flagiciorum debilitat pronitatem.

This meditation of the passion of Christe doth enfeble, make weyke, and subdue our pronitie and redynes vnto vice. And therfore saynt Austen sayth: ‘Whansoever my foule cogitation doth moue me, then I rune to the woundes of Christ. Whan the fleshe or the sensualytie therof doth oppresse me, I ryse agayne thoroughe the remembraunce of the woundes of my lorde God. If the fyer of carnal concupiscence enflame my membres, it is quenchyd by the remembraunce of the Sonne of God.’ Also Origene sayth: ‘Suche is the vertue of the crosse, that if it be in the syght of man, and faythfully holden and kepte in his herte, so that feruently and deuoutly that man beholde and remembre the deth and passion of Christe, there shall no concupiscence, no carnall motion, no furie or angre, nor any enuy overcome that persone, but sodenly, at the presence and syght of that passion, all vice and synne shal be chased and dryuen away.’

The vii. profit. Gaudiorum donat vbertatem.

It gyueth vnto man great plentie of spirituall ioy. Herevnto speakeoth the prophet Esay, saynge: Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris. Ye shall drawe, from the profound and depe misterie of the pitie and mercy of God, waters – that is, abundaunce of teares in ioy of deuotion – from the wellys and fountayns; that is, from
the woundes of our sauiour Christe, the which at one tyme dyd shed 
furth blode in great abundaunce, but now dayly and continually they 
bryng furth the incessable waters of grace. Wherfore the deuout soule, 
restyng in this meditation, sayth in the canticles: Sub vmbra illius 
quem desideraueram sedi, et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo. I haue 
sitten & rested me vnder [f.xvii′] the shadowe of hym whom I desired, 
and his frute is pleasaunt to my mouth and tastynge.

And therfore Celestine sayth: ‘Those holy sayntes and 
seruauntes of God bene dyed in the blode of the most holy, that shed 
his blode for them, when they be crucified with Christ crucified; that 
is when they haue compassion of his sorowfull paynes of deth, and ioy 
in his loue, and with his ioyfull loue drynkyng his blode and eatynge 
his fleshe, embryasing or halsynge with great pleasure his crosse and 
paynfull deth, lyckynge and suckyng his woundes, entryng into his 
most louyng herte, that was opened with a spere, and naylynge 
themselfe fast to hym vnseperably, with the nayles of true and 
faythfull loue.’ These persones, I say, ben dyed & colored with the 
blode of Christ.

The viii profit. Hororrum vitat perpetuatem.

This meditation of the passion of Christe, ofte remembred, doth 
deliuer vs from the paynes of hel. And herunto saynt Paule sayth: 
Expoliand principatus et potestates. Glosa inferni. Our sauiour 
Christ, spoilyng the principates and powers of hel of theyr pray – that 
is of Adam, Noe, Abraham, and all other ryghtuous persones – brought 
them to heuen with great power. And therfore whoso wyll nat occupy 
his mynde with the meditation of the passion of Christe, it is to be 
feared of his damnation. For as saynt Gregory sayth: ‘The worde of 
God, and specyally of the passion of Christe, is the meate and food of 
ye soule, and as a quasye or seke stomake casteth vp the meat that it 
receyueth, so that soule is seke that forgetteth the word of God, herde
of the preacher. But as that person is in peryll of dethe that can nat receyue or kepe his meate, so he is in peryll of eternall dethe that doth nat remembre and lyue accordyngly to the spirituall food of the soule.’ Also saynt Barnarde sayth: ‘It may be thought that that person shal be eternally dampned by the ryghtuous iudgement of God, that in this tyme of grace is vnkynde vnto Christes passion, and therfore vnworthy the frute therof.’

The ix. profit. Ingeniorum illuminat cecitatem.

It is also an oyntment to oynt the blynde yen of our soule; and herunto sayth John in his Apocalipse: Collirio inunge oculos tuos vt video. Anoynte the yene of thy soule with the blode of Christe that thou myghtest se. And saynt Barnarde sayth: ‘There is nothynge of so great efficacitie and vertue to purge and quycken the syght of our soule, as is the continuall [f.xvii] and diligent remembraunce of the woundes and passion of Christ.’ And therto sayd saynt Paule: Non iudicaui me scire aliquid inter vos, nisi Jesum Christum, et hunc crucifixum. I judged & thoght myselfe to knowe nothynge but Jesus Christ crucifyed. So saynt Laurence by the signe of the crosse dyd gyue syght vnto them that were blynde, and so conquered them vnto the light of the faith.

The meditation of the passion of Christe doth gyue vnto the remembrer thre maner of knowledges. Fyrst is the knowledge of God, for therby we knowe what mercy and charitie he hath to vs. Secondly, therby we knowe ourselfe; for by it we se manifestlie of what dignytie, and howe precious, our soules be in the syght of God, sithe that our sauiour Jesu, God and man, wolde put hymselfe to the deth for to redeeme our soules. The thyrde knowledge is of synne, for therby we knowe moste manifestlie howe moche God the Father dyd hate synne; syth for the destruction therof he wolde nat spare his natural and onely sonne, but gaue hym to the dethe for to destroy synne.
The x. profit. Iustorum letificat mortalitatem.

It maketh a man redy and glade to dye. And therfore saint Paule, bearynge the signes and tokens of the woundes of our lorde Jesu Christe in his bodye, sayde: Cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo. Mihi viuire Christus est et mori lucrum. I couit to be dissolued and separate from this bodye, and so to be with Christ. I lyue here in Christe; and for to magnifie Christe, and to dye, it shuld be great auuantage and profite to me. So saynt Andrew went gladly to the dethe of the crosse, saynge: 'Hayle holy crosse, take me from the compaigney of mortal men, and rendre or gyue me to my maister Christe, that he by the myght receyue me, that by the bought and redemed me.'

Also I rede how that a certen pagane and tyrante, meruaylynge how that the Christians myght suffer so great tormentes and paynes, and why they went so gladly vnto the deth, it was answered to hym by the brother of saynt Victor, howe that they haue the remembraunce of the passion of Christe imprinted in theyr hert, and therfore, remembryng what he suffred for them, they with great gladnes suffer all paynes & deth for his name and loue. And the iudge, heryng this answere, commaunded to put hym to deth, and after that his bodye to be opened and his hert drawen out, and so to be kut and deuided; and therin they founde the forme and shappe of the crosse and crucifix most subtilie and curiously made of synewes and vaynes. [f.xviii']

The xi profit. Lesorum reconsiliat contrarietatem.

The meditation of the passion of Christ reconsileth enemis, and induceth a man to the loue of God and of his neghbor. And so our lorde sayde in the gospell: Si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum. If I be exalted from the erth (signifienge therby his crucifieng) I shall drawe all thynges vnto me by my loue. Also saynt...
Paule sayth: Pacificans per sanguinem crucis, siue que in terris, siue que in celis sunt. He dyd reconcile and pacifie, by his blode that he shedde on the crosse, both those thyngs that were in erth, and those that were in heuens. He that feruently remembreth the passion of Christe is all drawen into the loue of God, and into the loue of his neighbor. And therfore saynt Barnarde saith: ‘O swete Jesu, the cuppe of passion, that thou dranke for vs, doth cause the to be loued of vs aboue all thyngs. There is nothynge that moueth vs so moche to the loue of God as the passion of Christe, in the whiche he more laboured, and suffred more payne, and had more contradiction then in the creation of all the worlde. For in his passion and the acte of our redemption some dyd contrarie hym in his wordes, some dyd ley in awayt to take hym with a defaut in his actes & dedes, some dyd scorne & mocke hym in his tormentes and paynes, and some dyd rebuke hym on the crosse at his dethe.’ Wherfore whosoeuer feruently doth remembre this passion of Christ is drawen and reuysshed vnto the loue of Christe, God & man, and so consequently he is drawen vnto the loue of his neighbor; for yᵉ one can nat be had without yᵉ other.

The xii profit. Meritorum recompensat exiguitatem.

It also encreaseth our merites. Herunto speakeyth saynt Austen saynge: ‘Whatsoeuer grace of merites or goodnes that I want, I do usurpe and take it vnto my comforth of the woundes of my sauiour Jesu Christe; for great mercy flowethe from hym, nor theyr wanteth no conduites, by the whiche they may flowe vnto me.’ Those pypes and conduites ben the woundes of my sauiour Christe, whiche be full of mercy, ful of pitie, swetnes and charitie. And hereof we may perceyue: fyrst, that this meditation supplyeth in vs that grace, and those good meritorious dedes, whiche otherwyse we be negligent to laboure for. Secondly, it may appere that there is no penaunce that may be compared to this inward and feruente meditation. [f.xvii]
And therfore sayth that greate lerned doctor Albertus Magnus: that this meditation is more profitable than that a man shulde fast one hole yere in brede and water, or that euery day by one hole yere he shulde say one hole Dauid psalter, or if he shulde discipline and scourge hymselfe euery day vnto the effusion of his blode. And no meruayll, for without the passion of Christe all our actes and dedes ben vnprofitable, as sayth the mayster of the sentence: Distinc. 16. libro tertio.

The xiii profit. *Nocuentorum fugat inopinabilitatem.*

This meditation of the passion of Christe doth preserue a man from many perylles that may come sodenly, before we haue any consideration or knowledge of them. Herunto it is writen in the Apocolipse: that our lorde commaunded by his aungell, to certen aungelelles to whom he had gyuen, in commaundement, to trouble and punisshe the people of the world, saynge: *Nolite nocere terre et mare neque arboribus, quoadusque signemus seruos dei nostri in frontibus eorum.* Noy nat, nor hurte the erth, nor the see, ne yet the trees, vnto suche tyme we haue marked the seruauntes of our lorde God in theyr forheedes – that is with the signe of the crosse – and that we do by the meditation of the passion of Christe.

In figure herof the aungell, that dyd kyl and sley the fyrst gotten both of man and beest thoroughout all Egipte, dyd spare and saue harmles the Jues, whose houses or postes of theyr doores were sprynkeled with the blode of the lambe. Also saynt Gregory, in his second boke of his Dialogs, sheweth yat when one certen malicious person, purposing to poison saint Benedict, dyd gyue vnto hym wyne mixted with poyson, he made the signe of the crosse and anone the cuppe brake in to pecys; and so escaped the peryll of deth thoroughge the vertue of the crosse.

The xiii profit. *Orthodoxorum spei ficat timiditatem.*
It also gyueth great hope and truste vnto faythful people. And herunto saynt Barnarde expounynge these wordes of the canticle: *In foraminibus petre*, sayth thus: ‘I shall speke these thynges; I shall sure abyde and rest in the hooles of the stone – that is in the woundes of my sauiour – for I haue set my feet sure vpon that stone, though the worlde frowne and be troubled with me, and the flesshe or sensualitie stryue agaynst me, and also the [f.xix‘] deuyll ley in await of me. I shall nat fall, for I haue set my fete and affection or loue vpon a sure stone. I haue offendyd in a greuouse and dampnable synne; my soule therby shall be troubled or vexed, but it shal nat be vtterly cast downe by dispaire, for Ishal remembre the woundes of my sauyour Jesu, for he was wounded for my synnes.’ Also saint Austin sayeth: ‘Longius opened the side and herte of my sauiour Jesu for me, that I myght entre therein. And I haue entred therin and do rest there surely & quietly. The nayles and the spere do call & crye vnto me that I may be truely reconciled vnto Christe, yf that I wyll loue hym.’

The xv profite. *Peccatorum aduocat viuacitatem.*

This meditation induceth and bryngeth to man the grace of God, whiche is the lyfe of the soule, and therefore saynt Bernard sayeth: ‘As ofte as that person that deuoutely remembreth the passion of Christe bretheth, & receyueth brethe agayne, so ofte he receyueth a new gyft of grace, and grace is the life of the soule.’ Phisiciens don say that whan a sicke man wepyth, it is a signe & token of lyfe. So whan a synner wepyth for compassion of the passion of our lorde, it is a signe of the lyfe of grace and quickenes of the soule. And therfore sayeth the prophet Hieremy in his lamentacions. *Spiritus oris nostri christus dominus captus est in peccatis nostris, cui dicimus. In umbra tua viuemus.* Our lorde Christe, the spirite of our mouthe (that is to say the spirite, whereby our soule liueth, lyke as the body liueth by the ayre or brethe receiued at the mouthe), this spirite Christe (I say)
giyntge lyfe vnto the soule, is taken in our synnes; that is, he suffred payne & dethe for our synnes. We shall lyue in his shadow; that is, we shal haue the lyfe of grace thrughe the deuout & feruent remembraunce of that his dethe and passion.

And so Christe, by his blessed passion, doeth gyue the lyfe of nature, the lyfe of grace & the lyfe of glory. Fyrste, I say he giveth the lyfe of nature: for dede men, after his passion & resurrection, dyd ryse vnto lyfe agayne, & appered vnto many in Hierusalem. Secondly, he giveth the lyfe of grace: for many after his passion were convuerted vnto the faythe. And he gyueth also the lyfe of glory, as it well appered in the thefe, to whom he sayd (whan he was fast nayled on the crosse) Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. This day shalt thou be with me in glory. Also hereunto speketh saynt Bernarde, sayenge: ‘The tree of the crosse (yf there be any man that wyll gader it by feruent meditation) doeth burgyn and [f.xix"] brynge furth lyfe; it fructifieth ioy & gladnes, it droppeth oile of confort & it sweteth the balme of spiritual graces. This tree of life is no wilde & vnfruitfull tree, to them yat will gader it.’

Also saint Austin sayth: ‘The blood of the phisicien is shed to make a medecin for the mad & sicke soule.’ The soule & spouse of Christe, sayth in the canticles: Sub vmbra illius quem desideraui: sedi et fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo. I haue sitten & restyd vnder ye shadow of him in whom is all my desyre & confort, & his fruit is swete & pleasaunt vnto my taste. For whosoeuer doeth sauourly taste of the fruit of the crosse, all carnall pleasure shal be vnsauoury to hym.

The xvi profite. Quassatorum mitigat aduersitatem.

This meditacion of the passion of Christ doeth mitigate & swage all tribulacions, & doeth giue pacience in all aduersities, & so maketh vs quiet.
Herunto speketh saint Paule, sayng: Recogitate eum qui talem sustinuit a peccatoribus contradictionem aduersum semetipsum, vt non fatigemini animis vestris deficientes. Remembre hym that suffred great contradiction of synners against himselfe; that is suche rebukes, slanderous wordes & at last most painefull deth, that ye by suche remembrance shuld nat faynt in your myndes whan ye suffre aduersities. As yf he shuld saye: ye can nat faynte or be ouercom in your tribulations, yf ye haue the deuout remembrance of his pains & passion.

And this approueth saint Austin, sayenge: 'There is nothynge so harde or painfull: but yst it may be easely borne, yf the passion of Christe be quicke & feruent in our myndes.' And this is ye reason herof: for the lesse passion or payne is nat perceyued, or at leest is nat regarded, whereas ye more greuous payn or passion is felt, or doeth occupy the minde of man. And therefore Auicenna sayeth that suche persones as be in feruent agues or axes, doeth nat fele or perceiue the apostume. And so the passion of Christe, yf it be feruently remembred, it putteth away all worldly tribulacion.

For lyke as wyne (though it be sumwhat stronge and sharpe of itselfe) yf it be myxte with sugar and other spyces, or be put in the potecarye spiced bagge, & so go throught it, it is made moost dulce & pleasaut, so the tribulaciones of this worlde, yf they be ioyned & mixte with the remembrance of the passion of Christe, they be moche pleasant & confortable to the soule. And therfore our lorde sayeth vnto his spouse the soule in his canticles: Dabo tibi poculum ex vino condito. I shall gyue to the Ipocras for thy drynke, that is wyne made pleasaut with [f.xxv'] spices. And this signifieth ye wine of worldly tribulacion or aduersitie, whan it is ioyned & mixte with the meditacion of ye passion of Christe.
Also we rede in ye boke of ye Machabeis, how that kyng Antiochus, whan he shuld fight against the Jues, he shewed vnto his Olephantes, & put in theyr sight, the blood – that is the red colour & licour – of the grape & of ye molbery, to th’ intent ye Olephantes shulde be prouoked to fight, & to be the more quicke in bataile. In lyke maner the knights of Christe, accordynge to th’ example of these Olephants, shulde be animate & quickened to suffre paciently all tribulacions & aduersities, whansoever they here, se, or remembre the blood & passion of Christe, whiche was pressed out of his body as ye wine is pressed out of the grape.

Moreouer the prophet Hieremy sayeth: *Dabis eis scutum cordis laborem tuum.* Thou (good lorde) shal gyue vnto them a buckeler or a shelde for theyr hert or soule; ye is thy labour, passion, or deth. This buckeler or shelde [receiued], without any peril vnto ye soule, al maner of darters, & specially iii maner of darters: that is, losse of goodes, infirmities of the body, and contumelious or rebukyng worde. With this buckeler (that is with the fervent meditation of ye labour & paine or passion of Christe) a man ouercummeth almighty God in paciently suffryng his corrections & louyng visitations. He also ouercummeth the deuyll, in auoidyng his snares and temptacions. And thyrdly he ouercummeth himselfe, in resistyng all carnall mocions and passions of yre or wrath, & in paciently suffering all infirmities of the body. And thus the remembraunce of the passion of Christ doth mitigate th’ aduersities & troubles of suche as be troubled therwith.

And as ye se ye a little floode or ryuer doeth lose his name, whan he is entred into ye see or into a greater water; so in like maner al labours, paines, & passions, compared to ye labours, paines & passion of Christe, lese theyr name, & be nat to be called paines.

The xviii profite. *Rectorum confirmat stabilitatem.*
The meditation of ye passion of Christe maketh righteous & good men stable in faith & in good works. We rede that there is a certayn welle in Englande of this nature: that yf a tree be put therin, & continue there any long space or tyme, it is tourned into a stone. So spiritually, if a Christian continue longe in this welle – yat is, in the remembraunce of the woundes and deth of Christe – he shal be tourned into a stone: that is, he shal be constant & stable in all vertue & goodnes, for than he shal abide, fastened with Christe [f.xxv] vnto ye crosse by pacience. Herunto sayth saint Bonauenture: ‘O meruelous deth & passion of Christe, whiche doeth alienate & seclude the rememberer from dethe spirituall & also eternall; & nat only that, but also it maketh him angelicall; & nothyng els to consider & thynke, but Jesu Christe crucified. He wyl bere his crosse with Christe, & so he bereth in his hert Jesu Christe, who conteineth in his hande & power bothe heuyn & erthe. And so for ye loue of Christ he shal bere most easely & suffre paciently al troubles & paines. He wold be crowned with thornes with Christ & for Christ, & Christ shal crowne hym with the crowne of glory.’ And so, as ye may perceyue, suche a feruent meditacion of the passion of Christe, doeth greatly stable vs in goodnes.

The xviii profite. Supernorum placat disspicientiam.

This meditation doeth strongly swage & pacify ye wrath & displeasure of God and al his saints. Herunto saith saint Bernard: ‘The remembraunce of ye labours & paines of my sauiour Jesu doeth erect & strength me in al adversities; it doth repress me and kepe me in al prosperous; & it also gydeth or ledeth me by a sure way in this lyfe, whereas is now ioy, now sorow, now pleasur, now payne. &c. This meditacion putteth away all peryls. It reconcileth me to ye high iudge
of yᵉ worlde, whyles it declareth vnto me, hym to be very meke & mylde here in erthe, to whose maiesty all aungels in heuen do reuereence, & haue him in reuereuent feare.’

Also the same saint entraytyng these wordes of Job: *Vtina appendenter peccata mea quibus iram merui, &c*, saith thus: ‘Good lorde, behold yᵉ face of thy son Christe, whiche was obedient to thy wyll vnto his dethe; & (good lorde) let neuer yᵉ printes of his woundes depart from thy sight & remembraunce. Consider (good lord) what satisfaction he hath done for our synnes to recoyble vs vnto the. I wold that thou ([good] lorde) wold wey and pondre our synnes in a balance with thy innocent sonne Jesus suffered for them. And then (good lorde) it shulde well appere that his paynes exceedeth our synnes, so that thou rather shewe thy mercy vnto vs, for the merytes of his passion, then to kepe our synnes in thy remembraunce, to reuenge and punyssh them.’

The xix profit. *Terrenorum pessumdat vanitatem*. 

It also maketh man to contempne and set at nought the worlde, with all the pleasures therof. And therfore saynt Paule sayde: *Mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo*. The [f.xxi’] worlde is crucified to me, and I to the worlde; as if he sayd, ‘I dispise the worlde and the worlde dispiseth me.’

Auicen reciteth how that a certen man, by stronge ymaginacion that he had, ymaginynge himselfe to be a leprouse man, therby he was made a leprouse man. So in lyke maner, yf a man feruently & deuoutly continue in the remembraunce of the passion of Christe, he may so haue a great sorow in his hert, & true compassion of yᵉ passion of Christe, & so suffre payne with hym; & so consequently al worldly pleasure shall be bytter & paynfull vnto hym. Herunto sayth saynt Bonauentaure: ‘Who so feruently remembreth the passion of Christe, he desireth to be crucified with Christ Jesu, he
reputeth & thynketh hymselfe to be in seruitude, bondage, & misery, 
he doth sygh & sorow & is in continuall heuynes, vtnto y\(^e\) tyme he be 
all to wasshed or drowned in the blood of Christe, & so transformed 
into his lord crucified; & yf he be nat kept in the blood of his sauiour, 
he thynketh himselfe no man, yea worse than a beast, yf he be nat clad 
with the passion of Christe.' Therefore, whosoeuer doeth ofte and 
ferently remembre the passion of Christe, he shall lytle regarde the 
vanities of this worlde, and set them at nought.

The xx profite. Viatorum gubernat prosperitatem.

The meditacion of the passyon of Christe doeth gouerne & 
direct men, lyuyng in this worlde, vtnto the lyfe of eternall felicitie. 
For the passion of Christe is the kynges hyghwaye; the right & 
compendiouse waye to cum to the kingdom of God in heuyn. And 
therfore our lorde sayth: Ego sum via, veritas, et vita. I am the way, 
the truth, & the life eternall. And in another place he sayeth: as 
Moyses dyd exalt & set up a brasen serpent in y\(^e\) wildernes, to th' 
intent y\(^a\)t whoso behelde that serpent, shuld be deliuered from the 
venimous styngyng of y\(^e\) burnyng serpent; so it was conuenient & 
necessary for our saluacion, y\(^a\)t the son of a vyrgin shuld be exalted on 
the crosse, y\(^a\)t whosoeuer wold beholde him with true formed fayth, 
shulde nat peryssh, but haue euerlastyng lyfe; & that this lyfe shulde 
be gyuen to vs, Christe suffred his passion.

And saint Austin sayeth: As thoo persons that beheld the brasen 
serpent, set vpon a pole in the wildernes by Moyses, were deliuered 
from peryll of deth (as we sayd before) so now, whosoeuer be stynged 
or bytten by the suggestion or craft of the deuyll, let him beholde 
(with a faythfull affection) Christe hangynge vpon the crosse, & he 
shall haue comfort. For there dethe was ouercum & slayn, but our 
sauioir Christe doeth lyue, & euer shall lyue. But that he [f.xxiv\(^e\)] 
myght ouercum dethe, he was clad with dethe for a lyttle tyme.

Joh. 14.6
Joh. 3.14
Num. 21.8
Super
Joh. 
tracatur 
12
Deathe myght neuer be ouercum, but by lyfe. And who is this lyfe, but our sauiour Christe? And so by his deathe we all haue lyfe.

This was well fygured in the Olde Testament, whereas it is sayd, that suche as were banysshed from theyr cities shulde retourne agayne to theyr inheritance, after the dethe of the high preest or Bishop, and nat afore. So the faythfull people of God, banysshed from theyr inheritance, the kingdom of glory, myght nat cum therunto agayne, vnto the dethe of Christe our hyghe Bysshop. But now, by the merites of his passion, and the remembraunce therof, we, that ben exyled in this vale of misery and teares, may freely entre into the kyngedome of heuyn, and possesse that glory promysed vnto vs.

And hereunto sayeth saynt Austin: ‘We be called, by the merytes of the dethe and passion of our redemer Jesu Christe, from the darknes vnto lyght; from dethe vnto lyfe; from corrupcion to incorrupcion; from our exyle and banysshment vnto our cuntrey and inherytaunce; from sorow to ioye; and from this worlde vnto heuyn.’ And therefore our sauyour Christe, for that he myght exalte and lyfte vs vp to the glory of heuyn, he in a maner put hym in one scale or one parte of the balaunce, and vs in the other. He put hymselfe to moost paynfull and shamefull dethe, and vs in the merites of his vertuouse lyfe and dethe. And so he drewe his balaunce so lowe – that is, by mekenes and paynes sufferyng, he descended so lowe – that he lyfted vp all his electe people vnto heuyn.

And hereunto our lorde sayeth: *Ego si exaltatus fuero a terra, omnia traham ad me ipsum.* If I be exalted from the erthe, from all worldly pleasures, and put vnto the Payne of the crosse, ascendynge it as my chiefe palfray, to fyght agaynst myne enemies, and so, as a valiaunt knight, subduynge theym vnder my fete and ouercummyng all theyr myght and power; I shall draw vnto me, by my charitie and
pacience, all myne electe people from all the partes of the worlde, wheresoeuer they be, to reigne with me in glory for euermore.

**In the passion of Christe is conteyned all perfection of all the orders of aungels. Seconde Chapiter.**

[f.xxii'] In the most blessed passion of Christ is conteyned all perfection, fayrnes, and beauty of all the blessyd spirites and aungels in heuyn.

Fyrst, aboue all other, doeth apere in Christe that burnyng loue, attribute and assigned to the highest order of aungels, called Seraphin. For there was neuer creature that had so highe charitie and burnynge loue, that therby wolde, & dyd, suffre so great & many paines as our sauiour Christe dyd suffre for vs, his moost vile seruauntes, or rather (I shulde say) his moost wicked & vnkynde enemies.

Secondly, there was in hym th’ abundaunt & plenteouse cunnyng or knowledge of truthe, gyuen to ye seconde order of aungels, called Cherubin. And this maner of knowledge is nat onely in Christe, but also there is nothyng in this worlde that so moche doeth helpe to the true knowledge of scrypture, nothynge so moche doeth affecte and moue man to the contemplacion of heuenly thynges, nothynge so moche doeth illuminate and lyghten the soule to knowe and haue sauour or pleasure in God, as doeth the passion of Jesu Christe; for in it, and by it, is founde the fulnes of true knowledge, as we shall declare to you hereafter.

Thyrdely, there shyneth in this passion, specially towards the eterne maiesty of God, the reuerence attributed or assigned to the thyrd order of aungels, named Thronys. For as those spyrytes be called Thronys, forasmuche as it is sayde that God restyth and sytteth in them, as in his seet or Throne, for the reuerence that they haue vnto his diuine maiestye; for he restyth (as the prophet sayeth) vpon the
meke persons, and vpon them that reuerently seruyth & kepyth his comaundementes. So it may be sayd that almighty God sytteth and restyth in this most blessed passion, as in his Throne; for therein appered the moost excellent humilitie, humanitie, veneracion, and reuerence of Christe, vnto the diuine & eterne maiestie.

Fourthly in this blessyd passion shyneth the high dignitie of presidencie or dominion, attributed to the fourth order of aungels, called Dominacions. For Christe dyd meke hymselfe, & was obedient vnto the dethe, & that vnto ye moost shamefull dethe of the crosse. For the whiche mekenes God dyd exalt hym to great presidencie & dominion, & gaue vnto hym a name aboue all names, as saynt Paule sayeth.

Fyftely, in this blessed passion appereth the great power & strength of ye fyft order of aungels, called Powers. For Christ most victoriously, by his blessed passion, hath subdued the great power of the deuyll, of whom Job sayeth, that there is no power vpon the erthe yat may be com- pared vnto his power; but Christe, by his passion & dethe, ouercam all his power, as we sayd before.

Sixtly, in this passion shyneth the mighty operacion of the Vertues, that be named the syxt order of aungels. For there Christe shewed his vertue, whiche dyd penetrate, perce, & draw vnto his loue the hertes of all his elect people. And therfore he said: Yf I be exalted from the erthe on the crosse, I shal draw vnto me all thinges; that is, all his elect people. Wherfore, yf any person haue true fayth into God, & loue God, let him nat ascribe that to his owne merites, but rather to the merits of the passion of Christ. For no man may cum to hym by true fayth & loue, except he be drawn by almighty God, by his grace, and this grace we haue by the merites of the passion of Christ.

In this passion also is conteyned the kyngdom of the Principates, yat be the vii order of aungels. For as the prophet sayth: Factus est
principatus super humerum eius. His principate & kyngdom is made vpon his sholder; that is, in that he bare the crosse & suffred the paines & dethe of the crosse, he gat his kyngdom, & so bought it for vs; that is, the kyngdome of heuyn.

Also in the passion of Christe apereth the releuacion of Archangels that be the viii order. For by the passyon of Christe we were sufficiently releuyd & deliuered a pena et culpa; that is both from synne, & from payn due for synne. But now, yf we synne actually after our baptisme, it is conuenient yat we suffre payne temporall for our synne, though throug the vertue of ye sacramentes of the chyrch, th’ eternall payne be commuted into temporall payne. And therfore our lorde sayeth: 

\begin{align*}
\text{Date eleemosinam & ecce omnia munera sunt vobis.} \quad \text{Gyue almose, and all thynges shal be clensed in you.}
\end{align*}

In this passion also shineth the reuelacion and manifest doctryne & teachynge of Aungels, that be called the nynthe order. For all the hyd secretes of scripture, & all the secret misteries of God, were reueled & made open by the passion of Christe, & openynge of his herte with the spere. And in token hereof, at the passion of Christe, the veile of the temple was broken or diuided into two partes, that all the thyngs that before were secret & hyd in the inner sacrate temple, might be open and manifestly sene.

And thus by these forsayd conformities whiche the passion of Christe hath with the orders of aungels, it is done most conueniently, yat onely Christ shuld re redeem mankynde, but also that he shulde moost ordinately order, dispose, & repare the ruyne & fall of aungels. For, by the great loue & charity which he had in the crosse, he kindled the fyre of loue, in the hertes of his electe people, towards God and theyr neyghbours, that suche as [f.xxiii] folowed and duely executed that feruent loue were made, and yet be made apte, to repare the moste hyghe order called Seraphin. By the true knowledge
expressed in that blessed passyon were his electe people illuminate to
the hyghe contemplacyon of the knowledge of God and hyghe
misteryes, that so they may be apte to the reparacyon of the seconde
ordre called Cherubym. Agayn, for his great meaknes and reuerence
that Christ had in his blyssed passion towards the hyghe maiestie of
God, his electe people were prouoked to lyke meaknes and reuerence,
and due honoure to be rendred to the hyghe maiestie of God, as farre
fourthe as theyr frayle nature wolde serue them, and so to be apte to ye
reparacyon of th’ ordre called Thrones. Morouer, thorough the
example of his great pacynce and obedience vnto the dethe of the
crosse, for the whiche he was exalted of God, as we sayde before, he
prouoked his electe people to ouercome all vices and concupiscence
by labour, abstinenence and affliccions, and to subdue all inordinate
appetites vnto reason; that no vayne or inordinate thynge shulde haue
any domynacyon in them; that so they myght be made apte to the
reparation of the ordre called Dominationes. And so whosoeuer
humbleth hymselfe, shal be exalted.

And so, truely to passe ouer all the residue of th’ ordres of
aungelles, our sauiour Christe in his blyssed passion gaue example
vnto his seruauntes to resist and ouercome the suggestyons and
temptacyons of the deuyll, that they myght be apte to the reparacion of
the Potestates. Also he gaue vnto them example of good conuersacion
and vertuous operacions, that they myght ascend to the ordre of
Vertues. He gaue them also example so to directe and gouerne theyr
outward senses and inward moycions, and all other thynge that be
vnder theyr cure, that they might ascend vnto the Principates.
Morouer, he gaue them example so to releue and comforthe the nede
and necessities of other persons that be in nede, that they myght
ascende vnto the Archaungelles. And lest he gaue them example so to
instruct and teach the ignorant, that they might be apt to ascend vnto the ordre of Aungelles.

In the passion of Christe is also conteyned the beatitude of men. Chapitre iii.

It may be declayred that the true beatytude, and blysse or ioye, of men is conteyned in the passion of Christe, by the same reasons wherby we haue nowe declared that the beautye and perfeccyon of aungelles done shyne in the sayde passion. For to that cleare knowledge of treuthe, whiche appeared in [xxiii] that blissed passion, as we sayd afore in th’ order of Cherubin, correspondeth yᵉ open & clere vision of yᵉ Godhed, yᵃ th’ elect people of God shall haue in heuyn, to saciate & beatifie the reasonable or intellectable power of the soule. Secondly, to yᵉ profounde mekenes & reuerence, wherby we sayd that the passion of Christe hathe the perfection of the order of the Thrones, correspondeth the surety of blisse, wherewith the wrathfull power of yᵉ soule (comonly called Vis irascibilis) is saciate. For on whom shall rest & continue yᵉ spirite & glory of God, but vpon the meke person? Thyrdely, to that excellent charitie yᵃ was shewed at the passion of Christe, correspondeth th’ eternall fruicion & loue of the deitie, wherwith yᵉ wyll & reasonable appetite of man shal be fullfilled; and this for the beatitude of the soule.

Now for the iii dowries of the glorified body. Fyrst, to that high dignitie of presidencie, yᵃ our lorde had by his sufferaunce & obedience vnto yᵉ deth, for yᵉ whiche he was exalted to hyghe dignity, correspondeth in yᵉ glorified body agility, wherby he may do what he will. Secondly, to yᵉ great power & strength, wherby our sauiour ouercam dethe, correspondeth impassibilitie; that is, yᵃ the glorified body shall suffre no payne. Thyrdly, to that mighty operacion of vertue, whereby he drew all thynges to himself, correspondeth subtllity, wherby the glorified body may penetrate all thynges.
Fourthly, to that noblenes or principality for ye whiche the prophet said of Christe: *Factus est principatus super humerum eius.* His principalitie or noblenes is made vpon his shulder; & also of this noblenes or clerenes is said in the gospell, whereas Christ said to his Father: *Pater clarifica filium tuum.* Father clarify thy son, or make knowne the noblenes of thy son. To this noblenes (I say) correspondeth ye fourth dowry of the glorified body, called clerenes; for than our bodies shal be clere, & shyne as ye son; & so sayeth our lorde in ye gospell: *Tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno patris eorum.*

Than after ye generall resurrection, ye righteous men shal be clere, & shyne as ye son in ye kyngdom of theyr father. Furthermore, to the office & perfection of archaungels & aungels, which (as we said before) were shewed in ye passion of Criste: correspondeth the beauty or accidentall glory called in Latin *Aureola* – a circle or a little crowne – which is a special ioy of ye soule giuen to martirs for their martirdom, to virgins, for theyr virginite kepte for ye loue of God, & to doctors or prechers for theyr techyng ye truthe of God. And thus it apereth manifestly how ye in the blessyd passion of Christe doth shine (as in a most pure glas) all the beatitude of man, & all the plentiousnes of grace & glorye.

All [f.xxiii’] glory (I say), that is bothe th’ essenciall glory of the soule, that consisteth in the vision, tencion, or surety & fruicion of the deity that ben called the iii dowries of the soule. And also the consubstantiall glory – that is the iii dowries of the body – and also the accidentall glory. Wherfore, sithe in Christes passion is th’ excellent manifestacion or declaracion of his most high power, moost high wisdom & most high goodnes; therfore this passion is, to all ye seruauntes of God, a mater & cause of moost excellent ioy & gladnes.

And therfore, though men ioy considering themselfe to be redemed by this glorious passion, & haue great profit therby; & also
aungels ioye, knowynge theyr ruine repared by the same passion, consideryng this thynge as to theyr owne ioye & profite; yet I beleue, & so it is, that bothe aungels & men do more ioye & be glad without comparison, referryng all these thynges to God, and hoolly or all togyder extendynge theyr cogitacions & myndes to the glory of God; that they dyd consideryng theyr owne glory & profite that they haue by the sayd passion. Moreover, as here appereth the most high & inestimable charite & shewing of the goodnes of God outwardly, to the great confort of aungell & man, so I beleue, & so it is, that bothe aungell & man, in theyr moost excellent & full maner, don shew theyr loue with great ioy & gladnes, glorifieng and praysyng and louyng God for that excellent gifte, eternally without ende in glory.

In this passion also doeth shyne the vertues theologicall, the giftes of the Holy Goost, the beatitudes of the gospell & also the fruites of the spirite. The iii Chapiter.

Fyrst, in this passion appere the vertues theologicall. For this passion of our lorde is ye strength & foundacion of all christen faith. It is th’erection & reysynge vp of our hope, & also it is th’ inflamacion & kyndelynge of our loue & charity; for here he dyd offre hymselfe for vs.

Secondly, in this passion don shine, as in a glasse, the giftes of the hooly goost: the gift of wisdom & vnderstandyng, ye gyft of counsell & strength, of science, of pitie, & also of the feare of God; of the whiche we shall speke herafter in dyuerse & singuler chapiters.

Thirdly, in this passion don appere ye viii beatituds, for this passion is theyr fountayn & begynnynge, theyr allectiue & exemplar.

Who may be called so pore in spirite as Christ yat hyng naked vpon the crosse?

Who may be named so mylde as Christ, the which as a milde lambe was led vnto the deth, & whan he was scourged, bet, buffeted,
scorned, & falsly slandered, wolde nat ones open his mouthe [f.xxiiii'] to contrary them?

Who was so mournyng as he whiche, with teares and a loude mournyng voice, prayed for his enemyes? and he, for his reuerence (as saynt Paule sayeth), was herde of God. But than he more mourned our synnes than his owne payne, as we shall shew hereafter. He had more compassion of vs, than of hymselfe.

Who, fardermore, do so moche hunger and thurst iustice, as Christe, whiche, by the payne of the crosse, dyd satisfye for our synnes, and so dyd reconcile vs to his Father; hungeryng and thyrstynge the helthe and saluacion of our soules. And in token herof he sayd, hangynge vpon the crosse *Sitio* – I thyrste, and desyre the helth of mannes soule.

Who also was so merciful as Christe, the very true samaritane? the which (whereas the priest and Leuite passed by the wounded [man], nat regardynge hym) wasshed his woundes with wine, and anointed them with oile, byndyng vp his woundes, and layeng the wounded man vpon his brest – that is vpon his owne body, suffryng deth for our sinnes – & so led him vnto th’ ostry of holy chirch &c.

And where (I pray you) was there so muche puritie and clennes of herte, as in Christe, which as an innocent lambe was offred vpon the crosse for vs, wasshyng and clensyng our vnclene and synfull hertes with his precious blood?

And who also was as peaceful as Christe, which was our peace and corner-stone, joynynge into one people of God the Jues and the Gentiles, whiche also by his passion dyd pacify vs vnto God in his bloode?

Moreouer, who so verely suffered persecucion for iustice as Christe, which, for his iustice that he preached and shewed vnto the Jues, was crucified? & truely he myght well be called blessed, for the
worldly and deuelysshe people cursed hym or spake euyll of hym, and made many false lyes and slaunders of hym. These be the viii beatitudes the whiche Christe taught in the gospell, and gaue vs example in his owne persone how we shuld fulfyll them.

Fourthely, in the passion of Christe don clerely appere the xii fruites of the spirite, of the which saint Paule sayth: Fructus spiritus est charitas, gaudium, &c. The frutes of the spirite ben these: charitie, ioye, peace, pacience, longanimitie, goodnes, benignitie, mildenes or gentilnes, fayth. For in this passion restyth the foundacion and strength of our faith, as concernynge his obiecte or subiect. It foloweth in the wordes of saint Paule: continence, good maners, and chastitie. All these do manifestly shyne in this passion, dethe, and crosse of Christe, as we shall declare more at large hereafter. And therefore it conueniently foloweth in saynt Paule. Qui christi sunt, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum [f.xxv'] viciis et concupiscentiis. Whoso be the childeren of Christ, they do crucify and subdue theyr bodies, and also all vices and inordinate concupiscence.

This sayd saynt Paule, to shewe manifestly vnto vs that these xii fruites do hange vpon the moost holy tree of the crosse, & suche persones do take & gader them there, whiche conforme themself vnto Christe crucified. For by vertuouse operacions in folowyng the lyfe and pacience of our sauiour Christe, men be made vertuouse; for suche beholde the lyfe and dethe of our lorde with diligence, remembre it by ofte and feruent meditation, and also haue pleasure therein, and folow it as theyr frailtie wyll suffre them. And so they may be made apte to the reparacion of th’ order of Vertues, as we sayd before, and shall say more hereafter.

By the passion of Christe we haue the efficacitie and vertue of all spirituall goodnes. The fyfte Chapiter.
By the fruitful and gloryous passion of Christ, there is ministred vnto vs habundantly the matter of all spirituall [goodnes.] For where is, or shulde be, our glorificacion or reioicynge, our hope and gladnes, but in one Christe, most high and true goodnes, and in the moost preciouse treasure of his passion, from the whiche all the sacramentes of the Christe receiue theyr vertue & efficacitie, which be to vs as a moost holsum medicyn agaynst all our spirituall sekenes?

Also, this moost blessyd passion is to vs as a key, that openeth to vs the secretes of holy scripture, whiche openeth & no man may than shyt it; and whan it shitteth, no man may open it. Without Christe crucified, & this key of his passion, it is impossible to vnderstande holy scripture. And, this key ferently imprynted in our mynde, all thynges be manifest as yf they were in the clere lyght. For whosoeuer desyreth to cum or attayne vnto the knowledge of the Godhed, he must ascende therunto by the manhode and passion of Christe, as by the kynges highwaye; for by it he shall ascende by lyttle and lyttle vnto higher thynges, as I shall shew you more playnly hereafter. For no man may attayne to the high knowledge of the Godhed, and the great swetenes and pleasure therein conteined, excepte he be fyrste drawn vp with a feruent and godly affection of faythe and loue, by the bytternes of the humanitie of Christe, that he suffered in his [f.xxv] passion, as ye shall percieue hereafter.

And the more that any man presumeth to ascende without this passion, the more deper shal he fall. For this is the onely way by the whiche we shulde ascende. This is the onely yate or entraunce vnto our moost desyred ende. And briefely to speake: whosoeuer desyreth to haue eternall helthe, and the highe crowne of glory; or wolde ascende to the perfection and highe toure of vertues; or wolde optayne knowledge and wysdome; or, by pacyence, to stande strongly and euynly, as well in aduersitie as in prosperytie; or to walk the sure
waye; or elles desyreth to taste of the bytternes of the passion of Christe, and drynke the most pleasaunt drynke of his consolacion; he must bere Jesu Christe, I say Jesu Christe crucified, in his soule and bodye, by continuall remembraunce of his passion, and pacyent sufferaunce of all aduersities bothe corporall and spirituall, and also absteyne frome all other delectacion and consolacion.

For suerly, carnall consolacion and the contemplacyon of Christes passion do neuer well accord in one persone, for they be as contrarye bothe in name and in effecte. Nor the flesshe or sensualitie can haue pleasure in that thyng that deliteth the spirite. For as saynt Paule sayeth, they be aduersaries, & at continuall warre. But halas, there be many that, whan they can nat fynde or get heuenly or spirituall consolacion, anon they searche and laboure for carnall or worldly conforte, and so they shytte theyr soules from the consolacion of God, and they rightuously want it. For it is very delicate, and nat gyuen vnto suche persones as wyll receiue any vaine consolacion. For yf the mynde or soule haue any thynge wherein it hathe pleasure outwardly, it shall remaine without inwarde pleasure. And contrarywyse, yf the spirituall delectacion be ones perfectly tasted, all carnall pleasure is made vnsauoury to that soule. Wherefore, yf thou woldest haue spirituall conforte, laboure nat therefore with a double affection or desyre, for so thou makest thyselfe vnworthy to receiue that godly and spirituall conforte.

And hereunto sayeth saynt Bernard: ‘He is vnworthy the heuenly benediction and conforte, that laboureth with a double affection or desyre. He laboureth with a double affection that purposeth (yf he can nat get spirituall conforte) to laboure for vayne and transitory pleasures or conforte. And so therefore he is vnworthy to receyue spirituall delectation.’

Gala. 5.17

Ecce nos reliquimus omnia in fine.
An example or figure hereof we rede in scripture: how that after [f.xxvi] the chyldern of Israell had ones tasted of the corne and fruytes of the land of promission, the foode of aungels, called Manna, and gyuen them by God, was taken from them. By this Manna, whiche was very delycate, and had in itselfe all delectacion and pleasaunte taste of all maner of meates, is signified the swetenes and conforte of Christe, whiche is taken from religiouse persones, and from all Christians, after they begyn to eate of the fruytes of the erthe – that is, after that they gyue themselfe to wordly and erthely delectacions or pleasures. And therefore the true seruaunt of God ought to say with the prophet Dauid: 

Renuit consolari anima mea, scilicet exterius. That is, my soule hathe refused all outwarde and vayne consolacion. And it foloweth: Memor fui dei, et delectatus sum. I remembered God, and I had great delectation therein in all the powers of my soule.

And hereunto sayeth one deuout Doctour: ‘The vnderstandyng of man is neuer drawen perfitely vnto the contemplacion of heuenly thynges, excepte the body be fyrst strongly drawen from all superfluous thynges, and all his pleasures.’ And hereunto accordeth saynt Gregory, sayenge: ‘If we cut and take away from the body that whiche is to it pleasaunte, we shall shortly fynde that is delectable to the spyryte.’ And that shall well appere in them that conforme theyr lyfe vnto our sauyoure Jesu Christe, whose lyfe was all better and paynefull from the begynnyng vnto his dethe. And therefore our lorde dyd nat gyue vnto the Jues Manna, but in the deserte or wildernes, whereas was no delectable meate to be had for theyr refresshynge and conforte. And so in lyke maner, the swetenes of grace and the taste of spirituall delectation is nat felte or perceyued, but of them yat transpose & put themselfe into the deserte of theyr herte; that is, to repute themselfe forsaken of all creatures, that they shulde nat fele or receyue any worldly or vaine delectacions.
And therefore it is wrytten by the prophete: *Pinguescent speciosa deserti et exultatione colles accingentur.* The pleasaut places of ye deserte shall waxe fat, & the hills shall be compassed with ioye; 

*yat* is to say, those speciouse & pleasant places of desert; *yat* is, those persons that make themselfe deserte & forsaken of the world, so that the world cum nat tyll them – that is, moue them to any carnall, worldly, or vain pleasure & delectation – those persons (I say) waxe fat in godly deuocion & consolation, & those hilles, *yat* is the hertes of them *yat* be fyxed in God, be compassed & set about with great ioye of heuenly confortes.

And *yat* we shuld cum vnto this deserte, our lorde moueth vs in ye gospell, sayenge: *[f.xxvi]* *Venite seorsum in desertu locum, et requiescite pusillum.* Cum ye into the desert or wildernes, and rest a lytle; that is, leue ye the pleasures of the worlde, and forsake them; and rest a lytle – that is, feruently and deuoutly remembre our lordes payne and passion – & ye shal fynde rest & confort to your soules. For as our lorde sayeth in another place: *In mundo, pressuram habebitis, in me autem pacem.* Ye shall haue trouble and oppression in the worlde, but in me ye shal haue peace and rest.

Our lorde fed the people twise in ye wyldernes, & nat in any other place. Also the Jues did eat Manna in the wildernes, to signify that we can nat haue ye consolacion of God, but in the desert; that is, when we forsake all worldly pleasures. Of this wildernes it is wryten by the prophet Esay, sayeng: *Erit Libanus in Charmel, et Charmel in saltum reputabitur.* The desert or wood of Libane shal be as the mount of Charmeli, & Charmel shal be reputed as a grene wood. Charmelus or Charmel is as muche to say by interpretacion as a lambe, or tendernes. And it signifieth, that whosoever be in the spirituall deserte (of the whiche we spake of before) he shal perceiue the tendernes and paynes of our spirituall lambe Christe, and also
receyue his delites and heuenly conforts; and so shall be grene and flourisshyng in all vertues and spirituall consolacias.

The seuen gyftes of the holy goost are conteyned in this passion, and throughe the feruent remembraunce therof, they may be opteyned. And fyrste of the gyfte of feare of God. The syxte Chapitre.

My moost dere beloued brother, thou mayst behold in this most glorious passion of Christe (the whiche I am vnworthy to name) seuen ascencions correspondynge to the seuen-folde grace or gyftes of the Holy Goost: that is, the gyfte of wisdome and of vnderstandynge, of science, and goostly strength, of councell, and of pitie and the gyfte of the feare of God.

Fyrste (I say) by the ofte, continuall, and deuoute remembraunce of the passyon of our lorde, is gyuen to man the gyfte of the feare of God, and that agaynst the false surety of this present lyfe, & his most wicked promyse, wherby many men be withdrawen fro the loue of God, & letted from theyr true [conuersion] vnto hym. For this fere constrayneth men to do well, and with all theyr herte to dyspyse all worldly pleasures.

And therfore a deuout doctour sayeth y® fere is y° auoi- [f.xxvii] daunce of euyll, & the prosecucion or wynnyng of goodnes. It is the begynnyng of godly wysdome, & th’ expulsion of ignoraunce. By fere, all the perfection of actyue lyfe, & also of contemplatyue, is preserued and kept, so that all bondage or seruile fere be excluded; for whosoeuer, throughe the feruent & deuout remembraunce of this passion, is crucified with Christe, to th’ auoidaunce of euyll, & gettynge of goodnes, to the stablishment of his mynde, and mekyng of his hert; therunto he is prepared & induced by the gyft of fere of God, & that in this maner.
A man seyng & consideryng that the Son of God & our lord God, in the nature of man, suffred so great paines for our synnes, & how he punisshed our synne so greuously in hymselfe, moost innocent iudge, & moost pure & very God; moreouer, what paines, rebukes, & turmentes he is worthy, which dyd ye wickednes & most abhominable syn for whiche the moost innocent & amorous or louely Jesu so greuously was turmented, thinkynge also herby, how mucche this his syn dyd displeas the hyghe maiesty of God, & how mucche God dyd abhorre it; so mucche I say he abhorred it, ye he wold rather suffre his own son, his own naturall & onely son to dye, than that syn shuld reigne in man; & it was more pleasure to hym to gyue his dere beloued son to the most shamfull detention of the crosse, than ye he wold suffre any longer tyme ye shamefastnes of our syn; furthermore, a man seyng & consideryng how mucche he offendeth the high maiesty of God, by his continuauence in actually synnyng & offendynge his high goodnes, contempnyng or litle regardynge the passion of Christe, & therby his redemption; but dayly offendynge & doyng as muche as lieth in hym to crucify Christe agayne, & put hym to those moost shamefull & cruell turmentes; a man (I say) consideryng all these thynges, no maruell though in suche consideracion he tremble & quake before the presence of God, whom he hath so greuously offended, & be ferefull, & shake as the aspen lefe ye is continually blowen & moued by the wynde; & so by fere, thinke hymselfe worthy of hymselfe, nothyng els but distruction or dampnacion, & so he may in suche consideracions utterly dispise hymselfe, & opteyne the feare of God.

Wherfore, good deuout brethern, let vs haue a recourse, & consider depely our own vanities and sinnes, and also the high maiestie & goodnes of God, whom we haue so greuously offended.

And so let vs meke ourself before hym as muche as we may. For all
that we can do is to lytle, considering his maiesty & our wickednes. Let vs therfore fere & be asshamed to lifte vp our iyes vn to heuen, but knock vpon our brestes, & pray, with ye publican, y at he of infinite goodnes wold be [f.xxvii] mercyfull to vs synners. It is a great mercy, yf it wolde please hym to beholde or loke vpon vs, whiche haue contemptned & dispised hym for a tryfle or a lytle vayne pleasure of the flesshe or of the worlde. Wherfore (as is sayd) let vs, throught the consideracion & fere of his maiesty, repute our selfe as nought, & herafter thynk ourselfe moost vile and vnworthy any goodnes; & so let vs arme ourselfe agaynste our wyckednes and synne, and so be our owne proper Juges.

Let vs reuenge & punysshe in ourselfe th’ iniury & offence that we haue done agaynste God, and subdue ourselfe as muche as we may. And let euery one of vs say thus in himselfe, or to hymselfe: If my lorde God be thus dispised & tourmented for my sake & for my synne, how may I spare myselfe from punysshment and Payne, that hathe synned? or how may I desyre or loke for any pleasure here? God forbyd that I shulde at any tyme presume to desyre anythynge of pleasure or dignity, but rather dispise myselfe, & repute myselfe as moost vile, detestable, and abhominable stynkynge caryan or dunge, whose stynche I in myselfe can nat sustayn or bere, for I haue dispised my lord God. For my wretchydnes he suffred dethe. Now myn owne raymentes abhorre me, and all creatures dispise me, for I haue contemptned the creatoure and maker of all thynges.

What yf all creatures myght haue voice and shulde speke; wolde nat they (thynke you) speke on this maner? This is he, moost wicked and abhominable, that haue contemptned our lorde God; he hath loued vanitie more that God, he hath abused all vs, the creatures of God, wylylyng rather to serue the deuyll than our lorde. He hathe derided & contemptned, by his abhominable vyces, the power, wisdome, and
goodnes of God. He hathe more desyred the mucke of this world, than
the moost high and pure goodnes. He wolde neither be drawen to
goodnes by the swete giftes of God, ne yet feryd by his terrible &
ferefull judgementes; for he was nat affrayde to do his moost
abominable synnes in the presence & sight of God. Cum ye all the
creatures of God, & let vs vtterly distroy this person that is holly &
fully gyuen to do iniury vnto our lord.

O thou erthe, why doest thou bere vp so wicked a person? Thou
water, why doest y' nat drowne hym? Thou ayre, why doest y' nat
withdraw thyselfe from him? Thou fyre, why doest thou nat burne
him? Thou wylde and rauenous beest, why doest thou nat deuoure
him? Thou stone, why doest thou nat stone hym to dethe? O thou hell,
why doest thou nat swallow vp this moost vnkynde and wretched
creature? And so furth [xxviii'] we might imagin of all the creatures of
God, and meue them to reuenge the iniury of theyr creatour and
maker.

All this well considered, than we shall thynke or saye: Alas,
wretche that I am, what shall I do? For I haue armed and prouoked
agaynst me all thyngs. To whom shall I go? To whom shall I make my
mone? I haue done contrary to all thynges, I haue contempned and
offended my lorde God, I haue prouoked his aungels, I haue
dishonoured his saintes, I haue in many wayes displeased my
neyghbours, and shortly (to say the truthe) I haue offended all the
creatures of God, in that I haue done iniury, and contempned God, the
creatour and maker of them all. To whome shal I go for socour, that
hath made myselfe enemy to God and to all his creatures?

I know, I knowe what I shall do. I shall entre into the woundes
of my lorde God, and I shall transfourme myselfe, or take vpon me his
paynes, sorowes, and rebukes, knowynge for a surety that no creature
shall be displeasant or heuy vnto me, yf they perceyue that I bere the
pryntes of the woundes and sorowes of my lorde Jesu in my soule and body.

And, good brother, let vs reduce all these to iii poyntes: that is, to the honour of God; to the passion of Christe; and to our owne direction and good order, & that both in soule and body, nothynge wylyng, non other desyryng, but Jesu Christe, and that crucified, as saynt Paule sayd. Yet in all these thynges so order we our fere, that we euer trust in the infinite goodnes of God, for his infinite mercy farre excedeth all our malice and iniquity.

This godly fere is the occasion and begynnynge of humilitie and reuerence, of a meruelous ascencion vnto God, and of contemplacion. For, by this feare, man is specyally led and brought vnto the superabundaunce of grace, wherby he may auoyd all euill and get goodnes, and may liue modestly, with good maners, continently, temperatly, & chastly. These iii fruites of the Holy Goost, that is: modestia, that is gentyll behauour in wordes and dedes. Continence, that is to absteyne from thynges vnlawfull. And chastity, that is rightly to vse thynges lawfull. These thre fruites (I say) accorde and perteyne to ye gyft of fere. Wherfore I call this fere a Paradise of delites, from whence doeth procede abundaunce of all swetenes and pleasure. There man is inebriate with a pure swetenes and with a meruelous gladnes; he is (as it were) allienate from hymselfe. With as hygh feruent deuocion he slepeth and slumbereth in our lorde. And thus, to haue the spirite of the fere of God is to be conuerted into God, to do well, and with all the desyre and affection of the [xxviii'] herte, to dispyse all vayn and transitory thynges.

And therfore, to this gyfte of feare correspondeth the fyrst beatitude, that is: the pouerty of spirite. For as saint Austine sayeth: ‘The feare of God perteineth to meke men.’ Of the which it is wryten: Beati pauperes spiritu. Blessed be the poor in spirite; that is,
meke persones.’ For sithe it apperteyneth to the feare of God to giue
due reuerence vnto God, and to be subdued vnto hym, that thyng that
foloweth of this subiection perteyneth to the gyft of feare. And in that
that a man subdueth hymselfe to God, he doeth nat labour to be
magnified for any thyng in hymselfe, or for that he doeth to any other
persone, nor yet wyll be magnified therefore, but referreth all to God.
For otherwise he shulde do contrary vnto the perfite subiection vnto
God. And therfore the prophet Dauid saieth: Hii in curribus, & hii in
equis, nos autem in nomine domini dei nostri inuocabimus: These men
do trust or reioice in theyr chariots, & other reioice in theyr horses, but
we reioice in yᵉ name of our lorde God.

And therfore it foloweth yat the gift of fere is finally giuen to
man for this intent: that the Holy Goost, therwith enterynge into the
soule, shulde giue to vs the vertue of mekeness whiche cureth our
wounde of pryde, so that the meke person may therby ascende vnto
glory of heuyn, whiche the proude aungell lost by his pryde. And
this is it that we sayd before: that by the great mekenes and reuerence
that our sauiour Jesu had towarde the high maiesty of God the Father,
in his moost blessyd passion, men, beholdyng and remembrynge the
same, shulde be prouoked vnto lyke mekenes, reuerence, and honour
towards God, accordynge to theyr power, as theyr frailtie wolde
suffre them, that thereby they myght be made apte to repare the order
of the thronys.

**Example of this gyfte of the feare of god. The seventh**

**Chapitre.**

And that this gyfte of feare is ofte tymes gyuen vnto suche
persones as do feruently remembr the passion of Chryste, we haue
example of the blessed woman of whome we spake before, Maria
de Ogines. It is wryten, in the foresayd boke of the histories of
Vincent, that this blessed woman Marie had the chaste and louynge
feare of God, and that, without doubt, throughe the ofte and feruent remembraunce of the passion of Christe, as we shewed before.

And this godly feare was in her herte, as an ornament of her brest, or a [f.xix'] stomacher, wherwith she represeth her hert from all vaine thoughtes. It was in her mouthe as a brydell to restrayne her tongue. This fere of God was in [her] werke, as a pricke or brod to dryue her to labour, and kepe her from slouthe and sluggysshness. And in all thynges it was to her as a squyre or rule to order her, that she shuld nat excede a due meane. This godly fere was in her, as a besome to make clene her herte from all doublenes, her mouthe from all falshed, and her werkes from all vanitie.

By the whiche spirite of fere, at length she conceiued so great loue vnto pouertie, yt scarcely she wolde kepe or reteyne to her vse those thynges that were very necessary for her. And for the loue that she had vnto pouerty, she was fully purposed in her mynde to haue departed from her frendes and gone into a straunge cuntrey, and there, as a vile and abiecte person, to haue beggyd her lyuynge from dore to dore for godds sake. And for the same purpose she had prepared a bag, wherein she wold put suche thynges as she shulde receiue of almose, & a lytle cup, wherewith to drynke water or els potage, yt she had any gyuen to her; & also she prepared for her werynge, olde clothes and patched garmentes; & so wolde haue performed these thyngs indede, ne had ben the great instance of her frendes, the whiche with many teares and diligent desyres might scarcely withholde her from that purpose. Natwithstandynge, her good wyll dyd appere in the premisses, for she dyd that she might. Also she continued in this loue of pouerty, which appered in that that she cut her tableclothes or napkyns, and also her shetes, and gaue the one parte to the pore, reseruynge the residue for herselfe.
And nat only, by this feare of God, she contempned all worldly riches, but also she dispised all worldly honour and glory, and all vayne praise of man, and that for the great sweetenes and pleasure that she had in heuenly thynges. And nat onely she wold nat admytut or loke towards these vanities, but also she refused them with abhominacion of herte, & utterly abhorred them. The loye of Christe was so feruent in her herte, that nothynge els was pleasauent or sauory to her, but Christe. And moche more ye may se of her mekenes and pouerty in the sayd boke of Vincent historiall.

The gyfte of pitie is also gyuen to man by the feruent remembraunce of Christes passion. The viii Chapitre.

[f.xxixv] The gyfte of pitie is gyuen to man by the continuall and feruent meditacion of the passion of Christe, wherwith a man ordereth & behaueth hymselfe iustly and deouutly in the due honoure and worshippynge of God, in due reuerence and intreatynge of holy scripture, and in the loue & due confortynge of his neighboure. In the whiche thre thynges consisteth & standeth the gyfte of pitie; whiche pitie (as saint Paule sayeth) is profitable to all thynges, & specially against the hardnes and malice of the herte.

For that persone, whiche is crucified with Christe throughth the feruent remembraunce of his most blessed passion, is kyndeled with this gifte of pitie vnto the high compassion, benignitie, and mercy of his neighbour, and that on this maner. Whan a persone deouutly and feruently beholdeth in his remembraunce the compassion and mercy that our sauiour Jesu Christe shewed vnto mankinde, and specially at his dethe & passion (as we declared before in the gyfte of feare) anon he is moued and kyndeled, and his herte is opened towarde his neighboure, bought & redemyd with the bloode of Christe, as we all be. I say this man, thus considerynge, is so kyndeled vnto the loue of his neighboure, and that for the loue of his lorde God, that he is redy to
gyue all that he hathe, and hymselfe also, with glad mynde, for the helthe and salvacion of his neighbour; for he considereth that his lorde God suffred dethe, with moost greuouse paynes, for his sayd neighbour.

And moreouer, as he hath compassion vpon his sauiour Christe hangynge on the crosse, and that with all his hert, so he hath as great inwarde sorowe in his hert vpon his neighbour, whiche by his synfull lyuyng forsaketh the conforte that he myght haue by Christes woundes and passion, and so in his maner dispiseth the blood and dethe of Christe. I say he hath inwardly as great compassion on this person, as he wolde haue vpon hymselfe. Fyrst he is wounded and greued in his herte, for the contempt of his lord God. Secondly, for the hurt and damage of his neighbour, whiche hath forsaken lyfe & glory euerlastynge, and hathe chosen, voluntarily or wylfully, eternall dethe & dampnacion. This good man seeth & considereth the contempt of God, the blood of Christe dispised, and the moost noble creature, made to the ymage of God, wylfully to go to eternall paynes; and therfore his herte melteth thrugh pitie, and is relented or resolued by compassion.

And in like maner, as he hath compassion of the hurt of his neighbour, so, by the same gyfte of pitie, he hathe great reioice and gladnes in his soule of the goodnes and spirituall pro- fit of other persones, whan he perceiueth that they order themselfe to receiue the fruite and profite of the woundes of Christe, with whom he entreth into the same woundes, & is made one with them. He ioyeth with them that be ioyfull of any goodnes. He is sory with them that be sorowfull for theyr hurt & damage. He reputeth euery one of his neighbours as hymselfe, seynge & consideryng y"al bothe he & his neighbours be create & made of our lord God, marked & dignified
with his image, redemyd & bought with the same blood of Christe, & ordered to cum to one & the same glory.

And most specially he openeth his hert vnto his neighbour, by this gift of pitie; for that he seeth & considereth his lorde God to be crucified for all people, & therfore he seeth & considereth his lorde God in all people. He requireth & sercheth his sauiour crucified in all his neibours. He beholdeth him in them all after his pore maner. He is all giuen to his neighbour, for he is hoolly & fully gyuen to his sauiour crucified.

O what ioye is it vnto his hert, whan he seeth his neighbour do due honour vnto his sauiour crucified? He hath non enuy therat, he is nat displeased therwith, he doth nat detract hym or speke euyll of hym, he wyll nat let hym nor hynder hym from y\textsuperscript{st} honour by signe, worde, or dede, nor giue hym any occasion to withdraw him from y\textsuperscript{st} honour, but hoolly he desireth his neighbours profite & abhorreth his hurte or peryll, reputyn & acceptynge bothe his neighbours hurt or profite, as his owne profite or hurt. And y\textsuperscript{st} is specially for the loue y\textsuperscript{st} he hath to our lord Jesu Christ, the which, for the great loue that he had vnto the helthe of mannes soules, & to the honour of his Father, he suffred most paynfull & shamefull deth of the crosse. Wherfore the zele & the honour of God, the compassion of Christe & the inflamacion or kyndelynge of his owne hert hereunto, be moost properly to be attended & beholden in y\textsuperscript{e} woundes of Christ, for there they be had & goten.

And by this gifte of pitie, y\textsuperscript{e} hert of man is in a meruelous maner eleuate & lifte vp vnto his lorde God. For whan a man doeth enforce hymselfe as muche as he may, to conforme hymselfe vnto the pitie & compassion that Christe, God and man, had and shewed vnto vs whan he suffered the dethe of the crosse, than that soule pleaseth God singulerly, insomuche that Christe wyll take that soule, so
conformable to his godly pitie, vnto his singuler loue and fauoure, vnto his swete enbracyges & halsynges, & kepe yat soule as his dere beloued spouse, & induce and brynge that soule to perceive his swete consolacions; suche a soule our sauioure loueth as muche as she loueth hym; that soule our lorde draweth to hym, forasmuche [f.xxxv] as that soule hath one felyng with Christ, in hauyng compassion of Christ, & of his neighbour with Christ. Also it hath one sauory knowledge with Christe, in duely honouryng God; one zele and feruent deseire to the saluacion of mannnes soule with Christe; and so that soule is, in a maner, transfourmed into Christ, thrugh this gifte of pitie, whiche (as we sayd before) is profitable to all thynges. It couyteth the honour of God, it expelleth sorowes and troubles from mannnes soule, it feruently thrysteth and desyreth the fruite and profite of soules, it laboureth, that the blood of Christe might take effecte in other persones, and it kyndeleth the soule in feruent loue to God and his neighbour.

Wherefore, dere beloued frendes, let vs approche hereunto, and labour diligently for this gifte. For doubtles this one, amonge all other, (and peraduenture before all other gyftes) doeth moost please God. I pray you, therefore, let vs labour to do the wyll and pleasure of God, and let vs draw or sucke out of his woundes and syde this gifte of pitie. Let vs be all one in our lorde Jesu Christe crucified, and let vs requyre, se, or desyre non other thyng in our neighbour but Jesus Christ crucified, so louyng our neighbour, that with him we runne at all tymes into the woundes of Christe, nat beholdynge or louynge hym as fayre, beautiffull, stronge, or wyse, or any other suche lyke vaine and transitory thynges, whiche may hinder or withdraw our soule from the loue of God, but onely beholdynge and louynge our neighbour, as redemyd and bought by the precyouse blood and dethe of our lorde, as
anointed & wasshed with his blood, and applied or put to the woundes of Christ by receiuyn the fruit of them.

Let it nat be sene or thought hard and painefull to vs to suffre great paines, or, (yf nede shulde requyre) moost shamefull dethe for our neighbour, for whom Christ (the onely Son of God) suffred moost greuous paynes, and the moost shamefull dethe of the crosse. Let vs all couet and desire, for the profite and helthe of soules, all maner of rebukes and dispisynges, all afflictions and tourmentes, and also to suffre moost vile or shamefull dethe. Let euery man be to vs as our owne hert, for whom the hert of Christ was perced with a spere. Let vs multiply our preachynges and exhortacions, good examples, prayers, fastynges, knelynges, watche, labours, & also suffre mockes or scornes for the helthe of soules.

Let this be our office and dayly exercise, our glory and ioye, and our consolacion, euer to offre sumthyng to almighty God for the profite of soules. Let nat the ryuer & fountaine of teares cease from our iyen, for our owne [f.xxxi'] synnes and also for the synnes of other. Let vs be content to be saciat and fulfylled with suche wepynges and sorowes in this vale of myserye and teares. Let our synnes, and also the synnes of our neighbours, hynge euer in our syght, nat to iudge or condempne our neighbours, but to lament and wepe for them at all tymes; & nat onely let them be in our syght, but also let them entre & perce the ynner partes of our hertes. Let vs, at all tymes and in all places, haue our sauyour Christe crucified in our presence. Let vs alwayes be feruent and deuout in all honour due to God, in the reuerence of holy scrypture, and in the loue and compassion of our neyghbours. In the whiche thre consysteth the gyfte of pitie.

This ordre and ascencion in our soule doeth molifie all our hert, and spred it abrood, and make it apte to receyue the spyryte of pitie, whiche doeth quyet vs & set vs in great pleasure and fauour of
Christe, whereas we shall fynde spirituall foode, bothe within & outwarde; that is our moost tendre louer, our lorde Jesu Christe, the rest [of] our soules, & the rewarde of our good dedes that we do throug this gyfte of pitie.

And to this gyfte of pitie doeth corresponde the seconde beatitude: Beati mites. Blessed the mylde. And hereunto saynt Austin sayeth: ‘Pitie accordeth and is conuenient vnto mylde persons.’ And as concernynge the fruite of the Holy Goost, these ii, that is goodnes and benignitie, ben directly attributed & appropriate vnto this gyfte of pitie, but the thyrde, y at is called Mansuetudo – that is, myldenes or gentilnes – perteineth to this gyfte of pitie indyrectly, for it taketh away the lettes & impedimentes of the actes of pitie. And the spirite of pitie is gyuen to man, for that his hert shuld be moued & kyndled vnto benignitie, so that man vsyng duely this gyfte shuld cum to the same eternall posession & heritage y at he wold haue other men come to.

And this is it that we sayd before, y at by the great compassion, pitie, & mercy y at our sauiour Jesu Christ shewed vpon vs on ye crosse, we shuld be styred, moued, & kyndled to lyke werkes of pitie, accordyng to our power & habilitie, vnto our neighbour, y at thereby we myght be made apt to the restauracion of th’ order of archaungels.

Example of this gifte of the spirite of pitie. Cha. ix.

Of this gyfte of pitie we haue example in the forsayd blessed woman Maria de Ogines, in the sayde boke of the histories of Vincent. Whereas it is writen that nat only she auoyded all maner of euyll, by the gyfte of the feare of God, but also by the spyryte of pytye (whiche she had, without doubte, by the ofte and feruent remembraunce of the passypon [f.xxxiv] of Christe) she was made very feruente, and prone or redye to all goodnes. She laboured and enforced hyrselfe, as farre as
hyr power wolde stretche, to fulfyll all the werkes of mercy, of a
great and aboundaunte pytye that was in hyr. And aboue all other
werkes of pitie, she had a feruent desyre to vysyte the sycke, and to
assyste them in theyr infirmities, and also to be present at the death
and sepulture or buryenge of the ded folkes, where she very oft
tymes receyued from God great spyrytuall conforte, and also, thrughe
the reuelacion of God, knewe many secrete and heuenly mysteryes.
And this well appered in this history folowyng.

Uppon a certayne day whan one of the systers of Ogines
laboured in the extreme panges of dethe, this blessed woman Maria,
beynge in hyr celle, se in spyryte a great multitude of deuylles about
the bed of the sycke syster. And as the couent dyd say commendacions
for the soule of the sayd sycke syster, whom they thought haue be ded:
this holy Mary (in a maner forgettyng her mylde grauite & sad
shamfastnes) ran with hast vnto the bed of the sicke syster, &,
stryuynge with those wicked spirites, nat only dyd resist them with hyr
feruent prayers, but also dyd chase & dryue them away with hyr
mantell or pall, as a man wolde chase away the flyes. And whan these
wycked spyrytes dyd terrybly resyst hyr, and alledgyd reasons for
them y"at this soule shuld perteyn to them, than she, nat content with
theyr importunitie, cryed and called vppon Christe, & vppon the blood
of Christe that he shed for mannes saluacion, & continually, with a
feruent mynde, remembred the dethe of Christe that he suffred for vs.

And yet these wood raungynge fendes nat easyng of theyr
importunity, but euer busy to deouur this soule by many craftye and
decettyfull reasons, than this blessed woman Maria, conceyuynge in
hyr soule a great trust and confidence in God by the grace of the Holy
Gooste (for as Paule sayth, where is the spyryte of God, there is
lyberty & great confidence) she, I say, hauynge great trust in God, sayd,
with a free spirite & great boldnes, Good lorde, I wyll be pledge &
surety for this soule. And than furthwith the damned spirits fled & utterly aueyded, and the good aungels cam and toke the soule. And so this blessyd woman, gyuyng thankes to God, went to hyr owne cell, & prayed for ye sayd soule.

And afterward, as she was in devout prayer, in ye sayd day of ye feest of saint Peter & Paule, for ye sayd soule, saint Peter appered to hyr, and shewed vn to hyr how the soule of the foresayd woman was in greuous paysnes of purgatorye, forasmoch as she, in hyr lyfe, had moche inordinat loue to ye world & to [f.xxxii] the pleasures therof, though at her dethe she had very contricion therof. And than this blessed woman, moued of pitie (as she was alwayes full of pitie, and specyally towards the soules in purgatory) dyd pray moche fervently and devoutly for that soule. And, nat content with hyr onely and owne prayers, requyred instantly, and opteyned, the prayers of many other devout persons, and also caused many masses to be sayd for the sayde soule, vn to the tyme she was delyuere d from payne, and taken vn to ioye and glory eternall. Many other examples of hyr pitie and compassion ye may rede in the sayde xxxi booke of the hystoryes of Vincent.

The gyfte of science or knowledge is opteyned by the feruent remembreance of the passyon of Chryste. The x Chapitre.

The gyfte also of scyence, and knowledge of spyrytuall and godly thynges, is gyuen to man by the continuall and devout remembrance of the passion of Christe, thorough the whiche gyfte, man may duly and jystly lyue in this wretched worlde, whereas flourysshe many frowarde and wycked persons. And yet that man that hath this gyft shall lyue godly, though he be amonges them, for he shall contynue in his faythe, and defende it, and haue true compunction in his herte. He shall absteyne from euyll, and wysely
admynystre or vse these temporall goodes. He shall dyrecte and ordre
all his werkes to ryght reason, and applye his wyll to the wyll of God.

Or we may saye that this gyfte of scyence doeth teache vs to
beholde, as in a moost pure glasse, all maner of contemplacion, and all
maner of pacyence. And that is, if we take this gyfte, knowledge, as a
science or knowledge of these inferior thynges, in that they be
helpynge and inducyng to the contemplacion and knowledge of
spyrytuall and heuenly thynges, as be the knowledge of our synnes
that we haue done, of the benefytes that we haue receyued of God, and
of the paynes that we haue deserued for our synnes.

For the fyrste, that is for the knowledge of our synnes, it is sayd
by the prophete: Arguet te malicia tua, & auersio tua increpabit te,
Seito &c. Thy malyce and synne shall reproue the, and thy tournynge
from God shall rebuke the; therefore know thou, and diligently
consyder, that it is bytter [f.xxxii’] and paynefull to the to haue
forsaken thy lorde God, and to wante his feare in the. This maner of
science is a very true knowledge and moche necessarye for vs; that is
to knowe ourselfe, and so to meke, dispise, or set lytle by ourselfe.

Of the seconde maner of knowledge, that is of the benefites of
God, I say vnto you that amonges all the benefites that we receiuyd or
dayly receyue, the greatest benefite of all other is the benefite of our
redemption, in the whiche our lorde hath shewed vnto vs a sure
argument or profe of his infinit and inestimable loue; that was whan
he suffred the moost shamefull and paynefull dethe for vs, his
enemies. This argumente or profe doeth engendre and greatly encrease
in vs a knowledge moche pleasaunte and also necessary for vs. Of the
whiche knowledge saynt Paule sayeth: Non enim iudicaui me aliquid
scire inter vos nisi Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum. I haue judged
& thoughte in myselfe that I haue non other knowledge amonges you,
but the knowledge of Jesu Christe crucified.
The thyrde maner of knowledge, that is of the paynes due for our synnes, is also necessary for vs, & the profe or argument therof, that is the knowledge of the paynes of hell or of purgatory, hath ben reueled and shewed to many holy sayntes. And those paynes of hell ben conteined in these two verses folowyng. Sitis et esuries, frigus, ignis, fetor, et horror. Tenebre, desperantes, victi, vermesque rodentes. That is: Thyrste & hunger, colde, fyre, stynche and vgsommnes or lothesomnes. Darkenes, desperacion, subiection, and gnastynge or gnawynge wormes.

These thre maner of sciences, with many other, we may moost specially fynde & get in the meditacion of the passion of our lorde. And moost of all we shall get moche knowledge, yf ye diligently serche the fygures of the olde law, correspondynge or signifieng this sayd passion of our lorde. For there is innumerable treasure hyd vnder those figures, whiche may be founde with diligent serche. In yé which fygures be hyd a meruelouse swetenes of deuocion, all maner of scyence, and sacietie or full contentacion of the soule for this lyfe.

For he that is crucified with Christe, by the continuall & feruent meditacion of his passion, shall se how these fygures, & the scripture of God, do shyne in the sayd passion, and so, by the gyftie of science, he shall be eleuate and lyfted vp vnto a meruelouse swetenes of deuocion, and vnto an high perfection of contemplacion, and that on this maner. For fyrste, to suche a person that feruently remembreth this passion and depely sercheth these figures, shall appere how that the moost hygh goodnes of God the Father hath ordryd all thynges muche diligently vnto our profite. Secondly, it shal appere how the onely sonne of God the father, our lord Jesus Christe, muche godly and faithfully hath shewed vnto vs all thynges necessary vnto our helthe & saluacion, nat onely by his wordes, but also by his examples. Thirdly, it shall appere how the passion of our sauiour Jesu
was figured & signified from the begynnyng of the world, as it clerely
appereth in holy scripture. What inward ioye & pleasure shall this be
(thynke you) to that person that heareth these thinges & knoweth
them? All these great and meruelouse thynges were done for vs.

And to declare vnto you how all these thynges do figure and
signifie our sauiour Jesus crucified: let vs begyn at the begynnynge of
the Bible, and so procede. Fyrst, where it is sayd: *In principio creauit
deus celum et terram*. In the begynnyng, God hath creat heuen &
erthe. That is to say: In his sonne Jesu crucified, God hathe restaurad
& repared the nature of aungels and the nature of man. It foloweth

* Dixit deus: Fiat lux, et facta est lux. *God sayd, I wyll that lyght be
made, and furthwith it was made. That is to saye: God wolde that his
sonne Jesus shulde be as a light, set vpon the crosse to expell & put
awaye all darkenes of synne, and it was don. And this light also
diuided the night from the day, that is, synne from vertue and grace.
Also this light, by his presence, causeth the day of grace and vertue.
And by his absence, it is nyght of synne. Also Jesus Christ crucified was
as the firmament in the middest of the waters, diuidynge the
waters of temporall and worldly consolacion, or els diuidynge the
waters of mannes wisdom, from the waters of godly wysdome, or
diuidynge the waters of vice, from the waters of grace, or els
diuidynge the waters of worldly tribulacion, from the waters of
heuenly consolacion.

In Jesu also crucified were gadered togyder all the waters that
were vnder the heuen, that is, he bare all our iniquities and suffred
payn for all our synne. Therefore in hym were gadered togyder all the
waters, so that in hym was a great flode of tribulacions, that is, of
afflictions, dispisinges, and many other paynes. And so, by his grace
& goodnes, was our erthe made drye. For before his blessyd passion
we were worthely deputed to all paines & eternall tribulacions, but
now we be deliuered from those eternall paines by the merytes of his moost holy passion. Also he was that great, depe, large, & broode see, of the whiche speaketh the prophet David, and that well appered in his passion.

[f.xxxiii'] Note well here, how clerely and manifestly these figures done signifie our lordes passion. In lyke maner we may serche thrugh the hole scripture, and take whatsoeuer figure we wyll; though it appere very farre and diuerse from his passion. And yet natwithstandynge, we shal perceiue a meruelouse correspondençe or a concorde vnto this passion, whiche shall cause a swete melodie in our soules, whereby our hertes shal be meruelously conforted; and it shal make vs to entre into the contemplacion of God & godly scriptures, yf we diligently serche these figures.

Let vs consider the figure, whan Abraham prepared a fat calfe and moost tender, and gaue it to the thre aungels that cam to hym, that they shulde eate and fede therof. This figure in the utter apperance of the letter, semeth very baren and of litle fruite, but yet inwardly, it conteineth great swetenes of contemplacion. In lyke maner this sayenge: *Est lignum vite in medio paradisi.* There is the tree of lyfe in the middle of paradise, that is Christe hangynge on the crosse in the middle of the chyrche, or Christe in the vyrgyn wombe, whiche vyrgyn is as a paradise of pleasure. Also this figure: [*Et fluuius*] *egrediebatur de loco voluptatis.* A flode or ryuer ranne out of the place of pleasure, that is the flode or ryuer of mercy and grace from the syde of Christe.

And so the foresayd fygure, that Abraham dyd gyue that mooste tender calfe to the thre men to eate, doeth signifie that God, the father of heuyn, dyd giue his onely begotten sonne, moost tender and moost innocent, and full of all vertues and grace, to the dethe of the crosse for our synnes. And that the thre men dyd fede therof, doeth signifie
that the Holy Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Goost were fed and satisfied for our transgression by the passion of Christe, whiche before that passion were hungry, and redy to take vengeaunce & to punysshe vs for our synnes. And here now we may se the great swetenes and pleasaunt confort of this figure.

Here, by Abraham is vnderstanded God the Father, and by the moost tender calfe, is signified the Sonne of God, and by these thre men, is signified the Holy Trinitie; and yet the Father and the Sonne be nat dyuers goddes, but one God. For though they be distincte persons, and eche of them is God, yet the thre persones ben but one God in trinitie of persones. And so, I say, in this figure appereth the meruelouse and inestimable swetenes that is gyuen vnto the soule that diligently sercheth this figure. For where as God in hymselfe was hungry and desirouse to do iustice vpon vs for our synnes, he, of his infinite benignitie and goodnes, dyd and shewed that iustice into hymselfe, or vpon hymselfe, for els surely that iudgement of iustice had deuoured & destroyed vs, yf it had fallen vpon vs, for there was no pure man that might saciate and satisfie that hungry appetite of God, but onely the Sonne of God and man, that moost tender calfe, whom God the Father dyd make redy to meate. That is, he put hym to suffre all affliction, dispisinges, mockes, beatynges, and moost cruell dethe, to satisfie his hungry appetite, for the great iniury and inobedience that we dyd vnto God.

What is that? Bicause we offended hym, shuld he so iudge & condemne himself, & so suffre paine for our synne? He was offended by vs, & that natwithstandyng, he was iudged by vs, in vs, and for vs. And so Christe, beynge one person in two natures, that is, bothe God and man, he was offended in his godly nature, as God, and iudged or condemnpned for our synnes in his manhode, so that the Godhede was offended, and he in his manhode suffered. And bycause in one persone
he was both God and man, therefore we may truly say that we dyd offend him, and yet he suffred for vs, and so he was both offended, and also judged and condempned. And that is more to be marueiled, after the dethe of this calfe, the Sonne of God, whereas we were worthy to want all his confort & goodnes, forasmuche as we had condempned hym and put hym to most shamefull dethe, this most benigne and mercifull lorde, forgettynge in a maner the tyme past, & also all our malyce, dyd confort vs and dayly doeth with his manifolde graces. We dyd euyll to hym, and he doeth good to vs. We slew hym, and he gyueth spirituall lyfe to vs. We put hym to the dethe, and [he] gyueth to vs hymselfe to our spirituall foode.

Herein we may se the great merueiles of God, hyd and couered in the holy scripture. Here in this calfe of Abraham we may receiue meruelous reftection of spirituall science, if we serche diligently the same. And so in like maner of many other figures in holy scripture, wherein the soule & mynde of man ought to be eleuate and lyfted vp by this gyfte of science and knowledge of suche figures, correspondynge or signifienge the moost blessyd passion of our sauioure Jesu Christe, that, by the feruent remembrance of the sayd passion, he myght entre into these most depe treasures of the goodnes of God, vnto the tyme that soule or mynde be depely entred into Christe crucified and in a maner absorpte & drowned thorugh, or in, the feruent loue of Christe crucified.

And than that soule shall receiue the gyfte of science, & know how to order his werkes accordyngly vnto right reason, and applie hymselfe vnto the conformitie of Christe. And [f.xxxiiii'v] this is it that we sayd in the begynnynge of this chapiter; that the gyfte of science moueth a man to lyue iustly & truely in this wretched worlde, whereas flourysshe many froward and wicked persones, and amonges them to defende his faithe, and to haue true compunction in his hert.
The spirite of science or knowledge is for that intent gyuen vnto man, that that spirite, enterynge into the herte or soule of man, shulde instruct hym in thynges necessary for his saluacion, and shulde moue hym to true compunction & sorow for his offences, that man shuld know that whatsoeuer payne or tribulacion he hath, it is for his synnes, and, if he be pacient, for his great profite. And whatsoeuer goodnes he hath, it is of the mercy and grace of God. And so thereby he shulde lerne to be euer subiect to God, and to praise hym in all werkes, & neuer to murmure against hym, but in all thynges and at all tymes to shew mekenes and pacience, and euer confesse God to be iust and true in all his werkes, and so folow th’ example of Christe, which is the myrroure of pacience, and also the rewarde eternall of the true and meke pacient.

Moreouer, by the true compunction of herte (whiche springeth of mekenes throught th’ operacion and help of this godly science) is swaged the wrathe & indignacion of the mynde. And contrarywayes, wrathe doeth ouercum and spiritually flee the vnwise person that wanteth this gyfte of scyence. As whan in aduersitie he is moued or styred, and also blynded by the vice of impacience, insomuche that he doeth nat know that suche paines and tribulacions as he suffereth cummeth to hym by his owne demerites and synnes. Or els, whan he is lyfted vp in prosperitie, he is so blinded by pryde that he will nat know how that all the goodnes that he hath, cummeth of God.

And lyke as we se in daily experience, that after rayne cummeth fayre wedder, so after the vertue of true compunction and sorow for our synnes, foloweth the rewarde of consolacion. For whosoeuer wyll freely punyssh hymselfe in this lyfe for the loue of God, he shall fynde hereafter a true ioye and gladnes without ende. And therfore our sauiour sayth: Beati qui lugent, quoniam consolabuntur. Blessed be they that wepe and mourne in this lyfe for the loue of God, for they

Math. 5.5
shall be comforted. And this is the third beatitude, which correspondeth to the gift of science. For as Saint Austin sayeth, science is accordyng to mourners.

Right judgement of creatures, or to judge truly of creatures, pertaineth unto the gift of science. For oftentimes men, through the occasion of creatures, turn themselves from God, and so commit grievous sin, as the wise man sayeth: *Creature facte sunt in odium, & [in] muscipulam pedibus insipientium.* Creatures made of man, to the service of God, through the sin of man, ben made to the hatred of man, and as a trap or a snare to the fete of unwise men, forasmuch as such men, wanting right judgement and knowledge of the creatures, do put their full confidence and trust in them, which they shulde haue put in God, and so consequently they do sinne and lese the true & infinite goodnes. And this great damage of man, is made known to man by the right judgement of creatures, which he hath by this gyfte of science. And therefore conveniently is the beatitude of mourning assigned to reaunswer unto the gift of science. Whiche graunt to vs that moost tender calfe that hyngyn vpoun the crosse for vs. Amen.

An example of this gyfte of the spirite of science. Chapitre xi.

Of this gyfte of discretion and of science, we may haue example in the foresayde blessed woman Maria de Ogines, of whom it is wryten, in ye histories of Vincent, as foloweth. Forasmuch as to this blessed woman (in auoidyng all euill by the spirite of the feare of God, & in doynge good by the spirite of pitie) was also necessary a warenes & a circumspection of discretion, therefore almighty God, the father of light and knowledge, whose vnction and spirite teacheth vs in all thynges necessary, dyd illuminate & lyghten his doughter Marie with the spirite of godly science. (And that without doubt was through her continuall and feruent remembrancce of Christes passion).
God, I sayde, gaue to her the gyfte of knowledge, that thereby she might know what was to be done, and whan, and what was to be auoided, and that all her sacrafices and paines taken for God, she might order with discretion. For oftymes vice wyll shew hymselfe to be vertue, and euyll oftymes is taken vnder the colour of goodnes. And whan we wold auoide one vice, oftimes we fall into the contrary vice; and therfore this spirite of godly knowledge is necessary for vs.

Sumtyme this blessed woman, whan she was made one spirite with God, & was ioyned vnto hym with the glew of feruent loue, to hyr great pleasure and swetenes, if she herde of the cummynge of straungers to speke with her, she wold (I say sumtyme) with great violence withdrawe herselhe from that great pleasure of contemplacion, [f.xxxv] from the swete halsynges of her spouse Christ, lesse that she shuld slaundre those straungers. I say she wolde withdraw her mynde from that contemplacion with so great vehemence of sorow, that sumtyme she voyded or spytte pure blood, & that in great quantitie, to her great payne and affliction, wylllyng rather so to punisshe herselhe with that great martyrdom, than to trouble or vnquyet the peace and quyetnes of her systeren and bretheren, and specyally of pylgrymes or strauangers.

Yet sumtyme, when she knew (throughe the reuelacion of the Holy Goost) the cummynge of sum straungers a good tyme before they cam, she wolde go pryuely into the feldes or woodes nygh vnto her cell, and there wolde she hyde herselhe, that vnneth or scarcely her owne company myght fynde her, althogh they searched for hyr all the daye. And sum tyme contrarywayes, whan she was in slepe, yt there cam to her pore and symple persons for theyr necessitie or conforte, she was sodaynly awaked and compellyd to ryse, onely by th’ operacion and mouynge of the Holy Goost, whiche than sayd vnto
hyr: ‘Spede the, there is one that abydeth for the to speke with the, nat for any curiositie, but for very necessitie.’

Moreouer, though this blessyd woman, with a meruelouse discretion, kept always peace with hyr neighbours, and nat onely with them that were good & vertuouse, but also with them that appered nat to be vertuouse, yet towards hyrselffe she was meruelously vndiscrete, moche abiecetynge and dispisyngge hyrselffe, and (as it semed to hyr company) punysshynge hyrselffe sumtyme aboue measure. But certeynly, so moche the more she was dyscrete to hyrselffe, for as moche as she dyd nat presume to do any thynge vnto hyrselffe, but as she was famylyarely taught of the Holy Goost. For she durst nat absteyne one hole day from her refection, except that she were most surely rauysshed & rapte vp aboue herselfe, and from all hyr sensys. And yet sumtyme whan she was rapte, she dyd attempte and proue to take her refection, to auoide th’ occasion and murmure of other persons that were in hyr company, but in no meanes she myght receyue it into hyr stomack, and for Payne therof, she was sumtyme almoost ouercum. And therfore, afterwarde she had that lyberty to absteyne whan she wold, and non occasion taken therof, nor any man durst aske of her, why she dyd so.

Also oftentymes whan the preest lyfted vp the blessyd sacrament of the body of our lorde aboue his hed, she se bytwyxte the handes of the preest, the forme and shape of a moost fayre chylde. Also she se a great multitudes of aungels, descendyng from heuyn with a great lyght. And [f.xxxvi'] after the vsyne or receuyngge of the sacrament, she se in spirite our lorde remaynyngge in the soule of the preste, and lyghtenyngge it with a meruelouse clerenes. Or els, yf the preest receyued the body of our lorde vnworthely, she se than our lord departed from that soule with indignacion, leuynge it in a great darkenes, and voyde of all goodnes.
The gyfte of strength is gyuen to man by the feruent remembraunce of Christes passion. The xii Chapitre.

By the deuoute and ofte remembraunce of the passion of our lorde, is also gyuen vnto man the gyft of gostly strength agaynste our spyrytuall enemies and the multitude of temptacions. And, by this gyfte, inordinate feare is put away. Hardy and inordinate boldnes is reduced to a due measure, and all aduersities ben strongly borne & suffred. For whosoeuer be crucified with Christe, thrugh the feruent remembraunce of his blessyd passion, is animated and strengthed to entrepyse great and harde thynges, to contempne and set at nought all worldly pleasures, to suffre paciently and gladly all tribulacions, and to expugne or ouercum all vyces.

That faythfull seruaunt whiche doeth feruently remembre his lorde passion, and to whom his lorde hathe gyuen many graces, that person, I say, doeth consydre and see the meruelouse and incomprehensible strengthe of Christe in his interprysyng great battels, in his sufferaunce, and in the vanquesshynge or subduynge of the deuyll. I say in his entreprysynge of great and harde thynges, for he faught great and terryble battelles for the saluacion of his enemy, vnkynde man. Also the meruelouse strengthe of Christe doeth appere in his pacience, whereas he suffred most obprobriouse, sharpe, and greuouse tourmentes, and that of his creatures. And thyrldely, his incomprehensible strengthe was shewed in subduynge so myghty and strong a lorde – or rather I may say a tyraunte – the deuyll, that vsurped the dominion ouer all the worlde, whome our lorde, by the dethe of the crosse, strongly dyd ouercum, and so, by his dethe, destrued the autor and cause of deth.

These thynges well considered, it is no maruell yf the faythefull knyght of Christe and folower of his lorde, moued by these examples of Christe, entrepyse and goo aboute to do great and harde thynges.
And the more harde, vyle or paynfull the thynges be, \[f.xxxvi\] the more gladly, diligently, and more feruently wyll he attempte them, and that specyally yf it be to the laude and honour of God, and the helthe & confort of soules. For than there can be nothyng to harde, to vyle, nor to paynfull for hym to do or suffre for God, whiche dyd so great thynges for hym, so vyle a wretche. Yea, also he thynketh all thynges (though they be neuer so paynefull) to be swete, pleasaunt, delectable, commendable, and moche to be desyred, yf thereby he may be assimulate or made lyke vnto the moost shamefull and paynefull dethe of Christe his lorde God.

Those thynges this faythfull seruant doeth more gladly, in those he occupieth hymselfe more aiuidiously, those thynges he sercheth and oft remembreth, those he desyreth to fullfyll with a feruent mynde, nat grudgynge nor sayenge, ‘why put you me to this vyle offyce, to this shame, to this labour and Payne?’ but rather thynkynge, ‘why shal I nat do these thynges with a glad mynde?’ Nor he doeth nat repute or thynke hymselfe to be of any reputacion for that he serueth God, but he thynketh it a greate thyng, that it wolde please almighty God, of his onely goodnes, to accept vnto his seruyce so vyle, vnworthy, and moost myserable wretche as he is.

Wherefore, in all these thynges his herte is onely pleased in that, that he may be conformable to his lorde God, and that he doeth folow hym in sufferaunce of troubles, as moche as he may for his frailtie, and that he suffreth, he knowledgeth it to be for his synnes. And all his ioye is, that his lorde is honoured by his glad pacience and sufferaunce of tribulacions. This faythfull seruaunte hathe so strongly subdued and tyed his appetyte vnder the yocke and captiuitie of ryght reason, that it shall nat haue his wanton pleasure in any carnall or worldly desyre, nor yet in any vayne or vnprofytable thyng.
Also he kepeth his herte with all diligence as a castell of great strength, so that he wyll nat suffre any synfull thought to rest therein, nor yet any vayne or vnfruitfull imaginacions to wandre therein. He is euer thynkynge or considerynge those thynges that ben spyrtyuall and godly, or inducyng vnto God, & with great ioye he desyreth those thinges, & fervently laboureth to bryng them to effect. But, forasmoche as in this lyfe euermore or for the moost parte the chaffe is myxt with the corne, therfore this faythfull seruant taketh the rydell or wyndose of discretion in his hande, and so wyndeth and purgeth the chaffe from the corne in the doore of his herte. He taketh into his hande the burnynge and sharpe swerde to keep diligently his herte as the paradyse of God, so that whatsoeuer in his herte desyreth to eate of the tree of lyfe (that is, all suche thoughtes as be godlye, spirituall, and lyuely) such he diligently doeth cheryssh and nouryssh. And yf any thoughts do onely loke vnto the fruyte forboden – that is to anythyng contrary to the commaundementes or pleasure of God – suche thoughtes he wyll shortly expell frome his herte, so that they shall haue no pleasaunt abidyng there.

The dysceytfull serpent shall haue none entraunce into that herte. Ne yet the flatterynge persuacion of the woman. And yf peraduenture he perceyue any suche appere in his herte, anon he wyll remoue it with indignacion and sharpe rebukes, for there onely ben nourysshed manly, godly, and vertuouse thoughtes.

And therefore, suche a persone, that is thus purefyed in soule and bodye, may trewly order hymselfe to the contemplacyon of God. For he neuer lyfteth vppe his syght or iyes vnto vayne thynges. Ne hys eares to heare noysome or vnprofytable thynges. Nor hys nose to smell swete odours nor smelles. Nor his mouthe, to taste delycyate thynges. Ne yet hys touchynge, to feele softe thynges, and that inordynately. But with all dylygence he kepeth hymselfe bothe
inwardely and outwardly, so that nowe he shoulde nat be called a
seruaunte or bounde, but rather a lorde and free. For he hathe
domynyon ouer hymselfe by subdewynge of all inordynate and
sensuall appetytes, as muche as a man may haue lordshyppe ouer
 hymselfe in thys lyfe. And so (I say) suche a persone, for his puritie, is
mooste apte to receyue the godlye influencys and spyrytuall
illustracyons.

For the Sonne of Justyce doeth inhabyte suche a pure and
clene soule, shynynge in euery corner therof, and lyghtenynge the
inwarde partes of the same. That is, the thre powers of the soule, so
that he may do all thynges necessary for his saluacion, by the power
of the Father almighty. He knoweth all thynges, by the wysdome of
the Sonne, our sauyoure Christe Jesus, and wyll all good thynges, by
the goodnes of the Hooly Gooste. These be the thre mansyons or
tabernacles that God maketh in the soule of the iuste and pure persone,
for there he fyndeth nothynge that shulde let or resyste contrary to
him.

And so our lorde doeth shyne so longe in that soule, vnto suche
tyme that soule, thorugh that bryghte lyghte and clearenes, be
absorpte, and (in a maner) as it were, drowned or swalowed vppe into
God. And then the soule, so rauysshed and lyfted vp aboue itselwe,
doeth entre into the godly clowde, after thys maner cryenge and
sayenge thus. *Et nox illuminatio mea in deli-* [xxxvii*] *ciis meis. Nyght
or clowde is my lyghte, to my great confort and pleasure.*

And thus ye may se that the soule, by the gyfte or spyryte of
strengthe, is lyfted vp aboue all feare of perylles of our enemies; it
feareth nothyng but synne that displeaseth God; it is nat subdued to
any passion, and is redy to exerceyse all werkes of strengthe. It is nat
ouercum by any conflycte or battell in temptacion. And all this is
opteyned and gotten by the continuall and feruent remembraunce of Christes passion.

And herevnto saynt Paule sayeth: *Confortamini in domino, et in potentia virtutis eius.* Ye be comforted in our lorde, and in the power of his virtue, that is in his passion, whereas his great power and vertue was shewed. Also the prophet David sayeth: *Ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi sue.* He shal giue vertue, power, & strength to his people. And, by his power, we haue the vyctorye ouer oure enemies, as saynt Paule sayeth: *Deo gratias qui fecit nos vincere per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.* Thankes and praysynges be to God, that hath gyuen to vs the vyctory ouer all our enemies, by the merytes of our lorde Jesus Christe.

And in another place saint Paule sayeth thus: *Induite vos armatura dei, vt possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboli.* Put vpon you the armoure of God, that ye may stande strongly agaynst the disceites and pryuy assautes of the deuyll. These be the armours of God, and also, vnder hym, our armoure. Let vs take his crowne of thorne for our salet or helmet. For our swerde, the nayles of his handes. For our spurre, the nayles that persed his fete. For our Jacke or haubergyn, the betynges of his body with scourges. For our sheld, the crosse as our lorde bare it to the mounte of Caluary. For our horse, the same crosse, as Christe dyd hynge and dye thereon. With this armoure we shall ouercum the deuyll, for thereunto we shall haue strength, thrugh the feruent meditacion of the passion of Christe.

To this gifte of goostly strength, correspondeth the fourthe beatitude; that is: *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam.* Blessed be they that hunger and thyrste iustice. For as saynt Austyn sayeth: ‘Strength is conuenient to them that hunger and thyrsyte iustice, for they labour diligently, desyrynge to haue ioye and pleasure in, and of, thynges that be very good; and also labourynge to tourne theyr loue
from all worldly and vayne thynges.’ And this conueniency doeth also appere in that, that this gyfte of strengthe consysteth and standeth in harde thinges & of great difficulty (as we sayd before). It is a great and an harde thynge that a man shuld nat only do vertuouse werkes which comonly ben called the [f.xxxviii'] werkes of iustice, but also that he shulde do them with a feruent, and (in a maner) an insaciable desyre of iustyce, whiche is signified by this hunger and thyrst of iustice.

To this gyfte also of goostly strength, correspondeth and accordeth amonges the fruites of the spyryte, these two fruites: pacience, whiche concerneth the sufferaunce of euyll or payne, and longanimitie, whiche consysteth in the taryenge or continuall abydyngge for the good promyses of God; that is, eternall glory, the rewarde of vertuouse werkes. And so this spyryte of strength is gyuen to man, that it shulde aryse and lyfte vp the tedyouse & wery soule, whiche was almoost deiect & cast downe by the dayly sufferaunce of euyll and paynes, and for beholdynge or abydyngge of the good promyses of God. And this gyfte so doeth lyfte vp this soule, that it (opteynynge his formar vertue and strength) doeth put away all suche dulnes & werynes, and also waxeth stronge to the desyre of inwarde swetnenes, and so consequently to the desyre of eternall pleasure.

Also this spyryte of strength doeth cause, in mannes soule, the hunger & desyre of iustice, so that the soule here in this lyfe, feruently desyrynge the werkes of iustice, may herafter be full saciate with consolacion eternall for his rewarde. And to this we sayd before that by th’ example of the mekenes & pacience of Christe in his passion, for the whiche he was exalted, and had a name aboue all names, as saynt Paule sayeth, men shuld be prouoked and moued to the folowyngge of Christe in corporall paynes and afflictions, in subduynge all vyce & inordinate concupiscencys or desyres, in hungerynge &
thyrstynge the werkes of iustice, and in hauynge dominion ouer all his
appytes, and rewlyng them by ryght reason, that they, so doynge,
may be made apte to the reparacion of th’ order of the dominacions,
aungels or heuenly.spyrytes so called.

Example of this spyryte of strengthe. The xiii Chapytre.

Vincent, in his hystories, sheweth an example of this gyfte of
strengthe, of the blessed woman Maria de Ogines, thus sayenge:
Forasmoche as it but lytle auayleth to auoyde euyll by the spyryte of
feare, and to do good by the spirite of pitie, & thyrdely, by the spyryte
of knowledge, to haue discrecion in all thynges, except also, by y°
spirite of strength, we resyst all euyll, & kepe our goodnes by
pacience, and also, by fyrme constancye & [f.xxxvii°] stablenes,
perseuer and so continue vnto the dethe; & so at lengthe (by our long
abydyng) receiue th’ eternall rewarde promised vnto vs – this (I say)
our lord & Father omnipotent consideryng, dyd open his infinit
treasures, & dyd adourne & beautifie his dere beloued doughter Marie
(no dout for hyr ferue
t & continuall remembraunce of Christes
passion) with the fourth precyouse stone; y° is, with the gyfte of
goostly strengthe, & so dyd arme hyr agaynst all aduersities or dartes
of the enemy, that neither she was deiecte & cast downe by any
trouble or aduersitie, nor yet lyfte vp in pryde by any false &
flatterynge prosperitie.

One tyme, whan she was greuously vexed with the paralisie or
palsey, insomoche that for great payn she was constreyned to crye &
knocke vpon hyr brest, there was one of hyr familiar frendes, a deuout
person in a secret place nyghe, the whiche, herynge and perceyuynge
that by his prayers hyr paynes were minisshed, sayd vnto hyr seruynge
mayd: ‘Go & say vnto that man, that he cease of his prayers for me,
for though, by his prayers, myne infirmitie is releuyd, yet thereby I
lese the merite that I might haue by pacient sufferaunce.’
Another tyme, whan she was vexed with greuouse paynes or troubles, there was one of hyr deuout louers whiche secretly in his hert was very sory and heuy for hyr vexacion and grefe, the whiche she, knowynge by the reuelacion of God, sent hyr mayde vnto hym, sayenge: ‘Byd hym sorow no more for me.’ For she was more greued or heuy for the sorowes of other persones, than of hyr owne infirmitities or troubles.

And nat onely, by the spyryte of strengthe, she had power to resyste all aduersaryes, but also to absteyne [from] all carnall & wanton desyres. This blessed yonge woman had so subdued & dried hyr body betwyxt the two trees of the crosse – that is, betwyxt the remembraunce of the passion of Christe, and beryng hyr owne crosse by continuall penaunce – that, by many yeres before hyr dethe, she neuer felte the mocions of vnclennes’ fyrst styrynges in hyr body. And thereby she had a great confydence or boldnes to be in the cumpany of men, for she, of hyr abundaunt innocency & pure simplicitie, supposed and thought that all other persones had ben as she was.

And therefore, one tyme whan one of hyr famylyare frendes, of a feruent spyrytuall affection that he had to hyr, dyd holde hyr faste or wrynge hyr by the hande; thoughe for his chaste mynde he thoughte no synne, yet, as a frayle man, thorughe suche touchynge he felte a lytell pleasure sensuall. [f.xxxix'] But she, nothynge felynge in hyrselyfe, nor knowynge of his mocions, herde a voyce from heuen, sayenge in Latyn thus: Noli me tangere. Touche me nat. Yet she knew nat what those wordes ment or signified. For our lorde God, very mercyfull and benygne, hauynge compassion of our frailtie, wolde nat rebuke or confounde that man in the presence of that holy woman. Yet he wold, as a true and faythfull louer, kepe the chastitie of his frende. Than the blessed woman sayd to that man: ‘I herde a voice, sayenge Noli me tangere. But what it meaneth, I knowe nat.’ And than
that man, consyderynge the goodnes of God towards hym, made an
honest excuse, seyng that our lorde wolde nat confounde hym openly;
and so departed, gyuynge thankes to God, and kepte hymselfe more
warely afterwarde.

The gyfte of counsell is gyuen to man by the remembaunce
of Christes passion. The xiii Chapitre.

By the feruent and contynuall remembaunce of the passyon of
Christe, it is gyuen to man the spyryte and gyfte of godly counsell
agaynst our inaduertence and neclygence. Whereby, in this myserable
and daungerouse worlde, we may beware of all perylles and daun
gers; we may entrepryse and take on hande harde thynges; and also do
thynges of moost dyffyculty. For that person whiche is crucyfyed with
Christe, thorough the feruent meditacion of hys gloryouse passion, is
styred and rauouslynshed to do the werkes of supererogacion. Whereunto
he is nat bounde by the preceptys and commaundementes of God, and
thereunto he is lyfted vp and louyngely drawen by the spyryte of
counsell, on this maner folowynge.

Fyrste, he remembereth how oure lorde Jesus Christe was
obedient to his father, and so continued vnto the dethe of the crosse,
subdued vnto all vilitie, subiection, derision, and manyfolde sorowes
and paynes for vs, and in all these onely requyrynge and serchynge
his heuenly father’s honour and glorye, and so at last subdued to the
most shamefull dethe, for our redemption. Secondly, he remembrneth
how Christe, though he were always pore, yet he was most pore whan
he, spoiled & robbed of all his clothes, was put naked vpon the
crosse for our synnes. And thyrdly [f.xxxixv] he remembrneth how he
that was moost swete, pleasaunt, and solace of aungels, was
replenisshed & filled with all bytternes, sorow, and payne whan he
honge vpon the crosse.
This very true vyne, our sauiour Jesus Christe, was oft tymes cut. Fyrst in his incarnacion, whan as he was in our nature made of less perfection than aungels, though by his godly nature he was the creatour, maker, and glory of aungels; and so was, in a maner, his glory cut from hym, with the knife or cultre of ignominie; for to the syghte of the worlde he was nat gloryouse, but rather he appered vyle and ignominiouse. His power was cut with the cultre of deiection. His pleasure, with the knyfe of sorow. His rychesse, with the knife of pouerty. And last there was cut from hym with the cultre of feare, all his frendes and acquaintauunce, so that of all his dere louers, there was nat one man to confort hym in his tribulacions. And therefore the prophete sayd in his person: *Torcular calcaui solus, & de gentibus non est vir mecum.* I alone haue troden or laboured in the presse of tribulacion, & there was nat one man that wolde confort and helpe me.

Also the prophete Dauyd sayeth in the person of Christe: *Improperium expectauit cor meum & miseriam, et sustinui qui simul contristaretur, et non erat, et qui consolaretur, et non inueni.* My harte hath susteyned and suffred rebuke and mysery. And I loked yf that any man wolde suffre or be heuy with me, and there was none. Also I loked yf that any man wolde confort me, & I founde non.

Moreouer, he in whom was all treasures of wysdome and knowledge hyd, he that was kynge of all kynges, and so ryche that he had no nede of any other mannes goodes, but of his pleantie gyueth to euery man, this wyse and ryche emperoure (I say) was made so pore, that there myght none be founde more pore. No, nat amonges the foxes of the erthe, ne yet amonges the byrdes of the ayre. And therfore he sayeth of hymselfe: *Vulpes foueas habent, et volucres celi nidos, filius autem hominis non habet vbi caput suum reclinet.* The foxes haue theyr caues or dennes, & the byrdes of the ayre haue theyr
nestys, but the son of a vyrgyn hath nat where to hyde or laye his hede.

He was pore in his natiuitie or byrthe, porer in his lyfe, or processe of his lyfe, and moost pore vpon the crosse at his deth. At his byrthe he was fedde with the vyrgyns mylke, and lapped in vyle or pore clothes. In the processe of his lyfe he had pore clothyng. But oft tymes he wanted meat & drynke for his necessary sustenaunce. But at his dethe thou shalt fynde hym naked and in extreme thyrste or dryenes, excepte thou say that he had vynegre mixte with bytter myre and gall to quenche his thyrste.

These thynges well considered, the soule of the person beholdynge and depely remembrynge them is, shortly and easely, persuaded and moued to folow our sauiour Jesu in lyke thynges, so that he may now gladly withdraw hymselfe from all worldly honours and desyres of the same, from all possession of temporall goodes & from all corporall consolacion and pleasure, desyrynge, with his lorde God, all vylenes, abiection, and derision, and to suffre payn in all his hole body, that thereby he myght in sumthynge be made conformable to his lorde God, and so do to hym sum thankfull servuice. His appetite and desyre is nat now to please men, but rather, for the loue and honour of his lorde God, to be mocked, scorned, despised, and to be rather hated of them than honoured. And therefore all vayne prayse and laudes gyuen to hym ben abhominacion & as stynkynge caryon vnto hym, for he onely requyreth and desyreth the laudes and prayers of God. Unto that, it is all his study, laboure, & payne. That, he desyreth with an unsaciable thyrst.

In all thynges he onely desyreth the honour of God, nothynge lokynge to hymselfe, nor regardynge anythynge perteynynge to hymselfe, ne yet wyll be bounde to do anythynge, but all togyder, with hert and mynde, lokynge vnto heuen, whereas is moost his pleasure.
And also he desyreth that, by his rebukes, his lorde God myght be honoured; greatly and continually desyrynge, thrughe this gyfte of counell, bothe to be pore and also despysed and abiecte for the loue of God, forasmuche as he perceiued bothe these to be in his lorde God crucified.

And truely he wolde, now and euer, be naked with Christe vpon the crosse, beynge very heuy or sory at he shuld haue anythynge that myght helpe the pore, or els that perteyneth to the honour of God. Therfore he, forsakynge all superfluitie, vseth as few thynges as his necessitie wyll suffre hym, so that his pleasure is moche more set to despyse and cast away rychesse, than to get or multyply it. And to speke of corporall delectacions, consolacions and pleasures, we may truely say that from al these, and also from all other consolacion that is nat in God, of God, or for God, he vtterly refuseth them, as moche as it is possyble for hym, euer askynge and desyrynge to be saciate and fulfylled with byternes, sorow, and Payne or affliction with his lorde and mayster Christe.

Wherefore, whatsoeuer he perceyued to be pleaasunt vnto his bodye, or yet vnto his herte, by the whiche he may nat be made conformable vnto the moost blessed woundes and passion of Christe; that thyng he abhoreth, withdrawynge hymselfe [f.xl\) from all thynges (thrughe this gyfte of counell) wherein he seeth any peryll or daunger lyke to cum to hym. And therfore he doeth all thynges with greate deliberacion. And also, thrughe the sayde gyfte of councell, he applyeth hymselfe to do all tho thynges wherby the honour of God, y\char{e} charitie of his neighbour, & the helth of soules may be in anythynge encreased. And for these causes he is ofte tymes solitarie, depely consyderynge the passion of Christe, therin serchynge the hyghhonours of God, th’ eternall ryches, and heuennel pleasures that the deuout soule, therin restynge, may haue great ioye. Also thereby the
bytter soule, for the compassion of Christes passion, is made swete
and pleasaunt. And the mynde, eleuate and lyfted aboue itselfe, is
made dronken or is drowned in loue. And so the soule, full of pleasure
and lenyng vpon hyr dere belouyd, restyth hoolly in hyr lorde God.

And this is it that we sayd before, how throug the sp aryte of councell
we auoide all perylles and daungers, make ourselfes sure in the holes
of the stone – that is, in the wounds of Christe – to entrepyse
great, harde, and paynefull thynges, and also to exercyse the werkes of
supererogacion; as is to loue our enemies, and to forgiue them for
Christe; to gyue all our goodes to pore people for the loue of Christe;
to the whiche werkes, don by the sp aryte of councell, correspondeth
the fyffe beatitude, of the whiche Christe sayeth: Beati misericordes
quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur. Blessed be ye mercyfull,
for they shall haue mercy. For as saynt Austyn sayeth: ‘Councell is
accordyng to mercyfull persones, for there is but one remedy or
meane to be delyuered from all the perylles of this worlde, and that is
this: to forgyue and to gyue.’ Councell is properly and specially to be
taken of these thynges that be to cum, and that be profytable vnto our
ende; that is, to do the werkes of mercy, whiche moost of all
corresponde or accorde to the gyfte of councell.

And therefore saynte Paule sayeth: Pietas ad omnia vtilis est.
Pytye and mercy is profytable to all thynges. And thus ye may
perceyue that the beatitude of mercye correspondeth to the gyfte of
councell. Nat that this gyfte of councell doeth produce and brynge
furthe the werkes of mercye as his effecte and operacion, but that it
dyrecteth and ordyreth the doer and werker. For the sp aryte of
councell is specially gyuen to man, to that intent that he shulde lerne
therby to forgyue freely and gladly, and also to shew mercy vnto those
persons that haue offended agaynst hym, knowynge that yf he do, he
shall fynde lyke mercy in our lorde, in forguyng his synnes done agaynst God, as our lorde [f.xlii] sayeth in the gospel.

And this is it that we spake before, that men consyderynge and beholdynge the vnspeakable pitie & mercy of our lorde, that he shewed whan he prayed for them that put him to dethe, shulde be moued and styrred to lyke pitie and mercy, & so made apte to the restauracion of the order of aungelles, called vertues. O, sayth the prophet Dauid in the person of Christ: Calix meus inebrians quam preclarus est. That is, as the glose of saynte Austyn sayeth, ‘the cuppe of the blood of our lorde whiche, [inebriatynge] the mynde and makynge it dronken in God, doeth so cure and heale it, that it maketh it forget all vayne delectacion & pleasure. This dronkennes maketh men sobre.’

This fulnes and plenteousnes maketh men empty and voyde of euyll maners and vyces. And therfore the prophet sayeth, that it is preclarus – that it is moche worthy and noble. For besyde the premisses, it bryngeth a man to the kyngedom of heuens.

**Example of this spyryte and gyfte of councell. The xv Chapitre.**

Of this gyfte of godly councell, whiche is gyuen to suche as feruently remembre the passion of Christe, we may se an example in the forsayd blessed woman Maria de Ogines, in the forsayd histories of Vincent whiche, speakynge of this holy woman, sayeth thus. She, endued with the spirite of councell, wold do nothyng hedlynges, nothyng inordinately; but she dyd all thynges diligently, wysely, discretely, and with great deliberacion. And allthough she was inwardly vysyted with the familiar councell of the Holy Goost, and also sufficiently instruct in the holy scripture of God, and all by the feruente and continuall remembraunce of the passion of Christe; yet for th’ abundaunt mekenes that was in hyr, and that she wolde nat trust to moche to hyr owne wyt, and so semwise in hyr owne sight, she
utterly forsoke hyr owne wyl and reason, and dysdayned nat to submyt hyr wyl freely & gladly to the wyl and counsell of other, takynge and folowyng theyr mynde and counsell. This natwithstandyng, many of hyr famylyar frendes, the whiche had ofte experience of hyr godly wysdome, wolde take no great thynge vpon them without hyr counsell. And that she could nat know by mannys wyt or reason, after deuout and feruent prayer, she had the knowledge therof by the inspiracion of God.

One tyme, whan one of hyr dere spiri-[f.xli'] tuall frendes, whiche had a competent pore lyuynge, wherewith he was well content, & so moche the better content, for that he lyued quyetly from the turmoiles & troubles of the world, abstracte and separate from the cumpany of worldly people, and all worldly pompe or vanitie; this person (I say) so content and seruyng God in mekenes and deuoute spyryte, was desired of a noble and great man to be with him as his maister, instructour, and counsellour; & he shulde haue all thynges plenteously at his pleasure, as meate, drynke, rayment, horse, and seruauntes. This person (after this large offre made) asked the councel of this blessed woman Mary what he shulde do. Than she (in nothynge presumynge of hyr owne wyt) made hyr herty prayer to God secretely, and after hyr deuoute prayers she aunswered to hym and sayde: ‘I sawe a great horse prepared for you, whiche went or ranne streight way towardes hell, & I dyd also se a greate company of deuylles ioyenge and shewynge great gladnes therof. Therefore, after my councell, forsake that offre and continue in that callyng that God hath called you vnto, lesse by suche ambicion and worldly pompe, ye gyue occasion to the deuyll to drawe you further vnto your eterne perdicion.’

By the feruent remembrance of the passion of Christe, the gyfte of vnderstandynge is gyuen to man. The xvi Chapytre.
There is also gyuen vnto man (throug the feruent and continuall remembraunce of the passion of our lorde) the gyfte and spyryte of vnderstandynge, wherby we know God, nat essencially as he is in himselfe, but by collacion & comparyson vnto his creatures, as by his effectes, operacions, & creatures; as it were by sygnes and tokens. Also by this gyfte we receyue a lyght and knowledge of those thynges which we se or here of the scripture of God. And this knowledge is contrary to that brute & sensuall knowledge, wherby man onely knoweth and cleueth fast to these outwarde and vayne thynges, nothyng regardynge, consyderenynge or knowynge his owne honour & dignitie, for he onely consydereth these visyble and transitory thynges, and wyll nat serche to rede or to know inwarde thynges; that is, what he is, nat in stubstance, but in grace; what is his lyuynge, vycyouse or vertuouse; how great he is in merytes or in the favour of God; & [f.xlii] where he is, that is, in this exyle & vale of mysery. All these thynges considereth the spirituall person, and that by the feruent meditacion of Christes passion.

For he that is crucified with Christ Jesu, by the remembraunce of his most blessed passion, doeth ascende vnto the clerenes of knowledge, by the spyryte of vnderstandynge, on this maner. Whan a man doeth feruently and deuoutly remembre and consyder how that the Sonne of God wolde suffre so greate paynes for to redeeme hym, anone he consydereth of what dignitie and noblenes his soule is, that it is of an excellent & great dignitie, seynge that the Sonne of God wolde suffre so shamefull a dethe for the redemption therof. And by this consideracion he is animated and moued to consyder and thynke of hyghe and noble thynges. For whan he depely considereth that that mooste precyouse blood of Jesu Christe was shed to wasshe his soule from the fylthynes of synne, and also that, by that moost blessed passion, the ruyne and fall of aungels shulde be repured & restored
with mankynde, anon he dysdayneth to remembre or ones to thynke of these vyle and transitory thynges, but rather he is prouoked & moued to beholde and consydre spirituall and heuenly thynges. And yf he consydre or beholde these visible thynges, it is for that intent that therby he wolde ascende to the consideracion of heuenly thynges, so that his conversacion is principally in heuyn.

And than also, forasmoche as he seeth Christe crucified and so subdued vnto manyfold tribulacions and paynes, he, in this consideracion, onely wyllynge to please God, recounteth and thynketh all tribulacions and paynes to be very lyght and easy for hym to beare, remembrynge also how moche Christe loued hym, that wolde be so cruelly and shamefully entreated and slayne for his redemption, he, feruently kyndeled in the loue of Christe, laboureth to entre in that moost blyssed syde and hert of Christe, whiche he knew was opened with a spere for his loue. His soule is burnyng in loue as a fyre. And therefore with all his herte he desyreth to be crucified with Christe. Hereunto he sygheth and wepyth, and feruently desyreth that he myghte be all wasshed or drowned in that passion, and so hoolly to be transfourmed into his lorde God crucified.

He reputeth and thinketh hymselfe to be in bondage and mysery, except he be preserued and kept by the blood of his redemer. He iudgeth hymselfe to be rather more lyke a beeste than a man, except he be clad with his lordes passion. It is abhominacion to hym to be negligent in the consideracion and remembrance of so noble a benefite as is the mercyful werke of our redemption, and [f.xlii\(^v\)] and therfore he is euer, or at leest hath a wyll to be euer occupied in the meditacion of the sayd passion. For as he wold euer continue in the fauour of God, whiche he gate by that passion and redemption, so he wold haue euer in his hert and mynde the passion of Christe, the pryce of our redemption. He reputeth Christe crucified as his lyfe, and all his
confort or pleasure, and therfore he wolde be euer conuersaunt with hym.

O what sorow, what heuynes is it to that person which is inebriate and drowned in the blood of Christe, yf he se his hert enclyned to any other thyng than to Christe crucified? Therfore suche a person disdeyneth to vse any other potion or drynk with pleasure, but as the blood of Christ, which hath wasshed hym clene, & greatly beautified & made hym lyke vnto Christ. He knoweth that through the openyng of the syde or hert of Christe, his soule is maryed vnto Christe, and therfore he wyll euer stande nygh vnto that wounde, touchynge & felynge his spouse, wounded for his loue; & so he ferently desyreth that he myght be wounded in his herte, and therfore he oft tymes layeth his herte vnto those woundes by continuall remembraunce of them, and also ioyneth & byndeth hymselfe vnto his spouse wounded, with the indissoluble and continuall or sure bonde of charitie; for the woundes of Christ be as a cellar of wynes new broched, whereby our soules may be inebriate or made drunke in charitie.

And hereunto it is written in the canticles: Introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam, ordinauit in me charitatem. The kynge hathe brought me into his wine cellar; that is, into the feruent loue & remembraunce of his woundes. He hathe made me drunke in his loue and charitie. Also it is sayd, Canticorum 1. Introduxit me rex in cellaria sua. The kynge hathe brought me into his cellers. There shall we sucke hony out of the stone, and drynke the moost purest blood of ye grape. Christe crucified is this stone & also this grape, whereof we all may plenteously drynke. And therefore he sayeth to his louers: Bibite amici, et inebriamini. Cum drynke frendes hereof at your wyll, and be drunke thereof my moost dere frendes.
Also the spouse Christe sayeth to his spousesse oure soule: 

\textit{Vulnerasti cor meum soror mea sponsa, vulnerasti cor meum.} Thou hast wounding my hert for thy loue, my syster, my spouse, thou hast wounded my hert. And she, agayne wounded with his loue, sayeth in lyke maner: \textit{Vulnerata charitate ego sum, ideoque filie Ierusalem nunciate dilecto quia amore langueo.} I am wounded with charitie, and therfore, ye daughters of Jerusalem, shew vnto my dere beloved spouse Christe that I languysshe and am syke [f.xliii] for loue. And so the wounded spouses is ioyned to Christe crucified, her wounded spouse; and wounding is coupled to wounding, that is, loue to loue. And than also the columbye blood of the spouse, that is of Christe, whiche is symple as the dowue, by the whiche blood our soule (the spousesse of God) receuyeth hyr spirituall syght. This blood, I say, doeth flow into the woundes of the spousesse, which is wounded by compassion that she hathe of hyr spouse Christ crucified, that in a maner she fainteth & swouneth for sorow, and mylteth or waxeth sycke for the loue of hir spouse, and so than she swetely resteth in out sauiour Jesu, where she redeth and seeth, vnderstandeth and fyndeth what she is, & of what meryte or dignitye in the loue and fauour of God, for whose loue the Sonne of God wolde suffre so great and greuouse tourmentes.

Hereunto speaketh saynte Bernarde: ‘O good Jesu, thou hast made my body as a glasse vnto my soule. That whiche thou dyd suffer openly, I suffered pryuely. That whiche thou suffred of the ministers of Cayphas openly, I suffred of the ministers or wickednes of Sathanas inwardely. Thy face was couered, and also smyten or buffeted in the house of the prince of prestes, and that was to put away the confusion of our ignorauence and spirituall blyndenes. We were sumtyme [in] darknes – that was before our baptisme – but nowe we walke in the lyght that was set or hanged vp on height vpon the
aulter or candelstyecke of the crosse, and from thence shyneth very bryght vnto our confort.’ And so Christe, by his passion, doeth illuminate or lyghten our reason & vnderstandyng.

This is the ointement, wherewith (as saynt John sayeth) our iyen shulde be anointed, that we myght se clerely. This is also the rodde, wherewith Jonathas toke of the hony and ate thereof, and so his iyen were lyghtened. This is, moreover, the gall of the fysshe wherwith Thobie anointed his iyen, and so receyued his syght agayne. And so Longyne, beynge blynde, and wasshed with the blood of Christe, receyued his syght, and was also convuerted to the faythe.

And so ye may perceyue howe the passion of Christe doeth illuminate our vnderstandyng, and gyueth knowledge to meke persones, faughtfully and deuoutly remembryng his passion. And this is thrugh the gyft of vnderstandyng to know God by his creatures, or in companyng hym to his creatures, as we sayd before, and also to be illuminate or lyghtened by the wrytynges and saynges of prophetes in the maner of contemplacion or knowledge of those thynges that be wryten of our lord Jesu Christe, whereby man begynneth to retourne to his owne [f.xliii’] selfe; for, by this gyfte of vnderstandynge, he recouereth his spirituall syght, wherby he may se and know his owne honour and dignitie, & so retourne to his lorde God and se hym as it is possible for man in this lyfe. And therefore to this gyfte correspondeth the vi beatitude, that is, Beati mundo corde: quoniam ipsi deum videbunt. Blessed be the pure & clene in hert, for they shall se God.

And saynt Austen sayeth that the syxt operacion or gyft of the Holy Goost, that is, the gyfte of vnderstandynge, is conuenient and accodryng to them that be pure in herte. One is as a disposicion to the syght of God, which is a clensyng of the wyll or affecte from all inordinate affections, and this clennes is made or goten by the gyftes
and vertues that perteyn to the wyll, comonly called Vis anime appetitium. The desyrouse power of the soule.

There is another clennes of the hert, which is as a complete & perfyte clennes, whereby God is sene. And this is the clennes of the mynde or vnderstandyng, purified & clensed from all fantasies & errours, so that the soule, so purified, perceyueth the more clerely & truely those thynges that be wryten or spoken of God; & nat onely perceyueth them by corporall fantasies, ne yet vnderstandeth them as the peruerse and obstinate heretykes done declare them. And this clennes is opteyned or goten by the gyfte of vnderstandyng, wherunto correspondeth (as I sayd before) the vi beatitude, that is: Blessed be the clene in herte, for they shall se God. And faythe or fidelitie, one of the fruytes of the spyryt, accordeth also hereunto. And as ye se that the fruite of the tree is the last thynge and moost delectable or pleasaunt that we haue of the fruitfull tree; so be the fruytes of yª Holy Goost the most plausaunt & delectable thynges that cummeth to man by the vertue and operacion of the Holy Gooste.

And so the spirite of vnderstandyng, cummynge to the soule of man thurgh the deuout and ofte remembraunce of Christes passion, clenseth it and purifieth the inwarde and spirituall syght of man, whiche was derked and blynded by the synne of our fyrst parent Adam; and also doth cure and heale it with the knowledge of the worde of God, as it were with a holsum ointement, and doeth make it so pure and lyghtsum, that it is apte to receyue or to beholde the clearenes of the deytie. Clennes doeth sprynge of the gyfte of vnderstandyng. And this clennes bryngeth in the vision or syght of God; and therfore Christe sayeth: Blessed be the clene in hert, for they shall se God. [f.xliii] And therefore we sayd before, that by the truth expressed & declared in the moost blessyd passion of Christe, men be illuminate thurgh the feruent remembraunce of the sayd passion, vnto

Mat. 5.8
the knowledge of the heuenly and godly truthes, that so they may be 
made apte vnto the reparacion of th’ order of Cherubyn.

For man, in his fyrst creacion, was so made of God, that yf he 
had nat synned he shulde euer haue ben presente in the contemplacion 
of his creatoure and maker. That man, so seyenge his lorde God, 
shulde euer haue louyd hym, and so louynge hym, shulde euer haue 
cleued fast vnto hym, and in so cleuyng fast to hym, whiche is 
immortall, he also shuld haue had lyfe euerlastyngly. But man, for his 
inobedience, was cast from the face & fauour of God, and, by his 
syne, he was blynded with ignoraunce. And he was put from that 
inward lyght of contemplacion, bycause he inclinéd his mynde & gaue 
it to erthly desyres. And the more depely he gaue hymselfe to the 
desyre of these vaine and transitory thynges, the more he forgat the 
swetenes of heuenly desyres, whose taste and knowledge he had lost 
by his syn. And so he was exiled & banisshed from Paradise, for his 
synfull conscience, and wandered about here in this vale of misery, by 
inordinate concupiscence. And also the hert of man whiche fyrste, 
fyxed in the loue of God, was stable & permanent, & in louyng onely 
one thynge, that is God, was at all tymes one; after that it began to 
slyde vnto vayne and worldly desyres, it was diuided into as many 
thinges, as thoo thinges that he desyred were dyuers & many.

And so it foloweth consequentely, that yȝt mynde which can nat 
or wyll nat loue yȝt one thynge yȝt is very good & one in itselfe; yȝt 
mynde (I say) can neuer be stable. For yȝt mynde, nat fyndyng the 
ende of his desyre & his purpose in those thynges yȝt he loueth, & so 
euer labouryng in vayne, & desyryng that thynge which he can nat 
opteyn, can neuer rest stably & quietly. And herof foloweth continuall 
mouyng without stabilitie, labour without rest, runnyng without any 
ende of his runnyng. And so the hert is euer vnquyet, vnto the tyme it 
cleue fast by loue vnto one thynge, in the which his desyre shall be
saciate & fully content with pleasure, and also he shall have a sure confidence and trust, that that thynge whiche he so loueth, shall neuer be taken from hym, & this shal be by our lorde Jesu Christe, whiche is the way, truthe and lyfe eternall.

And therfore he sayth: Cum exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum. Whan I shal be exalted vpon the crosse, I shall draw all my elect people to myself. And this his eternall father promysed vnto hym by the prophet, sayenge: Ab oriente adducam semen [f.xliii] tuum &c. That is, I shall brynge thy sede and faythfull chyldren or seruauntes from the Eest, by one part of the crosse. And I shall gader to the from the West, by another arme or parte of the crosse. And I shall say vnto Northe: ‘Gyue to my sonne his seruauntes by the thyrde parte of the crosse.’ And I shall saye to the Southe parte of the worlde: ‘Let nat my sonnes seruantes to cum to hym, by the fourthe arm or parte of the crosse. Brynge my sonnes or chyldren from farre cuntreys, and my doughters from th’ extreme and vttermoost partes of the erthe.’

**Example of this gyfte or spyryte of vnderstandynge. The xvii Chapytre**

Of this spirite of vnderstandyng, which is oft tymes gyuen to those that deuoutly remembre the passion of Christ, we haue example in the sayd hystoryes of Vincent, of the ofte named woman Maria de Ogines. Of whome he sayeth thus: This blessyd daughter of Hierusalem, adourned by the feruent remembraunce of Christes passion with manyfolde vertues, & illustrate or lyghtened with the foresayd gyftes of the Holy Goost, and also hyr hert purified & clensed with the gyfte of vnderstandynge, she was conuersant in & with heuenly thynges. For she, ytterly excludynge from hyr hert all vayne, transitory, & sensuall fantasies, gat into hyr mynde vnuiforme, vnuariable, & heuenly imaginacions. And the more she approched and
drew nigh vnto th’ immutable maiesty of God, the more purely these heuenly imaginacions shone in hyr soule.

And whan hyr spirit, so purified, was kyndled & burnynge in the fyre of feruent loue of God, she ascended into heuen by contemplacion, as the fume or smoke of insence or other swete spices doth ascende; & so walkyng in heuen, as it were, from place to place, euer ascendynge, sought about to fynde hym whom she loued, God omnipotent. And so serchynge, she was sumtyme comforted with ye lilies of vyrgins, now refresshed with th’ odiferouse & swete smellynge roses of the holy martyrs, and sumtyme she is venerably or worshipfully receiued of the honorable cumpany of the apostles, & sumtyme she is associate to the cumpany of aungels.

Whan she had thus ascended from degree to degree, & walked with ioyouse & glad mynde throughe many places of heuenly paradise; whan she was a lytle past all these cumpanies, she founde hym whom hyr hert moost feruently desyred, & there she perfitely restyd. And whan she was in this quietnes, it pleased our lorde to shew vnto hyr the boke of lyfe, wherin, whan she loked, she perceyued many thynges by the spirite of vnderstandyng, whiche afterward, whan [f.xlv⁵] she was cum to hyrselfe, she shewed by the spirit of prophecy.

And so, vpon a tyme whan the heretikes called Albigenses were greatly multiplied, thre yeres before that the people were marked with the crosse to go & fyght against them, she sayd that she se many crosses descende from heuen vpon a great multitude of people, whiche people, moued of God, & feruent zele that they had to our sauiour crucified, & intendyng to reuenge the great dishonour of God don by those heretykes, cam from farre cuntreys. And whan they cam to a place called Mons gaudii, the mount of ioy, there were many of them slayne by the heretikes. And than this blyssed woman, though she were in a farre cuntrey from y⁵t place, yet she se holy aungels
makynge great ioye, & bearynge the soules of those holy martyrs that were slayne in that battell, vnto heuyn, without any other purgatorye. And so this blessyd woman, seynge this, conceyued so feruent desyre to go vnto that place, yat nothynge shulde haue withholde hyr frome that iourney, yf she myght haue gone without slauber of hyr neighbours. And whan we, with smylynge countenaunce, asked of hyr what she wold do if she were there, she answered & sayd: ‘Though I can nat fight, yet at leest I wolde there honour & glorifie my lorde God, & there confesse his name, whereas those wicked heretikes hath blasphemyd hym and denied hym.’ Other examples ye may se in the sayd histories. Ca xlii.

The gyfte of wysdome is gyuen to man by the deuout remembraunce of Cristes passion. The xviii Chapitre.

There is also gyuen to man, by the deuout and ofte remembraunce of Cristes passion, the spyryte or gyfte of godly wysdom. Wherwith God is knowen, absolutely without respecte vnto his creatures, or els by experience, as whan we taste of the swetenes of God. And therefore Sapientia is nat onely called a knowledge, but it is a sauoury knowlege, thrughe the taste of vertues. And this gyfte is gyuen to man, agaynste all chyldely or vayne knowledge or pleasure, so that hereby a man lerneth to dispise all wantonnes, and mylke of temporall delectacion or pleasure, and all suche folysshes, and begynneth to saoure heuenyly thynges, and to pondre them as thynges very pleasant, true, and stable, or permanant. And erthly thynges he reputeth as [f.xlv^c_] vayne & transitory, and also hereby he iudgeth the truthe of euerythyng as it is indede, & intermedleth no more than nedeth. And of this wysdom saynt Paule sayeth: Impleamini cognitione voluntatis dei in omni sapientia, et intellectu spirituali. I praye (sayeth saynt Paule) yat ye may be replenished & fulfilled with
the knowledge of ye wyll of God in all wisdom & spirituall understandyng.

And saynt Bernarde sayeth, that there be iii maners of wysdom. One is the wisdom of the hert. An other is ye wyssdom of ye mouth. And the thyrde is of the outwarde werke or dede. The wysdom of the hert standeth in the wepynge & sorowyng for our synnes past, in dispisyng of all worldly pleasures or profites, & in the desire of heuenly thynges & eternall glory. The wysdom of the mouth consisteth in ye confession of our synnes, in the laude & praysynges of God, & in th’ edifieng of our neighbour by godly speche & exhortacion. The wysdom of outwarde werkes standeth in this: yt a man lyue and be conuersant with other men paciently, obediently, & innocently or continently, so that faithfull & true obedience do mortifie & subdue his owne proper wyl. Meke continence do cut away all carnall & worldly concupiscence. And glad pacience do sustayn & beare manly & strongly all corporall & worldly aduersitie.

Of the wysdom of the herte. we may declare vnto you a figure or example written in the thyrde boke of the kynges: that is, how the quene Saba, hearyng the great fame of Salomon, cam from ye extreme partes of the erthe to here his wysdom; & she cam to hym with a great cumpany. And kynge Salomon taughte hyr in all thynges that she requyred of hym. And so she, seynge and considerynge the wysdom, his house that he had builded, his ministers and seruauntes, & th’ order of them, theyr rayment, his buttelers, and the hostes or oblacions that he dayly offred, she (I say) consideryng all these, hyr spirite in a maner failed hyr, for great maruell and wonder therof.

Morally or spiritually, by this quene Saba is vnderstood our synfull soule, which, heryng of the fame of Salomon, that is, by inwarde inspiracion or outwarde prechynge or redynge, perceuyyng th’ infinite goodnes, loue, and mercy of our peacefull Salomon,
Christe, by the whiche mercy & loue he hath preuented our synfull soule with his grace, & reconsyled it to his heuenly father, and where our soule, by our fyrst parentes, was condemnped vnto eternall dethe, he hathe restored & called it agayne vnto lyfe; our quene Saba and synfull soule (I say) perceuyuyng this great fame, is incited & moued to cum with all hyr hert and mynde, with a great and muche cumpany; that is, [f.xlvi'] with many sighynges & sobbynges, & great desyres vnto our true Salomon Christ, from th’ extreme partes of the erthe; that is, from synne, that is, very farre from God. As the prophet Dauid sayeth: _Longe a peccatoribus salus._ Helth or saluacion, that is, Christe, is farre from synners. And therfore synne is called th’ extreme part of the erthe, forasmuche as it separateth & maketh man farre from God – yea, nothyng so moche – and also bycause synne comonly doeth inhabit the soules of erthly & worldly people. This synfull quene, I say, cam fro farre to here the wysdom of our Salomon Christ.

And his wysdom is this: that we shulde be contrite & sory for our synnes, dyspyse the worlde with all his pleasures, & couet or desyre heuenly thynges, that all thynges shuld sauour vnto vs; that is, that we shuld iudge & take euverything as it is in itselue, after ryght reason. Also our Salomon, Christ, doth teche vnto vs, that yf we wyll auoyde eternall tourmentes & paynes, we muste feare the iustice of God, remembre oftymes the surety of dethe, and the vncertaynty of the hour of dethe, & to be asshamed to cum to euerlastyng infamy and rebuke. Also he techeth vs to haue discrecion in our elections, actes, & dedes; that is, to preferre spirituall thynges before corporall, eternall before temporall, heuenly before erthly, & honest thynges before vyle & vnhonest thynges. This is the wysdom of our Salomon, Christe, this is farre from the wysdom of the worlde.
And therfore saint Paule sayeth: *Vbi sapiens vbi scriba &c.* Where is the wyse man of the worlde? Where is the scrybe and lerned man? Where is the byulder & purchaser of this worlde? Hath nat God also shewed & declared the wysdom of this worlde to be a folyshnes?

Surely that wysdom may wel be called a folyshnes, wherby the worlde is loued, & God dispised; worldly honours ben coueted & desyred, & good maners lost & distroyed; wherby ryches is gote, but good conscience is lost & blynded.

But now let vs see how this trew wysdom of the hert may be goten by the remembrance of Christes passion. For whosoeuer be crucified with Christ, throughe ye deuout & continuall remembrance of his passion, he may ascende vnto high contemplacion by the gyft of wysdom on this maner, folowyng the history & example of quene Saba.

First our quene Saba, our synfull soule, doth here ye fame of ye wysdom & goodnes of Christ, our Salomon, whan she remembreth how ye son of God was incarnate & becum man, & also suffred manifold paines, & was offred vpon ye crosse for our sinnes; & how yat he suffred most greuouse paines & shamefull dethe for our redemption. And therfore she thynketh that no wyse man wolde gladly or lyghtely [f.xlviv] lese that thynge whiche he bought so derely with his owne preciouse blood, yf he might with any iustice or ryghtfully kepe it. And so, considerynge these, she conceuyeth in hyrselfe a hope and trust of forgiuenes. And than she maketh hyr supplication & prayer to God for his fauour & grace, & promyseth to make amendes for hyr offences & synnes, as farre as it is possible for hyr to do. Than she beholdeth & considereth his house that our Salomon hathe made – that is, hyr owne body & soule – & how hyr soule is made to that intent, that it shulde be the house & temple of the Holy Goost. Also she considereth how gloryous & goodly this house was made; that is,
to th’ image & similitude of God. And how vylely & shamefully she hath defoiled it by hyr owne synne. And so she beginneth to haue wonder & maruell of the great mercy of God, that so mercyfully wolde spare the synfull soule.

Secondly, she beholdeth ye meates of his table or borde; that is, she considereth how mercifully he doeth nouryssh & fede synners with his benefites, though indede they be nat worthy to haue the bread that they eate.

Thyrdly, our synfull Saba considereth his ministers & seruantes; that is, she seeth how all creatures were create and made of God for to do seruuyce vnto man, and how they contynue theyr obedience and seruuyce vnto man, though man be inobedient vnto his lorde God, creatour & maker, and so, for his inobedience and synne, vnworthy the seruice of any creature.

Fourthely she considereth theyr vestures and garmentes; that is, how mercyfully our lorde hytherto hath hyd and couered the priuy sinnes of our synfull soule, though all thynges ben open to his syght and knowledge.

Fyftely, she, seynge his buttlers, doeth consyder howe benignely our lorde God doeth byrle and gyue to vs the wyne of contricion and deuocion. And therefore the prophet Dauid sayeth: Potasti nos vino compunctionis. Thou haste gyuen vs to drynke the wyne of compunction and sorow for our synnes.

Syxtely, she beholdeth the oblacions that our Salomon doeth dayly offre; that is, how Christ offfered hymselfe freely vpon the aulter of the crosse for our synnes, and how the same body and bloode is dayly offered in the chyrche for our spirituall conforte. And this oblation excedeth all the other benefites of God gyuen to man. And thus our quene Saba, our synnfull soule, hauynge the iyen of hyr wysdome in hyr hede Christe, that is, beholdynge and depely
considerynge all the premisses, she faynted, and hyr spyryte fayled hyr. She had no spyryte – that is of synne & iniquitie – for that hath now lefte hyr. And bicause now the holy spirite of God hath entred into that [f.xlvii] soule, the wycked and vnclene spirite is expelled and put away.

And now finally, as Salomon gaue to the quene of Saba many great & precyouse gyftes, so our kyng, that hath wrought our saluacion in the myddest of the erth, doeth gyue vnto the soule, depely remembryng the premisses, great treasures of knowledge & wysdom of vertue & grace; & that moche more than she deserveth or asketh for, whan a man inwardly considereth how he yat was most myghty of power was so dispiteously troden vnder fote for our synnes. He that was most wyse, was deluded & mocked as a fole. He that was best and all full of goodnes, was replenisshed with the bytternes of sorow. And he that was moost righteouse, to be condenmpnd to the moost shamefull dethe. Whan a man (I say) considereth all these thynges, anon the mynde aryseth into a greate meruell & admiracion of ye worthynes & noblenes of God, wonderynge & meruelynge of the great benignitie & charitie of God towardes vs moost wretched and vnworthy seruauntes. And than begynneth the mynde with a feruent desyre and burnynge loue to be kyndled towards our lorde God. And the spirituall taste of our affection, in a meruelouse maner, is made moche pleasant and swete, and our appetyte is wonderfully refresshed. And so all our inwarde man is in a maner alienate & lyfte vp from hymself, and quietly doeth rest in our lorde Jesu.

O, a meruelouse thynge and neuer herde or sene before; that is, that vnspeakable swetenes shuld be founde in the moost bytternes. The moost bytter bytternes of our dere beloued sauioure Jesu is meruelously turned, in our louynge mynde, into a swetenes yat can nat be expressed; rauysshying and takynge into it the hole spirite of man,
so that that swetenes ones tasted, all carnall and worldly pleasure waxeth all vnauory, and is excluded. And in this swetenes is the speculacion or wysdom of the person, contemplatyng & beholdynge our lorde passion, made perfite. For herin he ioyneth & putteth togydre the hyghe and inenarrable swetenes that he feleth in the consideracion & beholdynge of that infinite goodnes of God; that it wolde please hym to suffre so vyle a dethe for vs, with that inestimable bytternes that he felt or feleth in hauynge compassion of the paynes and sorowes of his lorde Jesu crucified.

And note here that that bytternes of compassion of Christes passion doeth gader in & vnyt the mynde of man. And th’ admiracion or wonderful consideracion of the great goodnes of God in the same passion doeth eleuate & lyft vp the mynd so vnit and gadred in, & offre it holly vnto God. And forasmoche as therin is founde & perceyued an vnspeakable [f.xlvii v] bytternes with an vnspeakable swetenes, therfore the mynd of the person that beholdeth & considereth this, wondereth at it, & so is alienated from hymselfe & rauished aboue hymselfe; & lyke as yf he were all drunke, he falleth vnto his lorde God, where that the soule, melted with loue, thrughe the beholdynge of th’ inestimable charitie & loue of God, is made as moost pure golde, purified in the hote furneys.

And in the consideracion of ye most excellent benignitie & goodnes of God, the soule is anointed & made fat with the moost pleasaunt oyle of grace. It also, obumbrate & shadowed, with that sonne of iustice is made moost shynyng. The soule, also clensed and gadred in with that great bytternes, is abstract & withdrawen from all bytternes & sorow. That soule, beholden & receyued of God all good, is made all godly, & so at last it is absorpt and rauysshed with an vnspeakable ioye & meruelouse swetenes. And the spousesse doeth reste swetely with hyr spouse, and amonges those pleaunaute and
swete embracynge, she may than sucke and drynke of the fountaynes of our sauior, the lyuely waters and true wysdome.

And here note that it perteyneth to this gyfte of wysdom, nat onely to beholde & consyder godly & heuenly thynges, but also to rule and order the actes and operacions of man. In the whiche direction and order, fyrrst it aperteyneth to auoyde all euyll & vyce, that be contrary vnto trew wysdome. And therfore the feare of God is called the begynnyng of wysdom, forasmuche as it causeth a man to auoyde all euyll and synne. The last thyng perteynyng to wysdom is to reduce all thynges to a due order and ende, and this perteyneth to peace. For as saynte Austen sayeth: ‘Peace is a tranquilitie of order’; that is, whan all thynges ben brought to a quyet & due order. And therfore conueniently correspondeth to this gyft of wysdom the vii beatitude that Christe speaketh of, sayenge: Beati pacifici: quoniam filii dei vocabuntur. Blessed be the peacefull that make peace, for they shall be called the chyldren of God. And saynt Austyn sayeth, ‘wysdome is agreynge and accordynge to the peaceful, in whom is no contrary mouyng or rebellyng, but his mouinges ben subdued & obedient to reason.’

Sapientia is called a sauory scie[n]ce, & so he hath his name, ‘a sapore’, of ye sapour, sauour or taste; as whan the mynde is touched with the taste of inwarde swetenes, he doeth gader in hymselfe all hole, by desyre to rest therin, lesse ye mynde shulde wandre in consideracion of outward things, it shuld shortly be dissolued by inordinate plesure of ye body or of ye world; & therfore he gadreth hymSELFe all inward, for within [f.xlviii7] he hath that thynge in whome is all his delectation and pleasure.

And therefore the spyryte of wysdom, whan he toucheth the herte with his swetenes, he tempereth outwardly the feruour & het of concupiscence, & so, the concupiscence subdued, he maketh peace
inwardly, to th’ intent that the mynd of man, so hoolly gadred into that inward ioye, myght fully and perfittely be reformed vnto th’ ymage of God. And therfore it is wryten: Blessed be the peacefull, for they shall be called the chyldren of God, and that forasmuche as they haue the similitude of the naturall and onely Sonne of God, as saint Paule sayth: Quos presciuit conformes fieri imaginis filii sui. Our lorde hath predestinate and knowne before, his chyldren here in erthe to be conforme or made lyke vnto th’ ymage of his naturall sonne; whiche is called Sapientia generata, the eternally begotten wysdome of the Father. And so herby ye may perceyue that those persons whiche receyue the gyfte of wysdom, by the deuout and continuall meditacion of Christes passion, attayne to be the chyldren of God. And this is it that we sayd before, that the great charitie of God, that apered in the passion of Christ, shulde kyndle the fyre of loue towardes God & theyr neighbours, in the hertes of all of them that deuoutly remembre the same passion; that thereby they myght be made apte vnto the reparacion of the order of aungelles called Seraphin.

Here foloweth an example of this spirite of wysdom. The xix Chapytre.

Example of this spyryte or gyfte of wysdome we rede in the hystoryes of Vincente, whiche, wrytynge the lyfe of the ofte named Maria de Ogines, sayeth in this maner. Hyr herte (throug the remembraunce of Christes passion) was inwardely fulfylled with the spyryte of wysdome, whereby hyr wordes were very swete & confortable, and all hyr werkes were made fatte or pleaasunt with a meruelouse swetenes of the spirituall vnction or ointement. She was meke in herte, mylde in hyr countenaunce, swete in hyr wordes, pleaasunt in all hyr werkes, and drunken in charitie.

One tyme, whan she had lyen thre days continually in hyr bed, there restynge moost swetely with hyr spouse Jesus Christe, hyr ioye
and sweatenes was so vehemente, that she knewe nat how the tyme
passed, and so she supposed that she had scarcely lyen the tenthe parte
of one quarter of an houre. [f.xlviii”] She had many meruelous and
dyuers affections vnto our lord. Sumtyme she was very hungery for
God, and sumtyme meruelous thyrst and drye for God. And the
more she had hym or felt he hym, the more her desyre dyd encrease.
And whan he wolde departe from hyr, than she was sorowfull; than
she cryed and desyred hym to remayne and continue with hyr, &
sumtyme she wolde enbrace and hold hym fast in hyr armes, that he
shuld nat departe from her, and with many teares beseched hym that
he wolde shew hymselfe more ofte tymes to hyr.

Sumtyme by thre dayes or more (as it was sene to hyr) he
appered to hyr as a lytle chylde lyenge betwyxt hyr brestys, whom she
embraced and halsed, and hyd hym that he shulde nat be sene of other
persons; and so she lay kyssyng and playenge with hym as with a
chylde. Sumtyme he appered as a mylde lambe, layeng his hed in her
lappe. Sumtyme our sauioure appered to hyr as a dowue to confort
hyr. Sumtyme she se hym as a shepe or a wedder, with a bright sterre
in his forched, goynge about the chyrche to vysyte and conforte his
seruauntes, as she thought.

And in dyuerse solempne festes of our lorde he appered in
dyuerse maners, accordyngly vnto the feest. As on Christmasse day,
he appered to hyr as a chyld, suckyng his mothers brestes, or lyenge in
yᵉ cradell, and than hyr affections were ordered to hym as to a chylde,
and so accordyngge to dyuers apparcions, she had dyuerse affections,
and so thrughout all the festes of the yere. In the feeste of the
Purificacion of our lady, comonly called Candylmas day, she se our
blyssé lady offre hyr sonne in the Temple, and how Simeon toke hym
in his armes. And in this vision she had no lesse ioye than yf she had
ben present at the sayd oblacion whan it was actually don in the
Temple of Jerusalem. And in the procession of this same feast, when her candle was extyncte and without lyght by a long space of tyme, sodeynly there cam a great and most clere lyght from heuen, & dyd light her taper or candell. On Good Fryday he appered to her as crucifyed and hangynge upon the crosse, but very seldom he appered to her on this maner, because she coulde nat beholde it; her sorow was so great that she was ofte thereby in peryll of dethe.

And whan any solempe feast by the course of the yere drew nygh, sumtyme viii dayes before that feast, she felt in her soule a great ioy. And so she had diuersities of affections, accordynge to the diuersitie of feestes after the course of the yere.

She se also sumtyme, as it were, bryght beames cummynge from th’ ymage of the crucifix e dyrectly vnto her, and so entred into her hert. And in all these [f.xlix'] thyngs she had great delectation & pleasure, & her spirit was meruelously conforted therwith.

This blessed woman also was moche wery of this miserable life, & also was, in a maner, continually sicke for the feruent loue that she had to God, & continuall desire to be in his presence, with him in eternall felicitie. But yet in al these desires, werynes of this exyle or worlde, she had one singuler & speciall confort & remedie to refressh her in this vale of misery, vnto suche tyme she myght cum vnto that she moost desyred: that is, she had the heuenly Manna, aungels food, the sacrament of the auter, the very body and blood of her dere beloued spouse Jesu Christe. This was her continuall confort in all her troubles. She lerned by experience in this worlde, that whiche Christe sayd in his gospell:

Nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem: non habebitis vitam in vobis. That is: Except that ye eat the flessh of the sonne of a vyrgyn, & drynke his blood: ye shal nat haue lyfe in you.
Nor this sayenge was sene to hyr very harde or vnreasonable, as it was to the Jues, but rather very swete & pleasaunt. For in this holy Manne she founde all pleasure & all delectable sauour & tast by ye receuyung therof; nat onely in hyr soule, but also it was to hyr mouthe as swete as hony. And nat only she had this great confort in the receuyng of this most blyssed sacrament, but also in the syght therof. And therfore, after the tyme that ye preest had sayde masse, she desyred hym to leue the chaleys bare & uncouered vpon the auter, to th’ intent that she, seynge it, myght haue more perfyte mynde of the blood and passion of Christe. Many other examples ye may se in the forsayd boke of this blessed woman.
COMMENTARY

1/3 lorde Husey: Sir John, Baron Hussey (1465/6-1537), a courtier who held various offices under Henry VII and Henry VIII. He was a member of an intellectual circle that included Fewterer and other scholars from Syon Abbey, as well as the famous humanists and Reformation opponents John Fisher and Thomas More. In 1537 Hussey was executed for his involvement in the Lincolnshire rebellions. See introduction, lxix.

1/4-5 your boke: refers to the Speculum Passionis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi by Ulrich Pinder, published in Nuremburg in 1507 and 1519. See introduction xxxvi-l for a discussion of the Speculum Passionis, and Appendix 2 for a detailed list of Pinder’s sources for the first five particula edited here.

1/6 power lerntynge: ‘power’ is not a typical spelling of ‘poor’ (the usual spelling in the Myrrour is ‘pore’). Fewterer’s reference to his ‘simple wit and power lerntynge’ is formulaic, and certainly not true. He was a graduate of Cambridge, described by Cromwell’s agent Thomas Bedyl as ‘sad,’ meaning serious and learned (see introduction lxxiii), and was confessor-general at Syon Abbey, a house with a great reputation for learning (see introduction xix).

1/10-11 gyuen occasion to odre: means ‘given the opportunity to somebody else.’

1/14-15 readers ... diligently hear it: suggests that the book could have been intended for reading privately or out loud. The book’s length, its occasionally convoluted sentence structure and numerous margin notes indicate private reading as a more practical choice. However, some of the shorter chapters may have been bearable to listen to.

1/13-21 The tradition of Passion meditation as a means of inspiring devotion to God and contrition for our sins dates back at least to 1080, when the practice was recommended by Goscelin in his Liber Confortatorius (Salter, Nicholas Love’s Myrrour 135-6). The Passion remained a popular subject for meditation throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. For more on the tradition of Passion meditation, see Daniel Merkur, Crucified With Christ, Thomas Bestul, Texts of the Passion, Sarah Beckwith, Christ’s Body, and J.T. Rhodes, ‘The Body of Christ in English Eucharistic Devotion.’ Fewterer’s assertion
that ‘nothynge is thought always more frutful’ than meditation on the Passion echoes the view of Thomas à Kempis: ‘The religious who meditates devoutly on the holy life and Passion of our Lord will find all he needs to make his life worthwhile. In fact, he has no need to go beyond Jesus, for he will discover nothing better’ (Tylenda, *On the Passion of Christ* 41).

2/9 *so faythfull a louer*: the image of God as a faithful ‘lover’ or friend was popular in devotional literature. See *particula* five, chapter twelve: ‘Yet he wold, as a true and faythfull louer, kepe the chastitie of his frende’ (114/28).

2/15 *if the enormitie of his synnes moue any man to dispaire*: this echoes the view of Thomas à Kempis: ‘Who of us can now despair about not having his sins forgiven, when they who crucified the Dispenser of pardon, received such abounding kindness?’ (Tylenda, *On the Passion of Christ* 83).

2/19-20 *dye (I say) from synne and ryse in a new lyfe*: this is similar to a part of the baptismal ceremony in the Book of Common Prayer: ‘we who are baptised die from sin and rise again unto righteousness.’ This does not appear in the baptismal rite in the Sarum manual (J. Fisher, *Christian Initiation* 158-179). However, the image of dying from sin and rising to a new life was associated with baptism long before the Reformation. Fewterer was possibly referring to the words of St Augustine: ‘Ipsum est quod in nobis celebratur magnum baptismatis sacramentum, ut quicumque ad istam pertinent gratiam moriantur peccato, sicut ipse peccato mortuus dicitur quia mortuus est carni, hoc est peccati similitudini, et vivant a lavacro renascendo sicut ipse a sepulchro resurgendo, quamlibet corporis aetatem gerant’ (*Enchiridion* xlii, *PL* 40: 0253).

2/21-2 *the fear of God*: one of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. See *particula* five (82).

2/23 *holy frendes of God*: refers to saints or Church fathers.

2/24 *iii thousand yeres*: the traditional estimate of the elapsed time between Adam’s Fall and Christ’s Passion. The estimate is based on the genealogy of Luke (Horne 2. 79).

During this time the gates of heaven were closed even against the righteous, who had to wait in *Limbus Patrum*, or the ‘bosom of Abraham’ (Luke 16.22), until Christ came to release them (Miller 65).
3/20 the benefites of God: tr. ‘beneficii dei.’ This phrase occurs repeatedly in medieval devotional literature. Meditating on these benefits, in order to inspire gratitude and devotion, was recommended by (among others) Thomas à Kempis, who devotes a chapter of the *Imitation of Christ* to ‘The Remembrance of God’s Manifold Benefits’ (‘De recordatione multiplicium beneficiorum Dei’ (lib.III ca. xxii; Maine 153).

3/29-30 in the consideration of them: ‘them’ refers to the words, acts, behaviours and pains mentioned in 3/27-8.

4/3 wysshe to be holly transfourmed into hym: the concept of being transformed into Christ by the act of meditation appears three times in *particula* five, in passages derived from the *Stimulus Amoris* (67/3; 92/10; 123/19).

4/9 the fyrst parte of this boke the thyrde pertycle: see *particula* three (25-35).

4/11 your desyre: refers to Hussey’s desire to have the *Speculum Passionis* translated into English.

4/16-17 From Syon the vi day of Decembre, 1533: see introduction, xix-xxiii for more on the Syon publications, and lxxii for the significance of the timing of the Myrour’s publication in the context of the English Reformation.

4/18 Your dayly oratour: the OED notes that the word ‘orator’ was ‘formerly commonly used in closing a letter or petition to a superior.’

5/1 The Prologue: Pinder copied the first part of his prologue (5/1-6/2) from the *Articuli Passionis* of the Augustinian hermit Jordanus of Quedlinburg. A version of it also appears in the *Vita Christi* of the Carthusian Ludolphus of Saxony, but it seems that Pinder was working from Jordanus’ work when compiling the *Speculum Passionis* (see introduction xli). The *Vita Christi* is the main source of the second *particula*, and much of Part II is derived from the *Vita Christi* and/or the *Articuli Passionis*. Neither the *Vita Christi* nor the *Articuli Passionis* seems to have been available in English translation in the sixteenth century; by translating Pinder’s book, Fewterer was making parts of their work available for the first time to English readers not literate in Latin. See introduction, viii-ix.
that is by all the tyme of our lyfe: Fewterer’s addition. See introduction, liv-lx, for a discussion of Fewterer’s additions to the text.

the Jues and also the Gentyls, his crucifers: St Augustine argues that although the Gentiles were technically the crucifiers of Christ, in that they performed the physical deed, the Jews were the ones morally responsible, having handed him over to Pilate and demanded that he be crucified (In Evangelium Iohannis Tractatus Centum Viginti Quatuor, PL 35: 1938).

in ordryng our lyfe accordyngly to his wyll and example: Fewterer’s addition.

these two thynges: first to behold Christ crucified, then to follow his example.

this treatise: tr. ‘nostra consideratio’ (Pinder f.i.; Jordanus sig. A’). In Jordanus’ prologue this refers to his Articuli Passionis, but here presumably should be taken to refer to the whole of the Myrrour.

which be necessary to be ofte remembred vnto the Christian: Fewterer’s addition.

This second part of Pinder’s prologue is not from Jordanus, and I have not been able to locate a source for it.

as a boke: Christ is again likened to a book later in the Myrrour, in a passage Pinder derived from the writings of Albertus Magnus (36/29). Vincent Gillespie discusses the popularity of this image in English devotional writings in ‘Strange Images of Death’ (111-112).

loke vpon the face ... mount of Caluarye: the phrase ‘loke vpon the face of thy sauiour Christ’ (7/1) is from Psalm 83.10, as indicated in the margin note. However, the Vulgate reference is not specifically to Christ, but to ‘christi’, that is ‘the anointed one’; translated as ‘uncti’ in the modern Psalter text of Pius XII. The rest of the sentence repeats the quotation from Exodus that began the Prologue (5/4-5). The explanation that the ‘mount’ is Calvary is Fewterer’s addition.

this tyme whan the churche remembreth the passion of our sauiour Christ: this is Fewterer’s translation of ‘parasceve’ (Pinder f.i’), which the Modern Catholic Dictionary defines as ‘the day of preparation for the Sabbath, ie the Friday before.’ Christ is said to have died on the day of the parasceve (Luke 23.54).
7/10 de populo suo: Pinder has populo meo (f.i'). The Stuttgart Vulgate has populis suis (Lev 23.29). Different editions of the Vulgate showed variation, and it is possible that Fewterer and Pinder were both quoting accurately from the editions they were working with. The Stuttgart edition does not list variants of ‘populis suis’ for this verse; however this may be because there was ‘space for only a small selection of the variants that are found in the big editions’ (Stuttgart Bible, Preface xxii).

7/13-14 that is, shall not be accounted or taken for a Christian: Fewterer’s addition.

7/16 Quis dabit capiti meo aquam &c.: the ‘Quis dabit’ lament, Planctus Beatae Mariae, was often, as here, attributed to St Bernard, but is now thought to be the work of Ogier of Locedio (Bestul 51).

7/25-8/2 O thou man ... tormentes and paynes: a translation of a Latin lyric beginning ‘O homo vide que pro te pacior.’ This was attributed to St Bernard in Pinder’s Speculum (f.i'), and previously by the Dominican monk Thomas de Hibernia (Thomas of Ireland), in his Manipulus Florum (c.1307), a collection of Latin quotations (Fisher 'Per Mia Particolare Devotione' 195; Manipulus Florum, Passio AM). It is possible that the Manipulus Florum was Pinder’s source for this passage, as both books introduce it with ‘Bernardus in persona domini’ (Pinder f.i'; Manipulus Florum, Passio AM). The lyric does not appear among the works attributed to Bernard in the Patrologia Latina, and is now attributed to Chancellor Philippe de Grève (c.1160-1236), a French theologian and Latin lyric poet (Silverstein 78, citing Hauréau 76).

8/7 Fewterer takes the reference to the ‘straunger’ from Luke 17.18: ‘hic alienigena’. It is not in the Speculum Passionis.

8/10 ye wyse man: refers to King Solomon. Origen, Augustine, and most other ancient commentators were agreed that Solomon was the author of the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs (Wright xvii).

9/2-8 This boke ... same passion: tr. ‘Hoc speculum passionis domini diuditur in tres partes scilicet in Prohemium. In executionem. Et in conclusionem. Prohemium erit dominice passionis meditatio fructuosa. Executio erit dominice passionis declaratio sentenciosa. Conclusio erit dominice passionis contestatio miraculosa’ (Pinder f.i').
Pinder has copied this verbatim from the prologue to the *Passio Domini Iesu Christi* of Reinhard of Laudenberg (see introduction xlvi, and commentary 50/14).

9/8-9 *With certein chapitres ... Holy Ghost, &c:* this, and the detailed table of contents that follows, are Fewterer’s additions.

9/11 *dyuers chapitres:* the chapter divisions are the same as Pinder’s; the numbering is Fewterer’s.

9/21 *the same:* refers to Christ’s Passion.

11/16 *An example of the same gyfte of godly wysdom:* this is the last chapter included in the present edition. In the final chapters of Part I, the focus changes to Passion narrative. The sixty-five articles from Jordanus’ *Articuli Passionis* that form the basis of Part II begin with ‘The feare and heuynes of Christ’ on the Mount of Olives. The narrative chapters in Part I cover the events from the entry into Jerusalem to the Last Supper. They give the impression of being tacked on to the treatises in Part I in order to bring the reader up to date for the beginning of Part II. See introduction, xxxviii.

13/3 *The fy rst Chapitre:* Pinder does not acknowledge his source for this chapter, but Fewterer’s margin note indicates that it comes from the *Stimulus Amoris* (which he attributes to Bonaventure). ‘The *Meditationes vitae Christi* of unknown authorship and the *Stimulus Amoris* of James of Milan were both attributed to Bonaventure from a very early date. By the fourteenth century, the body of devotional works circulating under the names of Anselm, Bernard, Bonaventure and Augustine had grown immense, and very little of it was authentically theirs’ (Bestul 13). James of Milan was the author of Part II of the *Stimulus Amoris* (Kirchberger 15). Pinder’s borrowings are from Part I, an anonymous compilation of spiritual writings, which was his unacknowledged source for most of this first *particula* and for much of the material in subsequent chapters. These passages are identified in the commentary on those chapters, and listed in detail in Appendix 2. See also introduction xxxix-xlvi for further discussion of Pinder’s sources.

13/4 *O ye people that walke and wander in vanitees: tr. ‘Currite, gentes, undique’* (Pinder f.i’) This is an unusually free translation for Fewterer.

13/6 *on the other parte:* on the other hand, by contrast.
13/11-12 *ioyne to his godheed in one persone:* tr. ‘sibi vnire’ (to unite himself).
Fewterer’s translation emphasises the contrast between man’s vileness and God’s divinity.

13/15-16 *dispisyng or lytell regardynge this inestimable charite:* tr. ‘hoc negligit.’
Again Fewterer adds emphasis in his translation, reminding us of God’s ‘inestimable charite.’

13/16-17 *wyl rather ... of the worlde:* tr. ‘volens stercoribus adherere’ (Pinder f.i’).
Fewterer’s ‘vnto filthy pleasures of the body or vanytes of the worlde,’ is more specific than Pinder’s rather vague *stercoribus* (to filthy things).

13/24 *all vayne pleasures:* tr. ‘corporalia.’ Fewterer’s phrase has a wider meaning than Pinder’s *corporalia* (bodily things).

14/6-11 *For God is prest ... and he with me:* this passage has no counterpart in the *Speculum Passionis* or in the *Stimulus Amoris*. It seems to be Fewterer’s own addition. See introduction, lviii.

14/17-14/21 *Yet he shal neuer...wante of them:* ‘yet he shall never have possession of them [temporal things] to his satisfaction, unless one should say that a person possesses them [temporal things] who despises them all, for he is satisfied not to have them.’

14/27 *But she contempneth:* the pronoun ‘she’ refers to the soul, which is often referred to as feminine.

15/8-9 *auter of the crosse:* both Ambrose and Origen liken the Cross to an altar (J. Johnson, *Unbloody Sacrifice* 80), and Caroline Walker Bynum notes that Christ is portrayed in an early account of the martyrdom of St Andrew as ‘a spotless lamb which I sacrifice daily on the altar of the Cross’ (*Wonderful Blood* 215).

15/12-15/26 *It is comenly sayd... called holy:* unlike the rest of the first *particula*, this passage is not derived from the *Stimulus Amoris*. I have found no source for it; possibly it is Pinder’s own addition. ‘It is comenly sayd’ corresponds in the *Speculum Passionis* to ‘Scribitur enim in libro de mixtionibus elementorum (f.ii’). Presumably Pinder means *De Mixtione Elementorum*, by Thomas Aquinas. However, there is nothing there about a corpse bleeding in the presence of its murderer; probably Fewterer observed Pinder’s
mistake and altered his own text accordingly, noting it in the margin merely as ‘A naturrall example.’ See introduction, lx. The bleeding corpse image appears in the ballad ‘Young Hunting,’ and famously in Act I, scene ii of Shakespeare’s Richard III (Atkinson 2). See also Stith Thompson’s Motif-Index of Folk Literature, D1318.5.2 Corpse bleeds when murderer touches it; and N271 murder will out.

15/17 original synne: the sin of Adam, which we are all said to be born with, is here contrasted with the ‘actuall’ sins committed in our lives.

16/2 openying of the syde of Christ: devotion to Christ’s wounds was ‘one of the most popular cults of late medieval Europe, and in England it was growing in popularity up to the very eve of the Reformation’ (Duffy 238). The side-wound in particular became an object of devotion. Sometimes, as here, the opening is viewed as an entrance providing access to Christ’s heart, and other times it is viewed as a fount of blood and water: a eucharistic and baptismal symbol.

16/23-5 The sonne ... greater flame: tr: ‘Sol obscuratus plus solito illuminat: ignis extinctus magis inflamat’ (Pinder f.ii). Fewterer’s translation is reminiscent of the English proverbs: ‘after clouds, clear weather’ c. 1400; ‘after mysty cloudis there commeth a clere sone’ 1546 (Apperson 103), and ‘fire that’s closest kept burns most of all’ (Tilley F 265).

16/26-7 crown of glory: corresponds to Pinder’s ‘ipse glorie coronatur,’ (‘he himself shall be crowned with glory’; f.ii). Fewterer possibly had in mind the ‘gloriae coronam’ promised in the Bible (1 Pet. 5.4).

17/10-17 O good Jesu ... Paradyse: St Bernard, Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini Caput. vi. 13. (PL 184: 0750A) The explanation ‘that is mankynde...Paradyse’ (17/17) is Fewterer’s addition.

17/15 principates, potestates & vertues: for more about the orders of angels see particula five, chapter two (69/3), and commentary: 69/3, 69/10, 69/17, 69/27, 70/20.

17/22 the tree of lyfe: introduced in Genesis 2.9. After the Fall, God sets an angel to guard the garden of Paradise to keep man away from it, lest he should eat its fruit and live forever (Gen 3.22). The identification of its fruit as specifically ‘apples’ may have
arisen from word play on the two meanings of the word *malum* (*evil and apple*), or may be a reference to Greek mythology: the immortality-giving golden apples that grew in the Garden of the Hesperides.

Many versions exist of the apocryphal story associating the Tree of Life with the Cross. Adam’s son Seth obtains a branch from the tree of life in an attempt to save the dying Adam. Adam dies before Seth returns, and the branch is then planted over Adam’s grave. Later, Solomon cuts down the tree and uses the wood to build a temple (or in some versions, a bridge). Eventually the same wood is used to make the cross on which Christ is crucified. This subject is explored in detail in Barbara Baert’s *A Heritage of Holy Wood: the Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image.*

17/24 *Susceptor meus es tu, gloria mea, et exaltans caput meum:* Pinder does not give the psalm chapter and verse (f.ii'). Fewterer, in his margin note, refers us to Psalm 3.4.

17/18-28 *Good lorde ... on the crosse:* St Bernard, *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini* Caput. vi (PL 184: 0751D-0752A). This passage and the earlier excerpt from Bernard’s *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini* (17/10-17) do not appear in *Stimulus Amoris* I.1 (Pinder’s source for most of this first *particula*), in either the 1493 or the 1502 editions. It is possible, however, that Pinder was working from a different edition, which did contain these passages.


18/15 *the Dioces called Leodium:* the diocese of Liège.

18/16 *Jacobus de Vitriaco:* Jacques de Vitry, author of the biography of Marie d’Oignies (see commentary 19/24), a well-known preacher during the Albigensian Crusade. He was Marie’s confessor, was greatly influenced by her during her lifetime, and wrote her biography in 1215, two years after her death. His purpose in writing it was not only to honour her memory, but also to use her good example to preach against the Catharist heresy in southern France (see commentary 20/19 and 130/21).
This ‘example of this exhortation’ (18/11-20/29) is copied almost verbatim from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*. However, the phrase ‘through the continuall remembraunce of the passion of Christe,’ translates an addition by Pinder: ‘haut dubie virtute recordationis passionis domini’ (Pinder f.ii'). Marie’s biography does not state that her virtues are the result of Passion meditation.

The comment in parentheses is Fewterer’s addition. It stands in the place of Pinder’s phrase: ‘cum domino suaviter quiescentes’ (resting sweetly with the Lord. Pinder f.ii').

*grace of wepyngge in devotion: tr.* ‘gratiam lacrimarum’ (Pinder f.ii'). ‘This “grace of tears” or “gift of tears” develops as both a tribute to and a gift from God in the spirituality and texts of the Desert Fathers ... in the Rule of St Benedict it is pronounced that to be pure prayer, heartfelt prayer must be accompanied by tears’ (Patton and Hawley 205).

*Maria de Ogines*: Marie d’Oignies (c.1167-1213) was a holy woman of Liège who is often credited with being the first beguine. Her biography was known in England, and is extant there in several fifteenth-century manuscripts. Latin versions appear in London, British Library MS Harl. 4725 (described in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, I: 196) and Oxford, St John’s College MS 182 (described Hanna 256-8). Patricia Kurtz also lists Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 240 as containing excerpts from Marie’s biography (195). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 114 contains a Middle English translation (not the same as Fewterer’s), which has been edited by Carl Horstmann (*Anglia* 8, 1885), and more recently by Jennifer N. Brown (*Three Women of Liège*, 2008). Marie was known for her gift of tears (see commentary 19/12-13). The biographer of the fifteenth century English mystic Margery Kempe was initially suspicious of Margery’s grace of tears, but was brought to accept it after reading a Latin version of Marie’s life (Windeatt 292-4).

*accordyngly vnto thy promisse in scripture*: Fewterer’s addition.

*an hundreth tymes more in this worlde*: see Margot King’s translation (57). King takes the ‘hundred times more’ to refer to the popular view that ‘virgins bore fruit a hundred-fold, widows sixty-fold, and the married thirty-fold’ (King 161 n.8) She cites
Augustine’s *De bono conjugali*, and the same idea is mentioned by Jerome (Guy 184, citing Jerome, *Against Jovinian* 1.3). King takes Marie’s hundred-fold reward to mean that Jacques de Vitry gives Marie the official status of virgin although she was married, as she and her husband lived chastely (King 170, n.43). However, Fewterer’s assumption that the ‘hundred times more’ refers not to Jerome but to Matthew 19.29, is simpler and more convincing. Fewterer is translating Pinder’s words: ‘tu vero centuplum reddidisti in hoc seculo et in futuro vitam eternam’ (f.iii). These words are the same in Marie’s original biography by Vitry, and the ‘centuplum’ and ‘vitam eternam’ recall the Vulgate: ‘Et omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam æternam possidebit’ (Matt. 19.29). Marie’s hundred-fold reward, then, is not for virginity, but for renouncing family and property for God.

20/6 *preuented with thy grace and mercyfully visited by the*: tr. ‘preuenta & visitata a te’ (Pinder f.iii). An earlier English translation of the passage ‘preuented ... mankynde’ (20/4-20/7) appears in the *OED* as the earliest example of the archaic use of *prevent*. The Middle English version of Marie’s biography the *OED* quotes from is in Bodleian MS Douce 114 (c.1450), as reproduced by Horstmann in *Anglia* 8, 1885. This translation is not the same as Fewterer’s and is not likely to have been used by him. See commentary 19/24.

20/19 *humanite or manheed of Christe*: Marie’s focus on the ‘manhead’ and sufferings of Christ is mentioned by Patricia Kurtz as one of the ways in which Marie’s *Vita* preaches against Catharist heresy. The Cathars ‘denied the humanity of Christ in declaring that he was of this world only in the spiritual not in the human sense’ (188).

20/27-8 *plentye of teares departed from her*: See commentary 19/12-13; also see King 170-1, n.46, for brief discussion and recommended reading on compunction and the gift of tears.

21/1 The prayer is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.1, f.vii.

22/2 *The second particle*: Most of this *particula* is from Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4: 1-5).
The continual passion of Christe: tr. ‘Cottidiana christiani hominis lectio debet esse dominice passionis recordatio.’ I have not been able to find this quotation in PL or CCL. It appears in Pelbartus’ Pomerium de sanctis, Pars aestivalis, Sermo LIX (sig. Rii), where it is also attributed to Bernard. The same quotation appears, again attributed to Bernard, in Passio Domini Nostri ex quatuor euangelistes collecta, an early printed book included in A list of some of the early printed books in the arch-episcopal library at Lambeth, where it is described as ‘Eight leaves ... no place, date or printer’s name’ (Maitland 46).

in his presence: imagining oneself to be physically present during Christ’s Passion was a popular form of Passion meditation. Aelred of Rievaulx expounds this method of meditation in De Institutis Inclusarum (Merkur 58-60). Visions of being present at the Crucifixion also appear in the revelations of several late-medieval female mystics such as Julian of Norwich, Bridget of Sweden and Margery Kempe (N. Watson and Jenkins 62 and 63).

chewed with the teeth of fervent devotion: Jean Leclercq explains that ‘in the Middle Ages the reader usually pronounced the words with his lips, at least in a low tone’ and that ‘this repeated mastication of the divine words is sometimes described by use of the theme of spiritual nutrition. In this case the vocabulary is borrowed from eating, from digestion, and from the particular form of digestion belonging to ruminants. For this reason, reading and meditation are sometimes described by the very expressive word ruminatio’ (Leclercq 73-3). The word Pinder uses is masticatum (f.2v), but the image of chewing seems to be in the same tradition as that described by Leclercq. The idea of chewing ‘the swete and pleasaunt tree of the crosse’ (23/7) may also be connected to the identification of the cross with the tree of life, and the image, popular in medieval art, of animals and birds feeding from it.

Plinus sayth in his naturall historie: Pinder does not give a source for his information on diamonds; the reference to Pliny is Fewterer’s addition. It refers to Pliny the Elder’s Natural History (37.15): ‘For this “unconquerable force” that defies Nature’s two most powerful substances, iron and fire, can be broken up by goat’s blood. But it must be steeped in blood that is still fresh and warm, and even so needs many
hammer blows’ (Pliny 10. 211). Similar views on diamonds appear in several English medieval lapidaries (Evans and Serjeantson 37, 67, 84).

23/22 24/5 And if yet ...ryuers of tears: this passage is in Pinder’s *Speculum*, but does not come from Ludolphus as the rest of the second *particula* does. I have not been able to find Pinder’s source for it.

23/30-24/2 that harde and Dyamant ... bytwyxte God and man: tr. ‘illum adamantium parietem inimiciarum positum inter deum et hominem ...’ (f.ii°). The explanation that the wall is the result of ‘the synne of our fyrist parentes and also our actuall synnes’ is Fewterer’s.

24/2 wasshe or drowne: Fewterer’s translation of *immerge*, meaning plunge in, immerse. The idea of washing is probably a reference to Revelations 7.14 and 22.14, where robes are ‘washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb.’

24/6-7 Moyses smote twyse ... plentye of water: this quotation from Numbers is not in Pinder’s *Speculum*. The corresponding passage there begins ‘Percute bis scilicem...’ (f.ii°) and occurs in Henry Suso’s *Horologium Sapientiae* as well as in Ludolphus’ *Vita Christi*. See Berndt Hamm, 107-8.

24/16 shal be humbled and subdued: tr. ‘humilietur’ (Pinder f.ii°). This seems to be a copying error on Pinder’s part, as Ludolphus (Rigollot 4. 5) and Suso (see Hamm 108, n. 59, quoting p. 495 of Pius Künzle’s edition of the *Horologium Sapientiae*) both have the word *habilitetur* here. Latham defines *habilitare* as ‘to make fit or suitable, to prepare’ (Latham 1. 1124). Edmund Colledge, translating the *Horologium* from Künzle’s edition, renders this sentence as ‘your animal body may be kindled to receive grace’ (*Wisdom’s Watch* 204).

25/1 The thirde particle: I have identified no sources for most of this *particula*.

25/7 fountayns of our sauiour: c.f. Isaiah 12.3: Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus salvatoris. Thou shall draw waters with joy out of the saviour's fountains.

25/13-16 First in our vnderstandyng ... dispisinges: Fewterer makes no attempt to reproduce Pinder’s almost poetic style here: ‘intellectu, affectu, effectu, defectu,
despectum.’ Louis Kelly has observed that ‘in medieval translation, there are few attempts at functional stylistic equivalence in Latin’ (181).

25/20 the prophet: refers to Jeremiah.

25/27-9 For cogitation ... some doctours: tr. ‘Cur cogitatio a cogendo sit dicta.’ The phrase ‘after some doctours’ is Fewterer’s addition.

26/3-8 Let the outwarde senses ... sensuall pleasure: this passage, attributed to St Bernard by Fewterer (26/3) and Pinder (f.iii) is in Guigonis Prioris Quinti Majoris Carthusiae Epistola Seu Tractatus Ad Fratres De Monte Dei. Liber Primus, Caput VIII, 23. PL 184: 0322C. The phrase ‘that in no meanes they be suffred to come at large at theyr sensuall pleasure’ is Fewterer’s addition.

26/7 The phrase ‘in no meanes/meanys’ used three times in the Myrour (26/7; 54/3; 106/16), may be an idiosyncrasy of Fewterer’s. It does not appear in the OED or MED with ‘in’ instead of the modern ‘by.’

26/13 The explanation in parentheses, explaining that slavery in Egypt represents slavery to the devil, is Fewterer’s addition. It is a common interpretation, occurring as far back as the writings of Melito of Sardis (d. c. 180): ‘He ransomed us from the worship of the world as from the land of Egypt, and he set us free from slavery of the devil as from the hands of Pharaoh’ (Elliott 166).

26/25 (sayth Moyses in the name of our lorde): Fewterer’s addition.

26/26 (that is the comandementes and benefytes of God): Fewterer’s addition.

27/14-15 (that is the particular paynes of his passion): Fewterer’s addition. The identification of the ‘fragments’ in the ‘litel fagot’ as the pains of Christ comes from St Bernard, as we see a few lines later (27/27).

27/21 Saynt Bernarde, declarynge this same text, sayth in this maner: these quotations from St Bernard are also in Ludolphus (Rigollot 1: 4).

27/22-28/10 Bretheren, this hath ben ... foure euangelystes: St Bernard, Sermones in Cantica Canticorum XLIII 3, PL 183: 0994C. Fewterer has a virgule after ‘euangelystes,’ not a full stop (f.vi), but Pinder ends the sentence here. Since the next words: ‘These thinges to remembre,’ begin a passage from a separate, later part of
Bernard’s sermon, I have given them a new paragraph, and replaced the virgule with a full stop.

28/11-20 *These things to remembre ... folowe them:* St Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* XLIII 4. *PL* 183: 0995A. This passage also appears in Suso’s *Horologium*, ch. 14 (sig. I ii*).

29/1 *In our cogitations:* this refers back to the previous chapter, where the reader is urged to remember Christ’s passion ‘with an attent mynde & cogitation’ (25/27).

29/12 Fewterer quotes Exodus 29.12: ‘Sumes de sanguine vituli et pones super cornua altaris,’ where Pinder quotes Leviticus 5.9: ‘Asperget de sanguine eius christi parietes altaris’ (f.iii*). In supplying the margin note, Fewterer gives the correct chapter reference (29) but omits to put Exodus in place of Leviticus, so that the margin note reads ‘*Leuiticus* xxix B.’ It looks as if the substitution of the Exodus verse was Fewterer’s deliberate choice, and the incorrect reference in the margin a careless error. I have emended to give the correct book, chapter and verse of the Exodus quotation he has actually used.

29/23 *the wise man:* refers to King Solomon. See commentary 8/10.

29/27-9 *the great loue and charite ... vnkynde as we be:* Fewterer’s addition.

30/2 *Fontes aquarum:* an error, either on Fewterer’s part, or that of the Myrrour’s compositor. In the Clementine and Stuttgart versions of the Vulgate, Judith 5.15 reads ‘fontes amari.’ The Stuttgart edition lists no variant readings for this verse, which reads ‘fontes amari’ in both editions of the *Speculum Passionis*. Fewterer evidently had the verse correctly in his mind, as his translation reads ‘bitter fountains’ not ‘fountains of water.’ The phrase ‘fontes aquarum’ occurs repeatedly elsewhere in the Vulgate. See introduction, xvii.

30/4-13 The connection between the Exodus verse and Christ’s Passion is discussed by Thomas Aquinas (Viladesau 95; *Summa Theologiae* P3 Q46 art.4).

30/15 The Crux fidelis is an antiphon and hymn of the liturgy for Good Friday, written by Venantius Fortunatus (c.530-c.609).

30/22 *as we sayd afore:* see earlier passage from St Bernard’s sermon on page 27.
In the remembrance... devout consolation: St Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* XLIII 4; PL 183: 0995A.

The wise [man]: Solomon. The word ‘man’ is here emended from the erroneous ‘men’ on f.vii of the base text.

The deed... inward love: tr. ‘Probatio dilectionis est exhibitio operis’ (Pinder f.iii⁴). This is from Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo* Homilia XXX, 1. PL 76: 1220C.

[outward dedes]: emended from ‘inward loue.’ The corresponding phrase in Pinder’s Latin reads: ‘exteriorum operum’ (Pinder f.iii⁴). This is probably a careless error on Fewterer’s part.

For we must continue... not onely inwardly: Fewterer’s addition.

that is, in our werkes and in our dedes: Fewterer’s addition.

Misprinted as ‘he’ in the printed edition of 1534. The word ‘he’ has been crossed out and ‘we’ added in the margin (f.vii⁵).

this dayly penance... effusion of blode: tr. ‘Veri martyrii genus est: & effusio quedam sanguinis in coddidiana corporis afflictione’ (Pinder f.iii⁴). St Bernard, *In Octava Paschae* Sermo 1, PL 183: 0295A: ‘Est enim martyrii genus et quaedam effusio sanguinis in quotidiana corporis afflicctione.’

it is a litel more... continuance therof: tr. ‘illo nimirum quo ceduntur membra ferro horrore quidam mitius, sed diuturnitate molestius’ (Pinder f.iii⁴). This is from Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* XXX 11; PL 183: 0939B.

the other is sone done, but this lasteth long: Fewterer’s addition.

This is necessarie... more paynfull: tr. ‘Sic quippe infirmis: & pusillis corde: necesse est vt quem semel ponere pro Christo non sufficiunt, saltim mitiori quodam, sed diuturniori martyrio sanguinem fundant’ (Pinder f. iii⁴). This is from St Bernard, *In Octava Paschae* Sermo 1, PL 183: 0295B.

and so continue in this crosse of penance with Christe: Fewterer’s addition.

This folio (f.viii⁴) is incorrectly numbered as ‘xii’ in the printed *Myrrou* of 1534.

33/13 Fewterer’s margin note ‘in flor. lib. v’ refers to the *Flores* (or *Florilegium*, or *Liber Florum*), a compilation of St Bernard’s sayings compiled in the thirteenth century by William, a monk of St Martin de Tournai. ‘It is not to be found in Mabillon’s edition (reprinted in Migne) nor in the earlier Opera Omnia’ (Lane 128). ‘Wylfull pouertie is a certen kynde of martyrdome’ *tr.* ‘Veri martyrii genus est voluntaria paupertas’ (Pinder f. iii v), does indeed appear in *Flores* book 5, chapter 30.

33/16-19 *anon as he was borne ... in the cytie:* *tr.* ‘continuo poneret in presepio; quia non erat ei locus in diversorio’ (Pinder f. iii v). The wording is based on Luke 2.7: ‘reclinavit eum in præsepio: quia non erat eis locus in diversorio.’ Fewterer has added the phrase ‘without the towne’ and replaced ‘no room at the inn’ with ‘no lodgyng in the cytie’. It was Justin Martyr who asserted in his *Dialogue with Trypho* that Jesus was born outside Bethlehem: ‘... when Joseph could find no lodging place in the village, he went to a cave nearby, and there Mary gave birth to the child and laid him in a manger ...’ (Slusser 121).

33/20-21 *one the whiche sayd that he wold folowe hym where so euer he went:* *tr.* ‘quidam querenti ab eo: Magister vbi habitas’ (Pinder iii v). Instead of translating Pinder’s words, Fewterer prefers the verse from Matthew: ‘unus scriba ait illi magister sequar te quocumque ieris’ (Matt. 8.19).

33/24 *the sonne of the virgine:* *tr.* ‘filius hominis.’ Although the literal meaning is ‘the son of man’, Fewterer consistently renders this as ‘the son of the virgin.’ See 117/1 and 141/28.

33/30 *false Jues:* Fewterer probably takes this from St Paul’s reference to the Jews in 2.Corrin. 11.24. The phrase used in the *Speculum Passionis* is ‘falsis fratribus’ (Pinder f.iii v; 2 Corin. 11.26).

34/19-35/30 This passage repeats the five ways discussed earlier: understanding, affection, deeds, poverty and rebukes (25/13-16).

35/10-18 *Who is he ... redeeme man:* *tr.* ‘Sed quis scit si hec dispensatio data est mihi ... mihi data est: quia altari dari non potuit. Nunquid angelo: sed ille non eguit. Nunquid dyabolo: sed ille non resurget. Denique non in similitudinem angelorum: absit autem vt in similitudinem demonum: sed in similitudinem hominum factus: et habitu inuentus vt
homo’ (Pinder f.iii'). This is from Bernard, *In Feria IV Hebdomadae Sanctae, Sermo. De passione Domini* 10; *PL* 183: 0268A.

35/29-30 And therefore...profyte: Fewterer’s addition.

36/5-11 And that thou may ... rest therin: this is from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4 (f.xii'); Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 9).

36/12-16 The compassion ... his devotion: this is from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4 f.xv²; Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 11)

36/17 these seuene: the number should be six, not seven; it refers to the ‘vi maner of wayes’. Pinder’s Latin reads ‘de hiis’, without a number (f.iii'), so the error here is Fewterer’s.

36/18-20 enflame and kyndle ... vnderstandyng e: tr. ‘affectum nostrum magis inflammet. Intellectum illuminet’ (Pinder f.iii'). Cf. St Bernard, *In ascensione Domini, Sermo V, De intellectu et affectu*: ‘Putas, erit qui intellectum illuminet, qui inflammet affectum?’ *PL* 183: 0319D.

36/29-37/10 For Christ is as a boke ... folowe Christ: this passage is in the *Speculum Passionis*, but I have not found it in the *Stimulus Amoris* or in Ludolphus’ *Vita Christi*. Up to ‘rebukes and beatynges’ (37/8-9) it comes from Albertus Magnus, *Summa Theologiae* 4.20 (Borgnet 34. 143).

36/30 pulpyt of the crosse: the Cross is likened to a pulpit by (among others) St Thomas à Kempis, who describes Christ as ‘preaching to us from the pulpit of the Cross His seven most wholesome words against the seven deadly sins’ (Duthoit 169).

37/5-9 Jesus stode ... rebukes and beatynges: tr. ‘Stetit Jhesus coram praeside inclinato capite: vultu placido: sermone raro: voce submissa: defixis in terra aspectibus: ad opprobria & verbera promptus’ (Pinder f.iii'). Though Pinder and Fewterer both attribute this to St Bernard, I have not found it among his works. It occurs in Anselm’s *Liber Meditationam et Orationum* (*PL* 158: 0790B) and later in Aelred of Rievaulx’s *De Vita Eremitica, LIX* (*PL* 32: 1469). Pinder’s source for this passage was the *Summa Theologiae* of Albertus Magnus (see commentary 36/29), where it is also attributed to St Bernard.
37/11-37/28 *Truely, so moche ... inasmoche as we may:* this part of the chapter is derived from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4 (f.xii-xiii) and Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 10). I have not been able to identify a source for the remainder, which consists mostly of Biblical quotations and passages from the writings of Bernard and Gregory. Pinder may have copied these from some as-yet unidentified source, or may have collected and arranged them himself.

37/18-20 *and that namely ... God sendeth vs:* Fewterer’s addition.

37/29 *that haue vse of reason:* Fewterer’s addition.

38/8-9 *the trier ... in vayne:* Fewterer has chosen his words carefully when translating ‘Frustra conflavit conflatior.’ The most common translation of *conflator* is ‘founder,’ but Fewterer has used ‘trier,’ meaning not just a caster of metal but specifically ‘one who separates (metal) from impurities’ (*OED*). This is more appropriate to the metaphor in this quotation, which is based on a process of ‘trying,’ separating metal from its impurities by melting. The other translation chosen by Fewterer is ‘goldsmith’ which refers to the fact that this process works on gold and silver, but not on brass or bronze.

Fewterer chooses three words to translate *conflavit:* ‘tryed,’ referring to the abovementioned process of ‘trying’; ‘blown,’ referring to the working of the bellows to heat the fire for this process, and ‘laboured,’ emphasising the hard work involved. Latham gives several definitions of *conflare;* the two that are relevant here are ‘to blow (bellows)’ and ‘to smelt, fuse’ (Latham 1. 434).

38/10 *the glose:* presumably refers to the *Glossa Ordinaria,* but this interpretation of Jeremaiah 6.29 is not in any of the versions I have been able to examine.

38/12-16 This paragraph contains two separate quotations. The first, ‘If we serche & labour to haue here pleaasunt and delectable thynges, what trust we to haue in the lyfe to come?’ is a translation of ‘Si nos hic delectabilia quaerimus: quid in futuro speramus?’ (Pinder f.iiiir), which I have been unable to identify. The second, ‘He that will not mourne here, whereas he is as a pilgrem, he shall nat ioy in heuen as a cytezen or as of the household of heuen’ is a translation of ‘qui non gemit peregrinus, non gaudebit civis domesticus’ (Pinder f.iiiir), which is actually a quotation from Augustine,
not Gregory. Minus the word ‘domesticus’ it appears in Augustine’s *Ennarratio in Psalmum cxlviii* 4, *PL* 37: 1940.

38/22 *there is no disciple above his mayster:* tr. ‘Non est discipulus super magistrum’ (Matt. 10.24).

38/22-7 Sith therfore ... vnworthy rewarde: tr. ‘Cum in mundo isto quasi in stadio certaminis positi sumus: vbi christus mortuus est: merito qui hic liuores & plagas non susceperit in futuro iudicio miles ingloriosus apparebit’ (Pinder f.iii). A similar version of this quotation is attributed to St Bernard in *Manipulus Florum* (Tribulacio AK): ‘In hoc mundo, quasi in campo certaminis positi sumus; qui hic dolores, aut plagas, aut tribulationes non suscepit, in futuro ingloriosus apparebit.’ I have not been able to locate it in the *PL* or *CCL*.

38/30-39/7 It is a strait way ... good to them: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* II.37. *PL* 76: 0435D-0436A.


39/25-40/19 This part of the chapter is from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4 f. xiii; and Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 10). I have not been able to find a source for the rest of it.

40/6-7 as deed or semed to dye: in Passion narratives, plays and art, the Virgin Mary is often depicted as swooning at the foot of the Cross.

40/12 false traytours vnto hym: tr. ‘lese maiestatis,’ legal language for treason.

40/12-14 and so deserued ... eternall dethe: Fewterer’s addition.

41/1-2 Mary Magdelene’s meeting with the resurrected Christ is described in John 20.11-18. Here she is an exemlplum of the reformed, repentant sinner; the message seems to be that Christ will take pity on us as he did on her.
41/11-13 *If thou be excepte ... chylderne of God*: tr. ‘Si exceptus es a passione flagellorum, exemptus es a numero filiorum’ (Pinder f. iii\(^v\)). Augustine, *De Pastoribus*, *Sermo xlv*, 11, PL 38: 0276. Fewterer’s margin note citing ‘Ser. clxv de tempore ca. 6’ may be erroneous, or may be referring to some unknown collection of Augustine’s sermons.

41/13-18 *For as saynt Paule sayth ... of the dewyll*: Fewterer’s addition. C.f. 1 John 3.10: ‘In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil.’

41/21-2 *he liueth well, that feadeth well*: tr. ‘bene pascit bene vivit’ (Pinder f.iii\(^v\)). This proverb, and the quotation from Psalm 26 that follows it (41/22), are in St Bernard’s *In Festo SS Petri et Pauli, Sermo 1*, PL 183: 1407B. The proverb is still common in Italian: ‘Chi mangia bene, vive bene.’


41/24-27 *Gerson sayth ... visitations of grace*: tr. ‘Nam quanto natura ait Gerson amplius premitur et vincitur, tanto maior gratia infunditur; et cottidie novis visitationibus interior homo secundum imaginem dei reformatur’ (Pinder f.iii\(^v\)). This passage comes from *De Imitatione Christi* IV.54. This work was sometimes (as here) attributed to Jean Gerson, but is now thought to be by Thomas à Kempis.

42/1-8 *Hereunto sayth saynt Gregore ... euerlastynge lyfe*: tr. ‘Unde Grego. Flagellum interius & exterius glorificat creatorem: compellit nolentem: erudit ignorantem: custodit virtutem: protegit infirmitatem: excitat torpentem: humiliat superbientem: coronat innocentem: & incitat ad mortem semper viuentem’ (Pinder f.iii\(^v\)). Though Pinder and Fewterer attribute this quotation to Gregory, it may be Augustine’s. It appears in *Manipulus Florum*, which cites ‘Augustine super Psalmos’ (Tribulacio E). I have been unable to locate it in the PL or CCL.

42/13-43/20 This passage is from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4 (f.xiii), and is also in Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 10). It is not clear which of these was Pinder’s immediate source. I have found no source for the rest of the chapter.

42/19-21 *To be layd ... poorly borne*: Fewterer’s addition.
42/30-43/1 **mone waxed blacke and derke:** after this, Fewterer has omitted to translate *sidera dispersuntur,* ‘the stars were dispersed’ (Pinder f.iiiiv).

43/1-5 **These, and many other ... pyt of hell:** tr. ‘Hec omnia et multo plura pertulit Ihesus noster amorsus pacienter: vt agnus qui ducitur ad victimam: qui solo nutu omnem posset creaturam demergere in profundum inferni’ (Pinder f.iiiiv). This passage is in *Stimulus Amoris* but not in Ludolphus. See commentary 42/13-43/20.

43/14-15 **Was nat this a wondrous and meruaylous thynge?** Fewterer’s addition.

43/22-26 **reclamatorie or a lewer...noble fawconer:** a lure was a bait of flesh with feathers stuck on it, used by falconers to recall their hawks. The *OED* cites examples from Chaucer and Lydgate of people being likened to hawks coming to the lure, which was a popular image in courtly love poetry. The image of Christ’s bleeding body as a lure for man’s soul occurs in a fifteenth-century lyric in British Library Additional manuscript 37049 (Baird and McCutchan 240-241).

43/24 **by inordinate loue to the flesshe and the worlde:** Fewterer’s addition.

43/29-44/4 **Effraym is, as moche to saye ... fede therof:** Fewterer’s addition.

44/2 Fewterer’s use of ‘ungentell’ to mean ‘wild, untamed’ seems to be unusual; there are no similar examples in the *OED* or *MED.* However, the word may have been commonly associated with birds. Fewterer applies it here to wild hawks, and the *MED* and *OED* both quote John de Trevisa’s Bartholomeus: ‘The lapwynke is ungentel [1535 most filthy] and unclene.’

44/6-7 **that is by the remembraunce of his passion and dethe:** Fewterer’s addition.

44/24-5 **reparnyge and restorynge of the ruyne and decay of aungelles:** the belief that fallen angels will be replaced by good men is expounded by Augustine in his *Enchiridion:* ‘...this redemption of mankind serves to repair the ruins left by the angelic apostasy ... the number lost from the angelic apostasy are replaced from the ranks of mankind’ (*Enchiridion* chapter 16; Outler 375). See commentary 71/25-6.

45/7-8 **one heerd or flocke vnder one herdman:** this echoes John 10.16: ‘unum ovile unus pastor’. Fewterer adds the explanation that the ‘herdman’ is ‘our sauiour Jesu Christ.’
This is from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4 (f. xiii) and/or Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 10). I have found no source for the rest of the chapter.

Fewterer cites this quotation incorrectly as ‘Deuter. 32. C’ and Pinder as ‘Gene. xlix’ (f.iii). I have emended the margin note to give the correct reference: Deut. 33.19.

*whiche we ought at all tymes to remembre:* Fewterer’s addition.

*That is to say... poures of the bodye:* Fewterer’s addition.


*mylke those pappys:* sucking spiritual food at the breast of Christ is a theme frequently mentioned in spiritual writings, e.g. by Julian of Norwich, Aelred of Rievaulx and Catherine of Siena. See Caroline Walker Bynum’s *Jesus As Mother* for a detailed discussion of the subject.

*of his great glorie:* after this, Fewterer has omitted to translate ‘Luctus enim super tristicia iberusalem est’ (Pinder f.v).

*And these two ... bodye of our lorde:* Fewterer’s addition.

This is from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.4; Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 10-11)

This passage is from Albertus Magnus’ *De Eucharistia* (see commentary 48/9-10, 48/29, and 49/2.

*For, as the philosopher ... thyng norysshed:* tr. ‘Dicunt enim Philosophi, quod nihil nutrit nisi simile.’ Fewterer’s margin note directs the reader to book II of Aristotle’s *De Generatione et Corruptione*. I have not found this exact quotation there, but the meaning is similar to that expressed in II.8. Pinder’s source for this passage (48/4-49/2) is Albertus Magnus’ *De Eucharistia*. Albertus often refers to Aristotle as ‘the philosopher’ and this may be why Fewterer has changed the plural ‘philosophi’ to singular in his translation: he probably assumed Aristotle to be the philosopher Albertus
meant. However, Albertus may not have been referring to any specific person, but using ‘philosophi’ as a general term to refer to learned men or scholars. The phrase ‘nihil nutrit nisi simile’ or ‘non nutrit nisi simile’ occurs several times in Albertus’ works (Borgnet 7. 259; 10. 52; 38. 259).

48/11-12 that is, the bodye of our lorde: Fewterer’s addition.

48/29 Albertus Magnus: a scientist, philosopher, and theologian. He was born c.1200, and died at Cologne, 15 November 1280. For more about his life, see his biography by Henryk Anzulewicz in the Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography. Pinder drew heavily on his writings when compiling Part I of his Speculum Passionis. See commentary 36/29, 48/4 and 51/1; also Appendix 2.

49/2 these same v thynges: ‘in nostri ad cibum digestione, in imaginis similitudine, in natura conformitate, et conversationis pulchritudine, et in nostra miseriae secundum poenas indetractibiles suceptione.’ Albertus Magnus discusses these at length in De Eucharistia, Dist. III. Tract. I, 6. (Borgnet 38. 259-264).

49/27 Where Fewterer quotes filie sion, most versions of the Vulgate (including the Stuttgart and Clementine editions) have filiae hierusalem (Canti. 8.4). The verse is also quoted with filiae hierusalem in Stimulus Amoris; in Ludolphus it reads filiae sion (Rigollot 4. 11). It would be natural for the confessor-general of Syon Abbey to prefer the variation with ‘sion’; however he is probably not making a deliberate choice between the variations here, but simply reproducing the version in Pinder’s Speculum (f.v).

50/5 Fewterer’s margin note, ‘Ubi supra’ refers to the earlier reference to Albertus Magnus’ De Eucharistia at the end of cap. v. See commentary 49/2.

50/14 passionarie or boke: refers to Reinhard’s Passio Domini Nostri Iesu Christi (1501). The title page announces it to be ‘compilata per modum quadragesimalis a venerabili patre Reinhardo de Laudenburg sacre Theologie lectore ordinis sancti Augustini.’ The book is a compilation derived from popular devotional texts, including the Stimulus Amoris and the works of Bernard and Augustine. The ‘xx profites and fruites’ reproduced by Pinder form the prologue of Reinhard’s book (sig. A’-Aiiv). Pinder based the entire structure of his Speculum Passionis on Reinhard’s Passio
Domini, as we may see by his borrowing of Reinhard’s description of the structure of the book (see commentary 9/2). Part III of the Speculum Passionis contains further borrowings from Reinhard. All of this ABC is derived from Reinhard’s book except for those passages I have indicated in this commentary.

50/21 Lautit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo: Pinder omits ‘a peccatis nostris’ from this verse (f.v).

50/24 quomodo: Pinder has ‘quoniam’ in place of ‘quomodo’ (f. v). Fewterer’s version matches the Clementine Vulgate (Luke 12.50).

51/1-52/2 Every mortall ... of our soules: this is not from Reinhard, but from Albertus Magnus’ Compendium Theologiae (Borgnet 34. 143-144). However, Albertus does not liken the seven deadly sins to burning bucklers. This appears to be Pinder’s addition, perhaps borrowed from some unidentified source, perhaps a reference to Ezek. 39.9.

51/8 The explanation in parentheses is Fewterer’s addition.

51/20-25 Lerne, thou Christiane ... disciple Johan: tr. ‘Disce Christiane quantum debeas christum diligere qui dedit pro nobis carnem suam in cibum: sanguinem suum in potum: aquam lateris in lauacrum: vestem crucifixeribus: corpus discipulis: et matrem Johanni’ (Pinder f.v). Albertus Magnus also attributes this to St Bernard (Borgnet 34. 144). I have not been able to find it in the PL or CCL.

52/10 The Historia Tripartita is ‘a Latin compilation and abridgement by Epiphanius for Cassiodorus, of the ecclesiastical histories of three Greek writers, Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret.’ (McKitterick 246). The Catholic Encyclopedia describes it as ‘a hasty composition, teeming with errors and contradictions, but nevertheless much used throughout the Middle Ages as a manual of history.’ Reinhard provides a reference to the Historia Tripartita, but Pinder does not. Fewterer’s mention of it suggests that he consulted Reinhard’s book. See commentary 52/14, and introduction lix-lix.

52/14-19 whereas the other ... fast therin: this comes from Historia Tripartita 1.5, but is not quoted by Reinhard or Pinder. See introduction, lix.
Pinder has abbreviated his source. Section C in Reinhard’s Passio Domini contains a further paragraph on the usefulness of the sign of the Cross for keeping Christ’s Passion in mind, and a quotation from St Bonaventure (Reinhard sig. A⁻⁻⁻⁻). The sign of the cross ... of his passion: tr. ‘Signum crucis a nobis expellit exterminatorem: si tamen cor nostrum deum habeat inhabitatorem’ (Pinder f. v). The same wording is in Manipulus Florum (Crux D, attributed to ‘Augustinus super Iohannem’). The quotation seems to come from Augustine’s In Evangelium Iohannis tract. 50, 2 (PL 35: 1759), where the wording is slightly different: ‘signum Christi a nobis repellit exterminatorem, si cor nostrum recipiat Salvatorem.’

And therefore ... strynges: from the beginning of section D in Reinhard’s prologue. Pinder omits most of the rest of the section. The explanation that the harp represented the sign of the cross was a common one. ‘The cross form, it is argued, is revealed in the wood and the tension of the strings. The strings, made of gut, are in turn explained as the death of the flesh ... This explanation was widespread in the Middle Ages’ (Schaik 42).

And therefore ... Christ: from the end of Reinhard’s section D. The rest of this section is not from Reinhard, and I have not found a source for it.


Assur ‘signifieth the deuyll’ according to St Augustine: ‘Assur autem pro ipso diabolo figurate intellegi solet.’ Exposition on Psalm 82, PL 37: 1053.

laboryng ... myght deuoure: tr. ‘circuiens et quaerens quem deuoret.’ Pinder quotes, but does not provide a reference for, 1 Peter 5.8. Fewterer gives the reference in a margin note.

his hawkes: the falconry image first appeared in the Myrrour in particula four, chapter three. See commentary 43/22.

that is, the soule ... synne or errore: Fewterer’s addition.
54/12-13 Effraim quasi auis auoluit: Pinder incorrectly cites Osee 11 (f.vv), following Reinhard (sig. A'). Fewterer, in his margin note, gives the correct chapter 9.

54/15-18 And it signifieth ... loue of God: Fewterer’s addition.

54/21 raunous fauconer of hell: Fewterer’s unusually colourful translation of ‘dyabolo’ (Pinder f.vv).

54/24 Reuertere ... suspiciam te: Reinhard (sig. A') and Pinder (f.vv) both quote Jeremiah 3.1, incorrectly citing it as Isaiah, chapter 44. Fewterer gives the correct reference to Jeremiah in his margin note, and adds the similar quotation from Isaiah 44.22 (54/26-27).

54/23-29 This paragraph is from the beginning of Reinhard’s section E. Pinder then skips to the end of the section (see commentary 55/1).

55/1-9 This paragraph comes from the end of Reinhard’s section E.

55/13 The ‘manual’ cited in the margin note is the pseudo-Augustinian Manuale (or Liber de contemplatione Domini). This passage (55/12-18) can be found in PL 40: 0960.

55/18-24 Suche is the vertue ... dryuen away: Origen, Commentaria in epistolam b. Pauli ad Romanos, PG 14, 1056. Reinhard cites ‘Omel super Josue’ as his source for this (sig. Aii').

55/26-56/7 It gyueth ... mouth and tastynge: from Reinhard, who gives his source as ‘Vincentius in speculo morali li i parte i distin. xxiii’ (sig. A.ii'). It is now generally agreed that the Speculum Morale was not actually the work of Vincent of Beauvais, but a compilation made after his death, much of it derived from the Summa Theologiae of St Thomas Aquinas (Ullman 319).

56/8-17 Those holy sayntes ... faythfull loue: this passage does not come from Reinhard. I cannot find it in the PL or CCL and have not found a source for it.

56/17-18 These persones ... blode of Christ: Fewterer’s addition.


*It may be thought ... frute therof*: tr. ‘Iusto dei iudicio ille moriturus creditur & dampnandus eternaliter: qui christi Ihesu passione in tempore gratie ingratus fuit & indignus’ (Pinder f.vi'). I have not been able to find this in the *PL* or *CCL*.

All of this section (H) is from Reinhard.

*There is nothynge ... passion of Christe*: tr. ‘Nil adeo efficax ad purgandum & acuendum aciem mentis: quam christi vulnerum sedula meditatio’ (Pinder f.vi'). St Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* Sermo LXII: 7 (*PL* 183: 1079B), and *Manipulus Florum* (Passio AC) have a slightly different wording: ‘Quid enim tam efficax ad curandam conscientiae vulnera, nec non ad purgandam mentis aciem, quam Christi vulnerum sedula meditatio’.

Fewterer’s margin note ‘In legenda eius’ probably refers to the *Golden Legend*, a huge compendium of saints’ lives compiled by Jacobus de Voragine. While ‘legenda’ could refer to any life of St Laurence, it seems that the *Golden Legend* was one of Reinhard’s sources, for he quotes a passage from it in ‘the x profit’ (see commentary 58/8).

*Cupio ... lucrum*: Pinder, following Reinhard, cites this incorrectly as Phillipians 3 (Pinder f.vi'; Reinhard sig. Aiii'). Fewterer’s margin note gives the correct reference to chapter 1.

*Hayle holy crosse ... redeemed me*: tr. ‘Salve crux sancta accipe me ab hominibus: et redde me magistro meo: vt per te me recipiat qui per te me redemit’ (Pinder f.vi'). This is a quotation from the ‘Life of St Andrew’ in the *Golden Legend* (F.S. Ellis 2. 102-3)

I have not been able to identify this story. It does not appear in the *Golden Legend*. Reinhard mentions that it is similar to the story of St Ignatius (Reinhard sig. Aiii'). Ignatius is discovered to have Christ’s name written in gold letters on his heart (F.S. Ellis 3. 19).
59/6-15 *O swete Jesu ... at his dethe*: St Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* XX 2; *PL* 183: 0867C.

59/21-24 *Whatsoeuer grace ... flowe vnto me*: St Augustine (pseudo), *Manuale* ca.xxi (as cited by Fewterer), *PL* 40: 0960. The same passage appears in Bernard’s *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* LXI 4; *PL* 183: 1072C.

60/1-5 Martin Luther, in *Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des Heiligen Leidens Christi*, takes issue with these words of Albertus Magnus. ‘There is a saying attributed to Albertus about this, that it is more beneficial to ponder Christ’s passion just once than to fast a whole year ... These people follow this saying blindly and therefore do not reap the fruit of Christ’s passion ...’ (Dietrich 7).

60/7 *mayster of the sentence*: presumably refers to *Magister Sententiarum*, Albertus Magnus’ commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. However, I have not been able to find this passage (60/2-7) there, either in Distinc. 16 (Borgnet 28, 289-297) as cited by Fewterer, or in 18 (Borgnet 28, 311-332) as cited by Pinder.

60/13-15 *that our lorde ... of the world*: Fewterer’s addition.

60/15-17 Pinder omits ‘neque arboribus’ from this quotation from Revelations, but cites chapter 7 correctly. Fewterer puts in the missing words, but in his margin note gives the chapter incorrectly as 4. I have emended to cite the correct chapter: 7.

60/24-29 The story of the attempted poisoning of St Benedict is, as Fewterer says, from the second book of St Gregory’s *Dialogues* (*PL* 66: 0136).

61/3-12 *I shall speke ... for my synnes*: St Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* LXI 3. *PL* 183: 1072A-B. Fewterer’s margin note gives the sermon incorrectly as lx; I have emended to the correct number.

61/13-16 *Longius ... loue hym*: St Augustine (pseudo), *Manuale*, cap. xxiii. *PL* 40: 0961. Longius (Longinus) was the Roman soldier who pierced Jesus in the side while he was on the Cross, and afterwards was converted to Christianity. According to legend, he was blind, and Christ’s blood restored his sight. See his story in the *Golden Legend* (F.S. Ellis 3. 70-73).
61/20-23 As ofte ... of the soule: tr. ‘quotiencumque spiramen ex ore meditantis christi passionem progreditur: & aerem refumit: specialem gratiam recipit: gratia autem est vita animae’ (Pinder f.vi\textsuperscript{v}). I have not been able to locate this in the \textit{PL} or \textit{CCL}.

61/22-3 The reference to physicians might appear to reflect Pinder’s own interests, as he himself was a physician, but in fact this passage is copied from Reinhard’s book.

61/28-30 The explanation in parentheses is Fewterer’s.

62/2-4 \textit{that is... dethe and passion}: Fewterer’s addition.

62/13-18 \textit{The tree of the crosse ... gader it}: St Bernard, \textit{Sermones de Sanctis}, In festo S. Andreae, Sermo I: 2. \textit{PL} 183: 0505B.

62/19-20 \textit{The blood ... sicke soule}: tr. Fusus est sanguis medici: et factum est medicamentum frenetici’ (Pinder f. vi\textsuperscript{v}). This is a quotation from Augustine, \textit{Adversus Quinque Hereses} ca. vii, \textit{PL} 42: 1102. Fewterer’s margin note ‘Ser. lxxiii de tempore E. Item ser. xix de sanctis H’ indicates he found these words in some other book, but I have not been able to locate his source. The same words are quoted in \textit{Manipulus Florum} (Passio D), which cites ‘Augustinus in libro contra quinque hereses.’

62/19-26 This paragraph does not come from Reinhard.

63/1-9 This paragraph does not come from Reinhard.

63/10-12 \textit{There is nothynge ... in our myndes}: tr. ‘Si Christi passio ad memoriam reuocatur: nil adeo durum est quod non equo animo tollatur’ (Pinder f.vi\textsuperscript{v}). Pinder and Reinhard both attribute this quotation to St Gregory. Reinhard cites: ‘Greg. pertractans xx mora.’ I have not been able to locate it in the \textit{PL} or \textit{CCL}.

63/15 Avicenna (c.980-1037) was a Persian physician and philosopher. His \textit{Canon Medicinae} remained the principal authority in medical schools in both Europe and Asia for several centuries after his time.

63/19-64/28 Except for the quotation from Maccabees (64/1-5), this passage is \textit{not} from Reinhard, and I have found no source for it.

63/21 potecarye spiced bagge: apothecaries sold spices and preserves as well as drugs. The Apothecaries’ Company of London did not separate from the Grocers’ until 1617
Spiced wine was strained through a linen or flannel bag called a Hippocras bag (see commentary 63/26).

63/26 *Ipocras*: hippocras, spiced wine. ‘To make Ipocras. Take of chosen sinamon two ounces, of fine ginger, one ounce, of graines, halfe an ounce, bruse them all, and steepe them in three or foure pints of good odifferous wine with a pound of suger, by the space of foure and twenty houres, than put them into an Ipocras bag of woollen, and so receiue the liquor.’ *A Good Huswifes Handmaide for the Kitchin* (STC 3298, p.45).

64/2-5 *He shewed ... bataile*: ‘elephantis ostenderunt sanguinem uvae et mori, ad acuendos eos in prælio’ (Pinder f.vi; Macc. 6.34). Reinhard includes this quotation from Maccabees near the beginning of section Q.

64/8-10 For Christ’s blood likened to wine see Isaiah 63.2-3: ‘Why then is thy apparel red, and your garments like theirs that tread in the winepress? I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the Gentiles there is not a man with me: I have trampled on them in my indignation, and have trodden them down in my wrath, and their blood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my apparel.’

‘This passage, with its symbols of blood and grapes and wine, was early incorporated into the liturgy of Holy Week, where it became associated with both the passion of Christ and the Eucharist. Christ himself becomes not just the one who walks the winepress alone, but the grapes that are crushed in his passion to become the wine of the Eucharist’ (P. Simpson 51).

64/11-13 *a buckeler or a shelde*: in contrast to Pinder’s earlier metaphor, where bucklers are deadly sins, destroyed by Christ in his Passion (see 51/11-29, and commentary 51/1), here the ‘buckeler’ is a defence for the soul.

64/17-18 The explanation in parentheses is Fewterer’s.

65/2-5 Fewterer’s margin note refers to Book 1, chapter 31 of the *Polychronicon*, a universal chronicle written by Ranulf Higden (d.1364). It was translated into English in the 1380s by John Trevisa. The Syon Abbey library had a Latin copy. An edition containing the Latin, together with two English translations, was published in 1865 (ed. Babington and Lumby). The chapter cited by Fewterer does describe a petrifying well: ‘In qua terra est fons, quo lignea seu lana imposita per annum in lapidem
congelantur’ (Higden 1. 326-7). The ‘terra’ Higden refers to is actually Norway, not England. Probably Fewterer had in mind a well in Knaresborough or Matlock. The reference to the *Polychronicon* is Fewterer’s addition. Reinhard and Pinder mention no well, in Norway or England; they refer only to a tree placed ‘sub aqua.’ (See introduction lx).

65/10-20 This is from the *Stimulus Amoris*, as Fewterer acknowledges in his margin note. He does not translate Pinder’s reminder (which is not in Reinhard): ‘Et reliqua superius in capitulo exhortationis’ (f.vi’), which refers back to the ‘exhortation’ from the first *particula*.

65/25-66/3 St Bernard, *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* lxiii 4; *PL* 183: 0995A.


66/22 Avicen: the references to Avicenna (see commentary 63/15) do not necessarily reflect Pinder’s own interest in medical matters, as this part of the text is copied verbatim from Reinhard’s book.

66/29-67/6 Who so feruently ... passion of Christe. Fewterer’s margin note states that this passage is from ‘lib. primo, ca. 9’ of the *Stimulus Amoris*. Pinder gives it as chapter 7 (f.vii’), and Reinhard, chapter 8 (sig. Aiii’). In the 1502 edition I refer to, the passage occurs in Part 1, chapter 9, f.xviii’.

67/23-68/2 As thoo persons ... sauiour Christe: a summary, rather than a quotation, of Augustine’s words from *In Evangelium Ioannis tractatus centum viginti quatuor*, tractatus 12, caput iii, *PL* 35: 1489-1490. The sentence ‘And so by his deathe we all haue lyfe’ (68/2) is Fewterer’s addition.

68/12-69/2 This is not from from Reinhard, and I have found no source for it.

68/12-16 We be called ... vnto heuen: St Augustine, *Sermo CCVIII de sanctis*, *In festo Assumptionis beatae Mariae*, *PL* 39: 2132. Also quoted by Albertus Magnus, *Compendium Theologiae* Lib. IV, ca. xx (Borgnet 34. 144). Pinder has not copied the context of the quotation so it seems unlikely that he took it from Albertus’ book.

69/3 The orders (or hierarchies, or choirs) of angels are discussed by several of the Church Fathers. The order and number of them varies: St Jerome talks of only seven...
orders, while St Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas agree that there are nine. The hierarchy in Fewterer’s *Myrrour* is the one described by pseudo-Dionysius in his *Celestial Hierarchy*, and reproduced by John of Damascus in his eighth-century work *De Fide Orthodoxa* lib. II cap.iii (*PG* 94: 0874). For a comprehensive discussion of angels in medieval devotion, see David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, especially chapter 3.

**Seconde Chapiter**: the entire chapter is copied from *Stimulus Amoris* I.14 (f.xxviii*-xx*).

**Seraphin**: the Seraphim appear in the Bible in Isaias 2-7. ‘Following the traditional translation of the Hebrew word *seraph* as “burning,” medieval readers identified the seraphim with the fiery love of God’ (Keck 58).

**Cherubin**: ‘Again, medieval angelologists took their clue about the character of this order of angels from the traditional translation of *cherub*, “fullness of knowledge.”’ (Keck 60).

**Thronys**: according to pseudo-Dionysius, the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones form the First Hierarchy (Luibhéid 161).

The words ‘humilitie, humanitie’ correspond to Pinder’s *humanitas* (f.vii*). Fewterer seems to have taken ‘humilitie’ from the corresponding passage in the *Stimulus Amoris*, which reads *humilitas* instead of *humanitas*. Pinder does not mention his source, so it seems that Fewterer recognised the passage, and either remembered the wording from the *Stimulus*, or deliberately looked it up. It seems that he then decided to use both words, rather than decide which one was correct.

For the whiche ... aboue all names: tr. ‘Propter quod & Deus exaltavit illum, et dedit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen’ (Pinder f.vii*; Philippians 2.9).

Job 41.24.

The Dominions, Powers and Virtues (or the Authorities, as they are sometimes called in translations of pseudo-Dionysius and John of Damascus) form the second hierarchy. David Keck, in his summary of the pseudo-Dionysius hierarchy, lists them in the following order: Dominions, Virtues, Powers (Keck 57). In the writings of Pseudo-
Dionysius they are listed sometimes in that order, and sometimes in the order: Dominions, Powers Authorities (Virtues). (Pseudo-Dionysius 166).

71/2-4 that is ... of heuyn: Fewterer’s addition.

71/7 a pena et culpa: a phrase used to describe indulgences that claimed to offer release from both the punishment and the guilt of sin. These indulgences were controversial, as most theologians held that indulgences could give release only from the pena or punishment – whether in this world or in purgatory – for the sin, and only absolution from a priest could remove the culpa or guilt. (Minnis 311). For more on indulgences, see Robert Shaffern, ‘The Pardoner's Promises.’

71/8-13 But now...clensed in you: Fewterer’s addition.

71/25-26 repare the ruyne & fall of aungels: Jacobus de Voragine declared in The Golden Legend that the Incarnation of Christ ‘made reparation not only for human sin but for the ruin of the fallen angels’ (Ryan 196). This statement does not appear in Caxton’s English translation. Ryan’s translation is from a Latin edition of the Legenda Aurea, produced by Dr. Th. Graesse in 1845 (Ryan xi). Augustine and Isidore both expressed the view that ‘the redeemed souls of mankind would fill up and repair the gap left in heaven by the fallen angels’ (E. Williams 54).

73/3 This entire chapter is derived from Stimulus Amoris I.14, where it follows directly after the passages about the orders of angels (f.xxxv-xxxvii).

73/11-12 yat the elect ... saciate & beatifie: Fewterer’s addition.

73/16 Vis irascibilis: Jean Gerson designates the three powers of the soul as vis rationalis, vis irascibilis, and vis concupiscibilis. ‘The vis irascibilis represents the soul’s power to encounter the difficult and the arduous’ (Pascoe 112).

73/22 Now for the iiii dowries of the glorified body: this sentence is Fewterer’s addition. This paragraph refers to the belief that at the Last Judgement, when everyone rises up in their own bodies to receive their just reward or punishment, the bodies of the righteous will be glorified. The four defining characteristics of this glorified body will be: subtilitas, impassibilitas, agilitas, and claritas. St Thomas Aquinas discusses these
in his *Scriptum super Sententiis* (Quaestio ii) and his *Summa Contra Gentiles* (chapter 86). For a modern interpretation, see Carlo Leget, *Living With God*, chapter iv, 2.1.2.

74/9 The quotation from Matthew is Fewterer’s addition.

74/14-17 *Aureola* ... *truthe of God*: *tr*: ‘aureole: decor: qui debetur doctoribus et predicatoribus’ (Pinder f.viii”). Thomas Aquinas gives a similar explanation of *Aureola* in his *Summa Theologiae, Supplement*, Q. 96.

74/23 *iii dowries of the soule*: Thomas Aquinas says, ‘All agree in reckoning three dowries of the soul, in different ways however. For some say that the three dowries of the soul are vision, love, and fruition. Others reckon them to be vision, comprehension, and fruition; others, vision, delight, and comprehension.’ *Summa Theologiae, Supplement*, Q. 95, article 5.

74/23-5 St Bernardino of Siena has this to say on consubstantial and accidental glory: ‘Inde enim dabitur nobis triplex gloria, scilicet, substantialis, consubstantialis, & accidentalis. Gloria enim substantialis consistit in praemio animae, sicut in praecedenti cap. dictum est. Gloria consubstantialis consistit in praemio corporis quod ornabitur luciditate, impassibilitate, subtilitate, & agilitate ... Gloria vero accidentalis consistit in gaudio quod de proprio & communi activo, et passivo amore inter Beatos aeternaliter generatur ...’ (*Feria Secunda Post Dominam de Passione*, *Sermo XLIII*, Art. III, ca. i; La Haye 1. 201).

74/24-5 *that is ... accidentall glory*: Fewterer’s addition.

75/13 *vertues theological*: faith, hope and charity. See 1 Corinthians 13.13.

75/14 *giftes of the Holy Goost*: see Isaiah 11.2-3.

75/14 *the beatitudes of the gospell*: the eight beatitudes or blessings from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5.3-10).

75/16-20 This paragraph is derived from *Stimulus Amoris* I.7.

76/12-13 The explanation of *Sitio* as signifying spiritual thirst is Fewterer’s addition. It occurred very frequently in medieval Passion devotion.

76/14-19 This interpretation of the parable of the Samaritan comes from St Augustine, *Quaestiones evangeliorum*, *PL* 35: 1340.
The Cross is often likened to the Tree of Life, which is said to bear twelve fruits (Rev 22.2); however, these fruits are not usually identified with the fruits of the Holy Spirit. In his prologue to the *Lignum Vitae*, St Bonaventure describes the fruits of the Tree of Life as: ‘the fruit that took its origin from the Virgin’s womb and reached its savoury maturity on the tree of the cross’ (Delio 187), but this does not refer to the same twelve fruits described by St Paul and quoted by Fewterer in this chapter.

Up to the end of the Gregory quotation (80/19-21) this chapter is derived mostly from Ludolphus II.58 (Rigollot 4. 2-4).

*sacramentes of the Christe*: tr. ‘sacramenta ecclesiastica’ (Pinder f.viii) Probably a misprint for ‘sacramentes of the Churche.’

*by continuall ... corporall and spirituall*: Fewterer’s addition.

*He is vnworthy ... spirituall delectation*: St Bernard, *Gafridi Abbatis Declamationes de Colloquio Simonis cum Jesu*. PL 184: 0472B.

*The vnderstandyng ... all his pleasures*. Tr. ‘Nunquam intellectus ad celestium contemplationem perfecte attrahitur nisi caro in neccessarius etiam fortiter retrahatur’ (Pinder f.viii). A margin note in the *Vita Christi* identifies the ‘deuout doctour’ as Richard of St Victor, Pinder attributes this passage to ‘Richardus’ and Fewterer does the same in a margin note. The quotation resembles one in the *Manipulus Florum* (corpus R); which the electronic *Manipulus* traces to *De exterminatione mali et promotione boni* 2, 7 (PL 196: 1093D-1094A). The version Pinder copied from Ludolphus II.58 is much closer to the wording in the *Manipulus* than to that in the PL; it is possible that Ludolphus was using the *Manipulus* as one of his sources.

*If we cut ... to the spyryte*. Tr. ‘Si a carne hoc quod libet abscindimus mox in spiritu quod delectat inuenimus’ (Pinder f.viii). This is from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* book 30 (PL 75: 0546C). The same passage appears in *Manipulus Florum* (Solitudo et tumultus E).

*that is, to repute themselfe forsaken of all creatures*: Fewterer’s addition.

*yst is the hertes of them yst be fyxed in God*: Fewterer’s addition.
Pinder cites this quotation incorrectly as ‘Math. vi’ (f.viii’), but Fewterer, in his margin note, gives the correct reference.

_to signify...worldly pleasures: Fewterer’s addition._

My moost dere beloued brother: tr. ‘frater mi charissime’ (Pinder f.ix’). This address is probably copied from _Stimulus Amoris_, so is no indication of either Pinder’s or Fewterer’s intended readership. Although it does not appear at the beginning of this chapter in the 1493 or the 1502 editions, the phrase appears frequently in _Stimulus Amoris_. I speculate that it was used here in the edition Pinder was working with.

This introduction to the seven gifts comes from _Stimulus Amoris_ (1.9 f.xvi’). Most of this treatise on the fear of God comes from the same chapter (f.xxiii’). The order of the seven gifts in the _Stimulus Amoris_ has wisdom first and the fear of God last, the reverse of the order in the _Speculum Passionis_.

The ‘devout doctor’ (Fewterer’s words: Pinder says only ‘unde dicitur’) may be St Thomas Aquinas, who in his commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard says ‘Timor est fuga mali’ (_Scriptum Super Sententiis_, lib. 3 dist. 34, art. 1) which Fewterer has translated here as ‘fere is the auoidance of euyll.’ Aquinas cites his source as ‘Glossa Joan. 10.’

prepnd & induced: these words correspond to Pinder’s ‘preparatur: inuitatur: & inducitur’ (f.ix’). Fewterer has omitted to translate inuitatur.

_aspen lefe: the asp is ‘a tree of the poplar family ... the leaves of which are specially liable to the tremulous motion that characterizes all the poplars’ (_OED_).

& so he may... opteyne the feare of God: Fewterer’s addition.

After ‘goodnes of God,’ Fewterer has omitted to translate ‘et hominum plus quam deum timuit’ (Pinder f.ix’).

we might imagin ... creatour and maker: Fewterer’s addition.

This part of the chapter is not derived from the _Stimulus Amoris_, and I have not been able to find a source for it.

The definitions of modestia, continence, and chastity are Fewterer’s additions. ‘These thre fruites (I say) accorde and perteyne to yᵉ gyft of fere’ is also Fewterer’s
addition. Thomas Aquinas also connects these three ‘fruites of the spirit’ with the gift of fear: ‘Ad quartum dicendum quod in fructibus illa quae pertinent ad moderatum usum vel abstinentiam a rebus temporalibus, videntur dono timoris convenire, sicut modestia, continentia et castitas’ (*Summa Theologiae*, IIA IIae Q. 19 a. 12).

**86/29** St Augustine, *De sermone domini in monte*, lib. I, 4:11. *PL* 34: 1234.

**87/12-16** *And therefore it foloweth ... lost by his pryde*; tr. ‘hinc sequitur quod ad hoc finaliter detur spiritus timoris domini: vt ille ad cor veniens virtutem ex eo creet humilitatis; que superbie morbum sanet: quatinus ad regnum celorum quod angelus superbus per elationem perdidit’ (Pinder f.ix'). This is a quotation from Werner of St Blasien’s *Deflorationes Patrum* (*PL* 157: 1068), described by Arthur Groos as one of the ‘favourite sources for Middle High German sermon writers’ (190).

**87/28** *we spake before: in particula one, 19/23-20/29.*

**87/29-30** The *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, mentioned in the first *particula* (18/13-14).

**88/6** *in her werke*: the corresponding phrase in both editions of the *Speculum Passionis* is *in oculo*, but in Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale* it is *in opere*, which makes more sense.

**88/12-26** Marie was not in formal religious orders, and in the thirteenth century lay enthusiasm for poverty was regarded as suspicious by the Church. Public begging, in particular, was frowned upon. This is the reason for Marie’s giving up her plan implied by the words *fecit ergo quod potuit*, ‘she did that she might’ (88/26), i.e: that which was permitted (King 162 n.15, and 182 n.97). See Michael Bailey (‘Religious Poverty’), for further discussion of the Church’s attitudes to lay poverty in the Middle Ages.

**89/12-93/30** The *gyfte of pitie ... whiche doeth quyet vs*: from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.9 (f.xxii).

**89/12-13** *continuall and feruent*: Fewterer’s translation of ‘frequentam et continuam’ (Pinder f.x'). It is hard to say if the substitution of *feruent* for *frequent* is an error or a deliberate modification on Fewterer’s part.

**90/10-11** *I say he hath ... vpon hymselfe*: Fewterer’s addition.

**92/1** *to his godly pitie, vnto his singuler loue and fauoure*: Fewterer’s addition.
93/20-23 nat to iudge ... at all tymes: Fewterer’s addition.

94/7 St Augustine, *De sermone domini in monte*, lib. 1, 4:11. *PL* 34: 1234.

94/7-12 And as concernynge ... actes of pitie: a quotation from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* IIa IIae Q. 121 a. 2.

94/17-22 Possibly Pinder’s own words, as this paragraph brings the subject back to the Passion and refers back to the chapter on angels. At the end of the paragraph Fewterer has omitted to translate ‘qui sua impietate cecidit ad tartara’ (Pinder f.xv).

94/21-2 sayde boke of the histories of Vincent: see commentary 18/13.

95/1 There are seven corporal, and seven spiritual works of mercy, listed in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as follows. Corporal works of mercy: ‘To feed the hungry; give drink to the thirsty; clothe the naked; harbour the harbourless; visit the sick; ransom the captive; bury the dead.’ Spiritual works of mercy: ‘To instruct the ignorant; counsel the doubtful; admonish sinners; bear wrongs patiently; forgive offences willingly; comfort the afflicted; pray for the living and the dead.’

95/8 And this well appered in this history folowyenge: Fewterer’s addition.

95/24 wood raungynge: tr. ‘rugientes’ (Pinder f.xv) ‘Raungynge’ may be a misprint for ‘ragynge,’ or may mean ‘ranging’ outside Hell.

95/30-96/1 I will be pledge and surety: tr. ‘fide iubeo,’ a legal term meaning willingness to be a *fideiussor*, or guarantor. The term *fideiussor* was used for the sponsor at a baptism, ‘to identify the sponsor as the guarantor of a contract between the infant and God’ (Lynch 94).

96/4 To pray for the living and the dead is one of the spiritual works of mercy. See commentary 95/1.

96/5-6 The feast of St Peter and St Paul is celebrated on 29 June.

96/6 for y sayd soule: Fewterer has here omitted to translate ‘& de statu eius pro qua fide iusserat solicita esset’ (Pinder f.xv).

96/10 The deathbed contrition is Fewterer’s addition. Pinder’s words are ‘et reliqua ibi’ (f.xv).
96/22-97/8 The gyfte also of scyence... heavenly thynges: from Stimulus Amoris 1.9 (f.xx'). The following paragraphs (97/8-99/4) are not from Stimulus Amoris, and I have found no source for them.

97/19-20 that is of the benefites of God: Fewterer’s addition.

98/1-2 that is of the paynes due for our synnes: Fewterer’s addition.

98/5-6 This quotation appears in Proverbiae Sententiaeque Latinitatis (Walther 5. 46, no. 87a, quoting from a fifteenth-century manuscript: Bern 211 f.133). A similar quotation appears in the ‘Life of Saint John’ in the Golden Legend. Brought back to life by St John, Satheus describes the pains of Hell: Vermes et umbrae, flagellum, frigus et ignis, Daemonis aspectus, scelerum confusio, luctus (F. S. Ellis 2. 168).

99/5-102/23 And to declare ... Christe crucified: from Stimulus Amoris 1.9.

99/15 That is, synne from vertue and grace: Fewterer’s addition.

99/24-25 all the waters that were vnder the heuen: Genesis 1.9.

100/3-4 Of the which ... passion: Fewterer’s addition. The ‘great, depe, large, & broode see, of the whiche speaketh the prophet David’ is in Psalm 103.25.

100/23-5 Ambrose identified the river of Eden with Christ: ‘Sicut ergo fons vitae est Sapientia, fons gratiae spiritalis’ De Paradiso liber unus, cap. 3, PL 14: 0280B.

100/26-30 This interpretation is from Origen’s Homilies on Genesis 4.2: “The calf itself is not tough but “good and tender.” And what is so tender, what so good as the One who “humbled himself” for us “to death” and “laid down his life for his friends”? ... “For he so loved the world, as to give his only Son” for the life of this world’ (Sheridan 65).

101/6-8 This interpretation occurs in Ambrose’s On His Brother, Satyrus 2.96: ‘Abraham ... saw the Trinity typified’ (Sheridan 61).

103/24-5 after rayne cummeth fayre wedder: Fewterer’s addition. The same proverb is listed in Tilley’s Dictionary of the Proverbs in England (R 8), where Tilley cites an example from 1484: ‘Caxton, Fab. Aesope, II 8: After the rayne cometh the fair weder.’

104/3 St Augustine, De sermone domini in monte, lib. 1, 4:11. PL 34: 1234.
For oftymes ... colour of goodnes: tr. ‘Mala sunt vicina bonis.’ Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* II 323.

and theryfore this spirite of godly knowledge is necessary for vs: Fewterer’s addition.

systeren: Fewterer’s addition. Pinder refers only to Marie’s ‘fratres’ (Pinder f.xiii').

to hyr company: tr. ‘nobis,’ which Pinder has copied from the *Speculum Historiale*. It made sense in the context of Vitry’s writing (‘nobis’ referred to Marie’s companions), but Fewterer has altered the point of view to suit a book written hundreds of years after Marie’s death. It is typical of Pinder’s cut-and-paste style of compilation that he does not bother to do this, and typical of the conscientious Fewterer to do so.

By the deuoute ... confort and pleasure: from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.9 (f.xix'). I have found no source for the rest of the chapter.

or rather I may say a tyraunte: Fewterer’s addition.

by his glad pacience and sufferaunce of tribulacions: Fewterer’s addition.

The explanation in parentheses is Fewterer’s addition.


thre powers of the soule: memory, understanding, and will. St Augustine mentions these in *De Trinitate*, book x, chapter ii, *PL* 42: 983.


and (in a maner) ... vppe into God: Fewterer’s addition.

godly clowde: tr. ‘diuina caligo,’ a phrase from the pseudo-Dionysian letter to Dorotheus, beginning: ‘Divina caligo est inaccessibile lumen, in quo habitare Deus dicitur.’ *PL* 122: 1178.

that is ... was shewed: Fewterer’s addition.
Let us take his crowne ... dye thereon: tr. ‘Habeamus pro galea coronam. Pro gladio claues manuum: et pro calcaribus: clavos pedum. Pro loricâ liuores flagellorum. Pro equo crucem secundum quod portauit dominum: et pro clipeo crucem secundum quod portatur ab eo’ (Pinder f. xiiv). In a sermon found in MSS Balliol 149, Magdalen 93 and Trinity Dublin 277, in an odd mixture of Latin and English, Christ is described as a knight: ‘pro sua hawberk quod est ful of holes habuit corpus suum plenum vulneribus; pro galea habuit coronam spineam capiti inpensam, et pro arotheas de plate habuit duos clavos fixos in manibus; pro calcaribus habuit clavum fixum in pedibus. Pro equo habuit crucem super quam pependit; pro scuto apposuit latus suum, et processit sic contra inimicum cum lancea, non in manu sed stykand in his side’ (Woolf 12). In Pinder’s Speculum and Fewterer’s Myrrour it is the reader who dons Christ’s armoury of suffering.

With this armoure ... passion of Christe: Fewterer’s addition.

Strength is conuenient ... vayne thynges: St Augustine, De Sermone Domini in Monte, lib.I, cap. iv, PL 34: 1234.


whiche was almoost ... promyses of God: Fewterer’s addition.

that is ... continuall penaunce: this explanation of the significance of the two trees of the Cross is Fewterer’s addition.

It is Fewterer, not Pinder, who specifies that the voice speaks in Latin. See introduction, lv.

By the feruent ... vpon the crosse: from Stimulus Amoris 1.9 (f.xviii).

werkes of supererogacion: ‘good works beyond what God commands or requires, which are held to constitute a store of merit which the Church may dispense to others to make up for their deficiencies’ (OED). In 1563 the concept of works of supererogation was denounced in the Thirty-Nine Articles as arrogant and impious (Article XIV).
This very true vyne: tr. ‘vitis vera.’ Cf. John 15.1: ‘ego sum vitis vera, et pater meus agriculta est.’

This very true vyne ... quenche his thyrste: is from Bonaventure’s *Vitis Mystica*. PL 184: 0638C.

though by ... glory of aungels: Fewterer’s addition.

but of his pleantie ... emperoure (I say): Fewterer’s addition.

the son of a vyrgyn: tr. ‘filius hominis.’ See commentary 33/24.

These thynges well considered... hyr lorde God: from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.9 (f.xviii'-xviiiiii').

in the holes of the stone: tr. ‘foraminibus petre’ (Pinder xiii'i'). Cf. Canticles 2.14: ‘Columba me in foraminibus petre’. St Bernard’s sermons on the Song of Songs established the dove in the clefts of the rock as a symbol of the soul within the wounds of Christ. The image was especially popular in women’s devotional literature. It appears in (among many other devotional texts) the *Ancrene Wisse* (White, *Ancrene Wisse* 136).

For as saynt Austen sayeth ... doer and werker: tr. ‘secundum Augustinum qui ait ... sicut dirigenti’ (Pinder f.xiii'i'-xiii'iii'). This passage is another unacknowledged borrowing from Thomas Aquinas. See *Summa Theologiae*, Ila-IIae 52.4.


to drawe you further vnto your eterne perdicion: Fewterer’s addition. Fewterer has then omitted to translate ‘Aliud exemplum quam pulchrum si vis lege ibi’ (Pinder f.xiii'i').

All these thynges ... Christes passion: Fewterer’s addition.

Whan a man ... drunke in charitie: from *Stimulus Amoris* 1.9 (f.xvii'v').

Introduxit me rex ... loue and charite: Fewterer’s addition.

Vulnerata charitiate ego sum: seems to be a variation of Cantic. 2.4 or 2.5. It is not clear what Fewterer is referring to in the margin note ‘sermon 70’.
125/12 symple as the dowue: cf. Matt. 10.16: ‘be ye wise as serpents and simple as doves (semplices sicut columbae).’

125/22-126/2 St Bernard, Meditatio in Passionem et Ressurectionem Domini. PL 184: 0744D-0745A.

126/25-27 syxt operacion ... pure in herte: tr. ‘Sexta operatio spiritus sancti que est intellectus: conuenit mundis corde.’ (Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologiae 2a2æ. Qu. 8. art. 7, quoting Augustine, De sermone Domini in monte, I. 11). Fewterer has here omitted to translate the rest of the sentence from Thomas Aquinas: ‘qui purgato oculo possunt videre quod oculus non vidit.’ and the beginning of Pinder’s next sentence: ‘Pro quo sciendum quia duplex est mundicia’ (f.xiiiit).

127/1-2 The vis appetitiva is mentioned often by Thomas Aquinas, eg. in Summa Theologiae, Ia, 81, 1.


130/8-10 St Jerome identified virgins with lilies, martyrs with roses, and widows with violets. See Letter LIV ‘To Furia’: ‘Support widows that you may mingle them as a kind of violets with the virgins' lilies and the martyrs' roses’ (Schaff 107).

130/21-3 The Albigenses were heretics of 12th and 13th century southern France, also known as Cathars. The Albigensian Crusade was launched by Pope Innocent III in 1209. Jacques de Vitry preached this crusade, and in 1215 wrote Marie’s biography partly to preach against the heretical beliefs of the Cathars. For more on the events of the crusade see W. A. and M. D. Sibly’s translation of the Historia Albigensis. For an explanation of how Marie’s biography preaches against Catharist heresy, see Patricia Kurtz’s article, ‘Mary of Oignies, Christine the Marvellous and Medieval Heresy.’ See also introduction, lxxvi-lxxii.

130/27-9 This probably refers to an incident which occurred in 1211 at Montgey, where a group of crusaders was ambushed and many of them killed (Sibly 112-3). King notes that ‘this incident occurred in 1211’ and that the apostolic legate Petrus a Castro-Novo was killed in this battle (191 n.147).
131/2 without any other purgatorye: according to the Catholic faith, martyrdom has the effect of remitting all sins, so that martyrs, like newly baptised infants, go directly to heaven (Hall 5).

131/8 Though I can nat fight, yet at leest: Fewterer’s addition.

132/3-16 iii maners of wysdom...worldly aduersitie: St Bernard, Sermones de diuersis xv 4-5; PL 183: 0578C-0579A. The version in Pinder’s Speculum is a summary of a longer passage in Bernhard’s sermon in which he discusses the three manners of wisdom one at a time, and the phrase ‘One is the wisdom of the hert. An other is ye wisdom of ye mouth. And the thyrde is of the outwarde werke or dede’ (tr. ‘quaedam est cordis, quaedam oris, quaedam operis’), does not appear. However this phrase does appear in Pelbartus’ Pomerium Sermonum de sanctis, Pars aestivalis, Sermo CXV (sig. IIa), where it is also attributed to Bernard. See commentary 22/6.

132/14 Meke continence ... concupiscence: Fewterer’s addition.

132/20-26 & she cam to hym ... therof: not in the Speculum Passionis. Pinder says only ‘etc.’ (f.xvii).

132/30-133/1 ‘According to Bishop Isidore of Seville, Solomon prefigures the image of Christ, while the Queen of Sheba ‘is to be understood as the Church’ (P. Watson 116, quoting from Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae sanctae, 91-2). This seems to be the most common allegorical interpretation of Solomon and Sheba. However, the interpretation of Sheba as the soul, rather than the Church, is not unheard of: John Longland uses it in one of his sermons (Bowker 10).

133/10 This quotation from Psalm 118 does not appear in the Speculum Passionis.

133/28-9 This final sentence is Fewterer’s addition.

134/1-3 The full verse from 1 Corinthians 1.20 usually reads: ‘Ubi sapiens? Ubi scriba? Ubi conquisitor huius saeculi?’ though ‘inquisitor huius saeculi’ is a common variant reading, used for example in the Glossa Ordinaria (Bibliorum Sacrorum 6. 201-2). The Glossa contrasts inquisitor with scriba: ‘genus vtriusque est & Scribe & inquisitoris’ (202). Nicholas de Lyra associates inquisitor with ‘prosperitatem huius mundi’ (202). Fewterer, however, was almost certainly translating the word conquisitor, which in English law referred to ‘the first purchaser of an estate; he who brought it into
the family owning it’ (Burrill 261). ‘Purchaser’ as a legal term can also mean a person who acquires property in any way other than by inheritance (OED). This makes sense of Fewterer’s choice of ‘purchaser’ for his translation (Wycliffe also renders conquisor as ‘purchaser’) but I have found no other examples of ‘builder’ as a translation of conquisor.

134/13-14 folowyng the history & example of quene Saba: Fewterer’s addition.
135/17-18 though all thynges ben open to his syght and knowledge: Fewterer’s addition.
135/26-7 and how ... spirituall conforte: Fewterer’s addition.
138/11-12 Peace is a tranquilitie of order: tr. ‘Pax est tranquilitas ordinis’ (Pinder f.xv). ‘Pax omnium rerum, tranquilitas ordinis’ appears in St Augustine’s De civitate dei, lib. 19, 13.1. PL 41: 0640. Pinder does not acknowledge St Augustine here.
138/17-19 wysdome is agreynge ... reason: St Augustine, De sermone domini in monte, lib. 1, 4:11. PL 34: 1235.
138/20 Sapientia is called a savory science: tr. ‘Sapientia enim a sapore dicitur’ (Pinder f.xv). This appears in Albertano of Brescia’s De Amore, lib. 4, cap. 6. De Amore has been edited by Sharon Lynne Hiltz (‘De Amore et Dilectione Dei’).
139/9 The phrase sapientia generata (or genita) appears often in devotional literature, eg: in the works of Aquinas and Bonaventure.
140/16-17 layeng his hed in her lappe: recalls the popular Pieta image, where Christ lies with his head in Mary’s lap (Schiller 2. 179-81).
140/27 comonly called Candylmas day: Fewterer’s addition. The feast of the Purification of our Lady was celebrated by a procession in which candles were carried to church and offered to the priest at Mass, hence often called Candlemas (Duffy 15).
141/6-7 bicause ... peryll of dethe: tr. ‘vix sustinere poterat’ (Pinder xvi).
141/22-25 aungels food ... her troubles: Fewterer’s addition.
Glossary

This select glossary lists words which are obsolete or used in a sense different from the modern, or spelled so archaically as to present difficulties to a modern reader. Where a word is used in both modern and pre-modern senses, usually only the pre-modern senses are glossed. A maximum of three occurrences of a particular form and sense are listed, with the existence of subsequent occurrences indicated by ‘etc.’

Not listed are words that are used in the modern sense but with the following variations in spelling: a/au, e/i/i/y, j/i, t/c, u/ou, v/u; or that differ from the modern only by a double consonant or the addition or omission of a final e.

Where the Latin original of a word is supplied, it is usually given in its infinitive form.

The following abbreviations are used: adj. adjective; adv. adverb; conj. conjunction; int. interjection; n. noun; n.pl. plural noun; pa.t. past tense; pron. pronoun; pr.p. present participle; pp. past participle; subj. subjunctive; tr. translation; trans. transitive; intrans. intransitive; v. verb, infinitive; vbl.n. verbal noun.

A

abate v. trans. lessen, diminish 2/22, 20/17

abominacion n. abomination, loathing, detestation (tr. ‘abominatione’) 89/5; a thing that is detested or detestable (tr. ‘sanies fetitissime’) 117/23; a loathsome action 123/23

abide, abyde v. intrans. stay, remain, 21/12, 26/1, 27/20, etc; trans. wait for 19/28; abydeth intrans. pr.3sg. waits 106/1; abidyng, abydyng(e) vbl.n. remaining or staying at a place 25/28, 109/18; waiting 112/13, 112/17; bearing or enduring, patience 113/14

abiecte adj. abject, downtrodden, of low status 88/17, 118/3; abiectynge pr.p. trans. abjacting, degrading, abasing 106/7

abrode, abrood adv. widely, so as to be fully open or outspread 6/23, 6/27, 13/14, etc.

absorpt(e pp. absorbed, swallowed up 49/23, 102/22, 110/20, etc.

absteyne v. abstain, refrain 79/6, 86/17, 96/29, etc.

abstract(e pp. abstracted, withdrawn, removed 48/1, 121/12, 137/26

accidentall adj. non-essential, incidental, additional; accidentall glory (tr. ‘gloria accidentalis’) glory given or bestowed, over and above the glory that is intrinsic to the soul 74/14, 74/25 (see commentary 74/23-5)
accompted pp. reckoned, estimated, held
(to be so and so) 7/13; reckoned,
considered (tr. ‘reputation’) 33/10

accord(e) v. agree, be in harmony 79/8
accord to agree with, be in harmony
with 86/18, 119/20 accordeth pr.3.sg.
agrees 80/18; accordeth (to) agrees
with, is in harmony with 94/7, 112/10,
127/13 accordyng(e to adv. agreeing
with, consistent with 2/2, 8/10, 27/13,
etc. accordyngly (vn)to adv.
agreeably or conformably to 1/4, 5/4,
5/15, etc.

accustomed adj. customary, habitual
27/22
actuall adj. actual, practical, active
actual(l sin sin committed through a
person's own actions; opposed to
original sin (OED) 15/18, 24/1
actually adv. practically, actively 71/9,
83/15, 140/30
actyue adj. active (as opposed to
contemplative) 82/23
adamant adj. (tr. ‘adamantinum’) of
surpassing hardness 24/3
admynystre v. trans. administer, manage
97/1

affeccon, affection n. emotion, feeling,
love – stronger than the modern sense
(tr. ‘affectus,’ which is also often
translated by Fewterer as wyl or loue.)
9/22, 18/18, 25/14, etc; affections
n.pl. feelings, emotions 4/1, 29/15,
126/29, etc.
affecte n. (tr. ‘affectus’) inner disposition
or feeling 126/28

affecte v. trans. (tr. ‘alliciare’) affect,
incline, dispose 69/20
affectuous adj. loving 36/26

affectuously adv. lovingly 23/8
afore adv. before, previously 25/9, 30/22,
68/6, etc.
after prep. according to 1/28, 91/7,
110/22, etc.
agreynge pr.p.adj. in conformity with,
corresponding to 138/17
agues n.pl. acute or violent fevers 63/16
aiuidiously adv. avidly, eagerly 108/12
Albigenses n.pl. Catharist heretics from
southern France 130/21 (see
commentary)

alienate, alyenate v. estrange, separate
(tr. ‘alienare’) 65/11; alter, change (tr.
‘alienare’) 16/15 alienate, alienate
pp.adj. estranged, separated (tr.
‘alienare’) 86/22, 136/24
allectiue n. (tr. ‘allectium’) that which
has power to allure 75/26
alleged pa.t. alleged, pleaded or urged
as excuse or reason 95/19
almose n. alms, charity 71/13, 88/19
amend v. trans. correct, rectify 1/11, 1/24
amyable adj. amiable, loveable, lovely
17/29
amonges prep. amongst, among 1/16, 28/7, 96/27, etc.
amorous adj. loveable, lovely 83/6
ampliate pp.adj. (tr. ‘amplius’) enlarged, increased 39/10
angelical(adj. angel-like 16/17, 65/13
angre n. anger 55/22
animate pp. animated, inspired 64/7
animated pp. inspired, motivated 107/9, 122/26
anon(e adv. at once, forthwith 33/16, 60/27, 79/13, etc.
apere, appere v. appear 3/21, 4/9, 7/19, etc.; apered, appered pa.t. appeared 12/5, 12/6, 12/7, etc.; apereth pr.3.sg. appears 33/19, 33/25, 34/29, etc.
apostume n. (tr. ‘apostemata’) a large, deep-seated abscess 63/17
apparence n. appearance, outward look 100/16
apparicions n.pl. apparitions, the forms in which something appears 140/25
apperteineth, aperteyneth pr.3.sg. belongs to 39/3; is proper or appropriate to, 87/1, 138/6 (Used interchangeably with perteineth/ pertyneth, see below)
appeyryng vbl.n. appearing, action of coming into sight, appearance 9/8
appropriate pp.adj. attached to, peculiar to 94/9
apt, apte adj. fit, prepared, ready, 71/29, 72/3, 72/8, etc.
argument, argumente n. proof, evidence, 31/5, 97/23, 97/25, etc.
art(e see be
articles n.pl. separate portions or sections
articles of the passion the separate events of Christ’s passion 9/6, 11/26, 27/11
aryse v. trans. araise, lift up (tr. ‘erigere’) 112/15 aryseth pr.3.sg. intrans arises, springs up (tr. ‘surgere’) 136/17
ascencion n. ascent 86/11; fig. rise or advancement from inferior to superior 93/28; pl. ascencions 82/9
Ascension n. the ascent of Christ to heaven 9/9, 12/9
asel n. eisell, vinegar 51/28
assauites n.pl. assaults, attacks (by a spiritual enemy), temptation to evil. 111/16
assimulate pp. made like to, caused to resemble 108/9
associate pp.adj. joined, allied 40/22, 130/12
Assumption n. ascent to or reception into heaven 12/11
attent pp.adj. (tr. ‘attenta’) attentive, intent 25/24, 25/26
attribute pp.adj. attributed, assigned, given 69/9
aulter, auter n. altar 15/8, 29/14, 48/7, etc.
aureola n. celestial crown won by a martyr, virgin, or doctor, as victor over the world, the flesh, or the devil 74/14 (see commentary)

Austen, Austin(e), Austyn St Augustine of Hippo 41/11, 50/13, 53/5, etc.
autor n. author, one who originates or gives existence to anything 107/27

auaantage n. advantage, gain 58/8

auenture v. venture, dare, go so far as 32/18

awne adj. own 28/7

axes n. access, ague, intermitting fever 63/16

ayre n. air 33/23, 61/30, 85/9, etc.

B

balance, balaunce n. ‘apparatus for weighing, consisting of a beam poised so as to move freely on a central pivot, with a scale pan at each end’ (OED) 66/11, 68/19; one scale of a balance 68/21

banar, baner n. standard, or flag, used as rallying point in battle 52/9, 52/11, 52/12, etc.

Barnard(e, Bernard(e) St Bernard of Clairveaux 7/16, 7/24, 17/10, etc.
bataile, batel(l, battel(l n. (tr. ‘bellum’) war, combat 32/4, 32/5, 52/5, etc.; fig. conflict, struggle for victory 52/20, 110/29; battels, battelles n.pl. here in fig. use: conflicts, struggles for victory 107/17, 107/19

be v. be art(e pr.2.sg. are 3/9, 17/24, 19/27; ben, bene pr.3.pl. are 22/21, 27/3, 30/2, etc.; ben, bene pp. been 19/8, 27/22, 27/23, etc.

beatitude, beatytude n. supreme blessedness or happiness 10/18, 73/3, 73/5, etc.; declaration of special blessedness as prescribed by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount 86/28, 94/6, 104/1, etc.; beatitud(e)s n.pl. the eight declarations made by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount 10/21, 75/14, 75/25, etc.
becum pp. become 134/17

beest(e, beste n. beast, animal 15/3, 60/22, 85/11, etc.

ben, bene see be

benefite, benefyt(e n. favour, gift 8/8, 21/9, 26/15, etc.; benefites, benefytes n.pl. favours, gifts 3/20, 3/21, 14/30, etc.

bere v. bear, carry 16/21, 65/15, 85/30; endure 33/11, 65/17, 84/21 bere in mynde bear in mind, hold in remembrance 36/5; bere up support 85/8; bereth pr.3.sg. bears, carries 16/22, 17/11, 17/12, etc. beryng vbl.n.
bearing, carrying 114/12; bare pa.t. bore, carried 52/11, 52/15, 71/2, etc.
besome n. (tr. ‘scoba’) broom; fig. any agent that cleanses or purifies 88/9
bespewed pp. spewed on 42/26
bestly adj. animal, carnal, irrational 24/15
besynes n. business 18/4
bet pp. beaten 2/5, 37/15, 75/30
betwyxt, bytwixt, bytwyxte prep. between 24/1, 48/6, 106/22, etc.
bewayle, bewayll v. trans. bewail, lament, express great sorrow for 1/22, 2/7
blede v. bleed 15/14
blissed pp.adj blessed 73/9
blode n. blood 2/18, 6/13, 6/20, etc.
blody adj. bloody 29/9
blowen pp. blown, worked the bellows (‘tryed,’ ‘blowen’ & ‘laboured’ are all tr. ‘conflavit’) 38/8 (see commentary); blown, moved by the wind 83/23
boke n. book 1/5, 1/14, 3/22, etc.
Bonauntenre St. Bonaventure, medieval scholastic theologian 65/10, 66/29
bondmen n.pl. (tr. ‘mancipii’) slaves 43/8
borde n. board, table 135/5
bounde pp.adj. morally obliged 26/18, 115/15, 117/29; in bondage 110/2
brace pa.t. broke 51/3, 60/28
brasen adj. (tr. ‘aeneum’) brazen, made of brass (or copper, or bronze) 67/16, 67/23
breke v. break 51/6
brest(e n. breast, chest 24/11, 76/18, 88/4, etc. pl. brestes 84/3
brestes, brestys n.pl (a woman’s) breasts 140/13, 140/23
brethe n. breath, air 61/21, 61/30
bretheth pr.3.sg. breathes 61/21
bretheren, bretheren n.pl. brethren, brothers in religion 27/22, 83/27, 105/20
broached pp.adj. broached, pierced, tapped 124/17
brod n. goad, pointed instrument 88/6
broode adj. broad, wide 100/2
brut, brute adj. brutish, senseless, unreasoning 15/3, 122/8
brydell n. bridle, here in fig. use: restraint, curb 88/5
buckeler, buckler, bukler n. a small round shield 51/1, 51/3, 51/18, etc.; bucklers n.pl. 51/7, 51/8, 51/11
burgyn v.trans. (tr. ‘germinare’) burgeon, put forth 62/15
buttelers, buttlers n.pl. (tr. ‘pincernas’) butlers, servants in charge of the wine-cellar; cup-bearers 132/24, 135/19
buylde n. (tr. ‘conquisitor’) 134/3 (see commentary 134/1-3)
byrle v. pour out drink, supply or ply with drink 135/20

caller n. call-bird, decoy bird. See lewer 54/8; one who summons or exhorts 54/19
callyng(e) vbl.n. calling, vocation, position or station in life 121/25; calling, shouting 44/5; call, summons, vocation 55/1; callynges vbl.n.pl. calls, summonses 6/28
Candylmas n. Candlemas, the Feast of the Purification of Our Lady 140/27 (see commentary)
carion, caryan, caryon n. carion, carcass (used contemptuously of the human body) 44/3; carion, carcass (used contemptuously of a living person) 43/18, 84/20; something vile or corrupt (tr. ‘sanies fetitissime’) 117/23
carnal, carnall adj. of the flesh or the body 13/20, 13/22, 41/23, etc.; carnally adv. in an unspiritual manner 41/23
castell n. castle, here in fig. sense of spiritual stronghold or fortress 109/1
cauys n.pl. caves 33/23
Cayphas Caiaphas, the Jewish high priest involved in the trial of Jesus Christ 125/25
caytiues n.pl. caitiffs, despicable wretches 43/13
chaleys n. chalice, the cup in which the wine is administered in the celebration of the eucharist 142/8
charite, charitie, charity(e, n. Christian love, a word representing caritas of the Vulgate; God’s love to man, man’s love to God and his neighbour 13/6, 13/11, 13/16, etc.
chere n. (tr. ‘vultu’) expression, visage, mien 37/7
chylde adj. childish, juvenile 131/20
chymney n. (tr. ‘camino’) furnace 49/24
cyte, cytie n. city, town 28/1, 33/19, 33/28
cytezen n. citizen inhabitant of a city, esp. possessing civic rights and privileges, here with reference to the ‘city’ of heaven 38/15
clarify v.trans. light up, illumine, here in fig. sense: exalt, glorify 74/5
clearenes, clerenes n. brightness, luminousness 110/19, 127/25
clene adv. completely, totally 22/21
clene adj. clean, pure, unsullied 50/20, 88/10, 110/9, etc.
clennes n. moral purity, undefiled quality 76/20, 126/29, 127/3, etc.
clense v. cleanse spiritually, purify from sin or guilt 50/20, 50/27, 52/2; clensed pp. cleansed spiritually, purified 71/13,
clenseth pr.3.sg. cleanses spiritually, purifies 15/30, 127/20; clensyng vbl.n. moral cleansing, spiritual purification 126/28; clensynge pr.p. cleansing spiritually 76/22

clere adj. clear, bright, brilliant 74/8, 74/10, 78/13, etc.

clerenes n. clearness, brightness, splendour 74/4, 74/7, 106/27, etc.

clerke n. clerk, cleric, scholar 48/29

cleue v. stick, adhere 15/24, 45/29, 45/30, etc.; cleued pa.t. stuck, adhered 52/18, pp. held fast, clung 128/7; cleueth pr.3.sg. sticks, adheres 122/9; cleuyng vbl.n. clinging, holding fast 49/16; cleuynge pr.p. adhering, holding fast 128/7

clowde n. cloud, fig. something that obscures or conceals 110/22, 110/24; clowdes n.pl. clouds 16/3, 16/4

collacion n. bringing together, comparison 122/4

college n. fellowship, association 45/5

columbyne adj. columbine, dove-like (as a type of innocence or gentleness) 125/11

comen adj. common, prevalent, well-known 41/21; comenly, comonly adv. commonly, generally, ordinarily 15/12, 19/18, 73/16, etc.

comfort(e, comforth(e, confort(e v. comfort, strengthen spiritually, hearten 7/19, 18/29, 21/12, etc.

comfort, comforth(e, confort(e n. comfort, strengthening, succour, support 1/10, 4/14, 14/15, etc.

conforts, confortes n.pl. comforts, things that afford consolation

confortynge vbl.n. comforting, supporting 89/16

commendacions n.pl. commendations, commendatory prayers, prayers for the dying 95/12

compaigney n. company, fellowship, society 58/10

compasse v. compass, go round, make a circuit 17/18; compassed pp.adj. encompassed, surrounded 81/3, 81/9

compendiouse adj. expeditious, direct 67/13

compuncte adj. affected with compunction, pricked in conscience 3/28

compunction n. contrition, pricking or stinging of the conscience or heart 20/9, 20/27, 96/29, etc.

condempne v. condemn, censure 93/21, 101/25 condempned pp. condemned, censured 101/29, 102/3, 102/6, etc.

conformation n. adaptation, adjustment to some pattern or example 36/15
conforme v. (tr. ‘conformare’) make like, form after a pattern or example, 37/27, 37/30, 47/7, etc; conforme adj. made like 139/8; conformed, confourmed pp.adj. shaped, fashioned 4/2, 41/27; conformable adj. agreeable, fitting, adapted 92/1

conformitie n. likeness, congruity, harmony 38/19, 48/26, 102/26; conformities n.pl. likenesses, resemblances 71/22

comfortable adj. comfortable, strengthening or supporting spiritually, reassuring, cheering 45/22, 63/24, 139/25

confound v. abash, put to shame 114/27, 115/2

congruite, congruitie n. similarity promoting union 48/5, 48/23, 50/3

constablall adj. consubstantial, of one and the same substance or essence. Here specifically used to refer to the four dowries of the glorified body 74/24 (see commentary 74/23-5)

contemplne, contemyne v. contemn, despise, disdain, treat with contemptuous disregard 13/21, 66/17, 107/10 contempned pp. contemned, despised 42/27, 84/6, 84/24, etc; contempneth pr.3.sg. contemns, despises 14/19, 14/28 contempynge pp. contemning, despising 83/16

contemplers n.pl. those who contemn, despisers, scorners 43/8

contemptes n.pl. acts of contempt 2/10

contentacion n. contentation, contentment, satisfaction 98/17

contumelious adj. (tr. ‘contumelias’) contumelious, insolent, abusive 64/16

confueiency n. convenience, agreement, accordance, correspondence 50/3, 112/1

convenient adj. suitable 48/6; appropriate, proper, due 34/11, 67/18, 71/9; accordant, congruous 94/7, 111/28, 126/26

conueiently adv. congruously, harmoniously 77/14, 104/16, 138/13; suitably, appropriately 27/5, 71/23

contuersant, contuersaunt adj. concerned or occupied 124/1, 129/26; living or associating 132/12

copie, copye n. copious quantity, abundance 20/10, 23/26

copious adj. copious, plentiful, abundant 24/2

corporeal, corporall adj. corporeal, material, physical (as opposed to spiritual) 14/15, 38/17, 48/15, etc.

corporally adv. bodily, physically (as opposed to spiritually) 19/10

counsel n. counsel, advice 8/10, 121/2, 121/3, etc.; counsel, judgement, prudence 11/8, 11/10, 75/23, etc.
countenaunce  

*n.* countenance, 
expression, demeanour 37/7, 131/6, 139/27

countre, cuntrey, cuntrye  
*n.* country, region 28/1, 28/2, 42/21, etc.; cuntreys  
*n.*pl. countries, regions 129/15, 130/27

couent  
*n.* convent, company of religious people 95/12

couitice  
*n.* covetise, covetousness 51/19

cradell, credell  
*n.* cradle 33/17, 140/24

crybbe  
*n.* crib, manger ‘in nearly all early quots. applied to the manger in which the infant Christ was laid’ (*OED*) 33/17

culde  
*v.* could 30/6, 33/18

cultre  
*n.* (tr. ‘culter’) coulter, knife 116/5, 116/7, 116/9

cures  
*n.*pl. cares, duties 22/17

D

dampnable  
*adj.* damnable, worthy of damnation 51/1, 61/9

dampnacion, dampnation  
*n.* damnation, condemnation to hell 35/15, 45/1, 56/27, etc.

dampned  
*pp.* damned, condemned to hell 1/29, 39/20, 57/5, etc.

dartes  
*n.*pl. pointed missiles, arrows 52/17; *fig.* 64/15, 113/19

declaracion, declaration  
*n.* exposition, description, explanation 9/4, 6/22, 50/5, etc.
declare  
*v.* explain, expound, set forth, relate 6/21, 69/24, 77/13, etc.; declared, declaryde  
*pp.* 9/5, 9/6, 9/7, etc.; *pa.t.* 50/4, 89/26; declareth  
*pr.* 3.sg. declares, shows, proves 66/1; declarynge  
*pr.p.* declaring, expounding, elucidating
ded, dede, deed  
*adj.* dead, deceased 6/10, 15/13, 40/6, etc.
dede  
*n.* deed, action 31/5, 91/14, 132/5; dedes  
*n.*pl. deeds, actions 2/9, 9/23, 23/1, etc.
deedly  
*adj.* deadly, mortal 51/12
default(e  
*n.* fault, flaw, error 28/5, 59/13; defautes  
*n.*pl. faults, flaws, errors 1/24
defoiled, defowled  
*pa.t.* defiled, sullied, dirtied 42/26, 135/2
degree  
*n.* step in an ascent 130/13; degrees  
*n.*pl. steps or stages in a process 25/10
delicate, delicate  
*adj.* fine, exquisite 79/15; delicious, dainty 80/5, 109/28
delites  
*n.*pl. delights, sources of pleasure 82/1, 86/19
deliteth  
*pr.3.s.* delights, pleases 79/10
dennes, dennys  
*n.*pl. dens, lairs 33/23, 116/29
depart, departe  
*v.* go away, withdraw (*tr. ‘recedere’*) 66/8, 140/7, 140/10;
departed  
*pa.t.*  left, withdrew  (*tr.* ‘recedere’) 106/29, 115/3
pp.  ~ from separated, parted 13/9, 37/12; came from 20/28; left (*tr.* ‘fugere’) 88/16;
departyng  
*vbl.n.*  parting, separation
11/22

depressed  
*adj.*  brought low, dejected
23/16
deputed  
*pp.*  consigned, delivered over
99/30
der  
*v.*  dare 28/19
derke  
*adj.*  dark 43/1
derked  
*pp.*  darkened 127/21
destrued  
*pa.t.*  destroyed 107/27
deth, dethe  
*n.*  death 2/18, 6/20, 14/13, etc.
deuelysshe  
*adj.*  devilish 77/1
deuided  
*pp.*  divided, separated 25/2, 58/22
deule, deuyl(l  
*n.*  devil 26/13, 35/14, 35/16, etc.
deytie  
*n.*  deity, Godhead, divine nature of God 127/25
dyamant  
*n.*  (*tr.* ‘adamas’) diamond, adamant, extremely hard substance
23/23
dyamant  
*adj.*  diamond-hard 23/30
differred  
*pp.adj.*  deferred, postponed
2/25
difformite  
*n.*  diffornity, difference, diversity 3/5
dilate  
*v.*  make wider or larger; spread abroad, extend through a wide space (here used figuratively, of the heart) 13/14
dilation  
*n.*  spreading out, making wider or larger 36/14
diligence, dylygence  
*n.*  careful attentiveness, heedfulness 5/12, 22/18, 77/23, etc.;  do his  ~  do his utmost, exert himself 28/29
diligent, dilygent  
*adj.*  attentive, heedful, careful 25/24, 26/9, 27/23, etc.
diligently  
*adv.*  attentively, carefully, heedfully 1/15, 5/24, 8/13, etc; industriously, assiduously 27/12, 92/18, 98/12, etc.
dilycates  
*n.pl.*  delicates, luxuries, delicacies 22/19
dimysse  
*v. (*tr.* ‘dimittere’) dismiss, put away, repudiate 54/21
disceites  
*n.pl.*  deceits, deceptions 28/4, 111/15
dysceytfull  
*adj.*  deceitful 109/19
dyscrete  
*adj.*  discreet, judicious, prudent 106/9
disreicion, discretion  
*n.*  discernment, judgement 104/21, 104/26, 105/4, etc.
disdeyneth, dysdayneth  
*pr.3.sg.*  disdains, scorns 123/1, 124/6
dispiteously  
*adv.*  pitilessly, mercilessly 136/12
displeasant adj. unpleasant, displeasing
85/30
diuersitie n. diversity, variety 141/11;
diuersities n.pl. diversities, varieties
141/10
doctor, doctour n. cleric, scholar 48/29, 50/5, 60/1, etc.; doctors, doctours n.pl. clerics, scholars 25/29, 74/17
dolore n. dolour, sorrow, distress 40/9
dowry n. gift, endowment 74/7; dowries n.pl. gifts, endowments 73/22, 74/23, 74/24
dowue n. dove 125/12, 140/17
dronke pp. drunk 48/19
dronken, drunke, drunken pp.adj. drunk, intoxicated 119/3, 120/11, 124/17, etc.
dronkenness n. drunkenness, intoxication 120/12
dulce adj. sweet, pleasing, agreeable 63/21

e
edefyeng adj. edifying, instructive 1/15
edefienge vbl.n. edifying, spiritual instruction 132/10
effusion n. pouring out, spilling, shedding 32/13, 60/5
enclyned pp. inclined, moved, influenced 14/25; pp.adj. inclined, disposed 124/5
endued pp. endowed, possessed (of a spiritual quality) 120/23
enforce v. exert oneself, strive 37/29, 91/26; enforced pa.t. strove, exerted 94/30; enforceth pr.3.sg. 46/2
ensamples n.pl. examples, models to be imitated 3/9
entraytng, intreatynge pr.p. entreating, treating or handling (a subject) 66/4, 89/15; entreated pp. treated, dealt with, acted towards 123/12
entrepryse v. enterprise, undertake, venture upon 107/10, 107/30, 115/11, etc.; entreprysynge, interprysyng vbl.n. enterprising, undertaking, venturing upon 107/16, 107/18
erect, erecte v. (tr. ‘erigere’) direct upwards, lift up 13/24; fig. rouse, embolden 28/17, 65/26; erection n. raising up, exaltation, invigoration 75/18
Esay(e Isaiah, Biblical prophet 34/21, 38/2, 46/17, etc.
eterne adj. eternal 69/26, 70/5, 121/27
euangely n. the Gospel revelation, the ‘good news’ of redemption 6/29
euangylystes n.pl. the writers of the four Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John 28/10
examplar n. example, pattern, model to be imitated 5/4, 5/11, 5/15, etc.
exalt(e v. trans raise or set up on high 67/16, 68/17; raise in rank or honour 70/10; exalted pp. raised or set up on
high 5/7, 58/29, 67/19, etc.; raised in rank or honour 72/11, 72.18, 73/24, etc.; \textit{exalteth} \textit{pr.3.sg.} raised, lifted up 17/25

\textbf{excellency} \textit{n.} excellence 5/6

\textbf{except, excepte} \textit{conj.} unless 37/29, 38/11, 48/5, etc.; \textit{excepte} \textit{pp.} exempt, not included 41/11

\textbf{execution} \textit{n.} (\textit{tr.} ‘executio’) ‘The development, discussion (of a subject)’ (OLD) 9/3

\textbf{exempte} \textit{pp.} cut off, debarred, excluded 41/12

\textbf{expugne} \textit{v.} expugn, overcome, vanquish 107/12

\textbf{extreme} \textit{adj.} outermost, furthest 129/16, 132/19, 133/8, etc.; last, latest 95/10; exceedingly great, intense 117/8

\textbf{extyncte} \textit{pp.} extinct, extinguished 141/2

\textbf{eyen, eyne} \textit{n.pl.} eyes 15/15, 19/14, 27/1

\textbf{F}

\textbf{fagot} \textit{n.} bunch, bundle 27/15, 27/20, 27/23, etc.

\textbf{falshed} \textit{n.} falsehood, lying 88/11

\textbf{fantasyes, fantasies} \textit{n.pl.} delusive imaginations, imaginary perceptions 127/5; mental apprehensions of an object of perception 127/8; mental images 129/28

\textbf{fardermore, furthermore, furthermore} \textit{adv.} furthermore, moreover 3/13,

47/30, 76/8

\textbf{fatigation} \textit{n.} fatigue, weariness 27/30

\textbf{fauconoure, fawconer} \textit{n.} falconer 43/25, 44/5, 54/21

\textbf{feest(e), n.} feast, religious anniversary 96/5, 140/22, 140/26, etc.; \textit{feestes, festes} \textit{n.pl.} feasts, religious anniversaries 140/21, 140/26, 141/11

\textbf{feight} \textit{v.} fight 38/23

\textbf{felde} \textit{n.} field, battlefield (\textit{tr.} ‘stadio certaminnis’) 38/23, (\textit{tr.} ‘exercitus’) 52/13; \textit{feldes} \textit{n.pl.} fields, open country (\textit{tr.} ‘rura’) 105/23

\textbf{fendes} \textit{n.pl.} fiends, devils 95/24

\textbf{feryd} \textit{pp.adj.} feared, frightened 85/3

\textbf{flode, floode} \textit{n.} flood, river, stream 64/25, 100/23, 100/24; \textit{fig.} 20/23, 99/27; \textit{flodes} \textit{n.pl.} floods 33/27

\textbf{fole} \textit{n.} foal 11/18

\textbf{fole} \textit{n.} fool 136/13

\textbf{folow(e} \textit{v.} follow, imitate, copy 10/1, 31/19, 31/26, etc.; \textit{folowyng(e} \textit{pr.p.} following, imitating 5/21, 77/21; \textit{vbl.n.} imitation, copying 36/11, 36/24, 38/20, etc.

\textbf{folysshenes, folysshnes} \textit{n.} foolishness, quality of being foolish, foolish practice, act, or thing 13/15, 131/22, 134/4, etc.
forasmoch, forasmoche, forasmuche
adv. in conjunctional phrase ~ as seeing that, in consideration that, inasmuch as 25/29, 27/6, 38/19, etc.

forbidden pp.adj. forbidden 109/16

foresayd(e, forsayd(e adj. aforesaid 19/24, 45/11, 50/3, etc.

fro prep. from 37/12, 133/15

froward(e adj. bad, wicked, refractory 54/16, 96/26, 102/29

fructifieth pr.3.sg. trans. produces, brings forth, bears (as fruit) (tr: ‘fructificare’) 62/15

furneys n. furnace 137/21

G
gader v. gather, collect 62/14, 62/18, 77/20, etc.; gadered, gadred pp. gathered, brought together 27/12, 99/24, 99/26; gadreth pr.3.sg. gathers, collects (oneself) 138/25
gat, gate pa.t. got 71/3, 123/28, 129/28
gentyl(l adj. mild, not severe (tr: ‘mitis’) 32/13; soft, pleasant (tr: ‘mollis’) 51/27; mild, moderate 86/16

Gerson Jean Gerson, French scholar and theologian 41/24 (see commentary)
gyde v. guide 28/17; gydeth pr.3.s. guides 65/28
gyltie, gyltye adj. guilty 34/9, 34/15
glew n. glue 105/9

gloriacion n. glorying, exaltation 78/3
glose n. gloss, explanation or commentary. Here specifically referring to the Glossa Ordinaria 38/10, 120/9 (see commentary 38/10 and 120/9)
gnastynge pr.p. gnasting, gnashing (teeth) 98/8
godhed, godhede, godheed n. godhead, divine nature (opposed to manheed) 13/12, 20/20; the Godhed(e God, supreme being, deity 73/11, 78/14, 78/18, etc.
goostly, gostly adj. ghostly, spiritual (as opposed to physical) 11/7, 11/13, 53/6, etc.
gote n. goat 23/24, 23/26, 24/3
gote, goten, gotten pp. got, obtained 11/11, 11/14, 24/13, etc.; gotten pp. begotten, conceived 60/21
grauite n. gravity, seriousness, sobriety 95/14
grefe n. grief 114/3

Gregore, Gregory Pope St Gregory I (‘the Great’) 31/5, 38/12, 38/28, etc.
greue v. trans. grieve, cause suffering to 40/3, 40/4
greu ed pp.adj. grieved, afflicted 90/12, 114/5
greuous(e adj. grievous, acute, severe 6/14, 29/28, 37/20, etc.
greuously adv. grievously, severely 83/3; greatly, painfully 83/7; greatly, seriously 83/22, 83/29, 113/23

H
habilitie n. ability, power, capacity 94/20
habundantly adv. abundantly, plentifully 78/2
halas int. alas 79/11
halse v. embrace 17/7, 51/17; halse pa.t. embraced 140/14; halsynge pr.p. embracing 56/13
halsynge vbl.n.pl. embraces, embraces 92/2, 105/13
hange, hynge v. hang 16/27, 17/6, 77/19, etc.; hanging, hyngynge pr.p. hanging 16/8, 22/28, 67/26, etc.; honge, hyng(e pa.t. hung 75/27, 104/18, 115/29, etc.; hanged pp. hung 125/30
hast pr.2.sg. have 31/10, 38/18, 39/13, etc.
hast n. haste, hurry 95/15
hath(e pr.3.sg. has 2/17, 2/22, 6/28, etc.
haubergyn n. Sleeveless coat or jacket of mail 111/19
hed, hede, heed n. head 17/7, 17/9, 17/25, etc.
hedlynges adv. headlings, headlong, without thought, precipitately 120/23
heerd n. herd, flock 45/7
heet, hete n. heat 17/21, 23/29, 138/29
hepe n. heap, mass 27/25
herpe n. harp 53/9, 53/10
hert(e n. heart 3/24, 3/29, 5/19, etc.; hertes, herts n.pl. hearts 10/10, 18/23, 19/11, etc.
hertly adv. heartily, sincerely 39/5
herty(e adj. hearty, heartfelt 23/6, 24/8, 121/20
hether prep. hither, here 13/4
heuy adj. heavy, grievous 16/23; heavy, sorrowful, grieved 17/4, 38/18, 114/3, etc.; (of persons) oppressive, troublesome (tr. ‘molestus’) 85/30; heuynes n. heaviness, sorrow 40/9, 40/17, 46/28, etc.
Hieremy, Hyeremye Jeremiah, Biblical prophet 34/30, 38/6, 54/23, etc.
Hierusalem Jerusalem 62/8, 129/23
historiall adj. historical 89/9
holden pp. held, kept 37/4, 55/20
hole adj. whole, entire 3/6, 6/1, 19/22, etc.
holly, hoolly adv. wholly, entirely 4/3, 14/19, 20/19, etc.
holsome, holsum adj. wholesome, beneficial, salutary 23/17, 48/23 28/15, etc.; curative, medicinal 78/7, 127/23
hongre n. hunger 42/22
hoste n. army 52/8
hostes n.pl. sacrifices 132/24
hugsome adj. ugsome, horrible, loathsome 32/13
hymne n. hymn 30/15

I
illustracyons n.pl. illustrations, illuminations, enlightenments 110/7
illustrate pp. illustrated, illuminated 129/24
inaduertence n. heedlesness, failure to pay due attention 115/9
incessable adj. ceaseless, incessant 56/3
incontaminate pp.adj. uncontaminated, undefiled 23/27
incontinent adv. immediately, at once 15/14
incorporate pp.adj. incorporated, united 41/28
incorrupcion n. freedom from corruption 68/14

indureth pr.3.sg. indurates, hardens, fig. strengthens, makes indifferent 2/13
inebriate v. refresh as with drink, water, drench 16/7
inebriate pp.adj. inebriated, made drunk 86/21, 124/4, 124/17; inebriatyng pr.p. inebriating, making drunk 120/10
inenarrable adj. indescribable, unspeakable 137/5
innocencie, innocency n. innocence 33/3, 114/16
inobedience n. disobedience 101/23, 128/9, 135/13
inobedient adj. disobedient 135/12

inpassiblytye n. impassibility, insusceptibility to injury or suffering 20/21
intellectable adj. intellectible, capable of understanding 73/12
intent n. purpose, aim, object of action 1/25, 5/16; to /for the ~ (that) to the end (that), in order (that) 13/19, 52/8, 64/4, etc.
termedleth pr.3.sg. concerns oneself, meddles, interferes 131/26
inward(e adj. from one’s inmost heart, heartfelt, fervent 5/20, 19/15, 59/29, etc.; inner, mental or spiritual, as opposed to external 5/24, 14/30, 31/6, etc.
inwardly(e adv. in heart, mind or spirit, (opposed to outwardly or visibly) 8/1, 30/30, 31/3, etc.; in or from the inmost heart, with deep emotion, fervently 13/5, 29/27, 40/11, etc.
ipocras n. hippocras, spiced wine 63/26 (see commentary)
iyen, iyes n.pl. eyes 84/2, 93/17, 109/26, etc.

J
Jacke n. Sleeveless tunic or jacket, worn by foot-soldiers, usually made of leather, sometimes plated with iron. Sometimes applied to a coat of mail 111/19
**Jues** *n.pl.* Jews 5/13, 33/29, 51/16, etc.

**iustly** *adv.* justly, uprightly, righteously 89/14, 96/25, 102/28

**K**

**kindle, kyndle** kindle, set on fire *fig.* inflame, make ardent or eager 36/19, 139/14; **kindled, kyndeled, kyndled** *pp.* kindled, inflamed, made ardent or eager 71/27, 89/21, 89/27, etc.; **kyndeleth** *pr.3.sg.* kindles, inflames, makes ardent or eager 22/8, 92/15; **kyndelynge** *vbl.n.* kindling, inflaming, making ardent 75/19, 91/22

**knittyng** *pr.p.* tying with a knot, binding, joining 5/19

**knowledgeth** *pr.3.sg.* acknowledges, admits 108/24

**kut** *pp.* cut 58/21

**L**

**languysshe** *v.* languish, weaken, become sick 19/2, 49/19, 125/8

**lapped** *pp.* wrapped 117/5

**laude** *n.* laud, praise, honour 108/3, 132/9; **laudes** *n.pl.* praises 39/4, 117/23, 117/24

**Leodium** *n.* Liège 18/15

**leprose** *n.pl.* (tr. ‘viri leprosi’) lepers, people afflicted with leprosy 8/5

**lese** *v.* lose 64/28, 104/14, 113/30, etc.

**lesse, leste** *conj.* lest (negative particle) 8/4, 27/16, 39/17, etc.

**lest** *adv.* last, finally 72/29

**lete** *adv.* least 1/10

**let** *v.* hinder, obstruct 91/13, 110/16;

**letted** *pp.* hindered 82/17

**lettes** *n.pl.* hindrances 94/12

**leuation** *n.* elevation, lifting up 36/13

**Leuite** *n.* one of the tribe of Levi 76/15

**lewer, lewre** *n.* lure, feathered object used by falconers to recall their hawks 43/22, 44/6, 44/12, etc. (see commentary 43/22)

**ley, lye** *v.* lie ~ *in await/awayt* lie in wait 59/12, 61/7; **lyen** *pp.* lain 139/29, 140/2

**liquor(e** *n.* fluid, drink 16/8, 64/4

**lyghten** *v.* enlighten or illuminate spiritually 36/19, 69/21, 104/28, etc.; **lyghtened** *pp.* enlightened or illuminated spiritually 126/7, 126/16, 129/24; **lyghtenynge** *pr.p.* casting light on, illuminating 106/27 enlightening or illuminating spiritually 110/9

**lyghtnes** *n.* lightness, frivolity 2/21, 22/20

**lyghtsum** *adj.* lightsome, illuminated 127/24

**liuely, lyuely** *adj.* lively, life-giving, vital 109/14, 138/2

**liuely** *adv.* lively, in a life-like manner, vividly 54/4
**Longius, Longyne** Longinus, the Roman soldier who pierced Christ in the side with his spear 61/13, 126/9 (see commentary 61/13)

**Lorkynge** ppl.adj. lurking, concealed 39/19

**M**

**Magnifie** v. glorify, extol 21/8, 58/7

**Magnified** pp. glorified, extolled 87/5, 87/6

**Maister, Mayster** n. (tr. ‘magister’) master, mentor, teacher 19/25, 38/22, 38/24, etc.

**Manheed, Manhode** n. manhead, manhood, human nature (opposed to **Godhead**) 20/19, 22/9, 78/15, etc.

**Manly** adv. manfully, courageously 132/16

**Mansleer** n. manslayer, murderer 15/13

**Mantell** n. mantle, cloak 95/18

**Marchaunt** n. (tr. ‘negotiator’) merchant, trader, dealer 53/22

**Maruayll, Meruayl(l, Meruyl** v. marvel, be filled with wonder 10/5, 36/9, 42/12, etc. **Marueiled** pp. trans. wondered at, admired 102/3;

**Meruelynge** pr.p. marvelling, wondering at 136/18; **Merueyling** vbl.n. marvelling, wondering at 36/13

**Maruell, Meruell** n. astonishment, admiration, wonder 132/26, 135/3, 136/17; **no ~ no wonder** 53/16, 60/6, 83/20, etc.; **Merueils** n.pl. marvels, miracles 102/12

**Marvailously, Meruelously** adv. astonishingly, extraordinarily, supernaturally 20/23, 100/11, 106/6;

**Meruaylous(e, Meruelouse(e** adj. remarkable, supernatural 13/26, 14/22, 15/27, etc.

**Mean(e** n. method, course of action 1/25, 9/15, 22/1, etc.; moderation 88/9; **in no meanes, in no meanys** by no means 26/7, 54/3, 106/16

**Meke** v.refl. meek, humble, abase oneself 34/14, 34/15, 70/8, etc.; **meketh** pr.3.s. trans. makes meek, humbles 42/5;

**Mekyng** vbl.n. meeking, making meek, humbling 82/27

**Meue** v. move, urge, incite 85/15

**Middest, Myddest** n. midst, middle 99/18, 136/8

**Minisshed, Minysshed** pp. adj. diminished, reduced in quantity or power 32/2, 32/7, 113/27

**Ministers** n.pl. underlings, agents 125/25, 132/23, 135/9

**Ministred** pp. administered, dispensed 78/2

**Mirre, Myre, Myrrre** n. myrrh 117/10; a shrub or tree that yields myrrh 27/20, 27/23, 27/27
mixte, mixted, myxt(e) pp. mixed, blended 60/27, 63/23, 63/28, etc.
mo pron. more 34/1, 34/2, 43/1
moch(e) adj. much, great 4/14, 16/1, 33/30, etc.; adv. much, greatly 1/14, 7/30, 22/8, etc.
molbery n. mulberry 64/4
molifie v. mollify, soften 93/28; molified, molified pp. softened 24/4, 24/5
mone n. moon 42/30
mone n. moan, complaint 85/20
motion n. motion, inner prompting or impulse 55/22; mocions, mocyons n.pl. motions, inner promptings or impulses 64/21, 72/25, 114/14, etc.; action of prompting or urging a person to do something 6/28

N
nat adv. not (negative particle) 1/6, 2/3, 2/18, etc.
natural(l) adj. genetically related, legitimate 6/20, 34/23, 57/29, etc.; natural, understandable 3/14
natwithstandyng(e) prep. notwithstanding, in spite of 88/25, 100/9, 101/26, etc.
ne conj. nor 60/17, 85/3, 109/20, etc.
ne adv. not 88/23
necessitie, necessitye n. want, poverty 27/28, 33/8, 33/25, etc.
necklygence n. negligence 115/9
neibours n.pl. neighbours 91/7
negotiater n. trader, businessman 53/22
nigh, nygh(e) prep. near 49/20, 105/23, 113/26, etc.
noder adv. neither 23/14
Noe Noah, builder of the Ark in the Bible 56/24
nombre n. number 41/13
non adj. none, no, not any 86/6, 91/11, 92/23, etc.
noy v. trouble, harm, injure (tr. ‘nocere’) 60/17
noysome adj. noisome, harmful, injurious 109/27

O
obprobriouse adj. opprobrious, insulting, injurious 107/21
obumbrate adj. overshadowed, darkened 137/24
odiferouse adj. odoriferous, sweet-smelling, fragrant 130/9
odre n. other, another 1/11
oft(e) adv. often 6/2, 15/25, 16/1, etc.
oftentimes, oftimes, oftymes adv. oftentimes, on many occasions, often 5/5, 104/5, 105/4, etc.
oynt v. anoint, smear with oil or ointment 57/9
olephantes, olephants n.pl. elephants 64/3, 64/4
ones, ons adv. once 43/3, 53/25, 76/1, etc.
ony adj. any 4/12
optayne, opteyn(e) v. obtain, get 18/5, 52/20, 78/28, etc.; optayned, opteyned pp. obtained, got 10/27, 10/29, 11/2, etc.; opteynynge pr.p. obtaining, getting 112/19
oratour n. one who prays, petitioner 4/18 (see commentary)
order, ordre v.refl. behave, conduct, manage (oneself) 2/19, 22/13, 22/26, etc. ordereth orders, behaves 89/14
order, ordre v.trans. order, regulate, direct, govern 71/25, 86/7, 88/8, etc.; ordryeth pr.3.sg. orders, governs, directs 119/26; ordryng pr.p. ordering, regulating 5/27
order, ordre n. grade or rank in hierarchical structure 69/9, 69/16, 69/27, etc. pl. orders, ordres 10/17, 17/14, 69/4, etc; religious society or fraternity 50/12; regular or customary practice 3/6; sequence 50/10
ordinately adv. according to order, properly, duly 71/25
Osee Hosea, Biblical prophet 43/27, 54/12
ostry n. hostelry, inn 76/19
palfray n. (tr. ‘militarem equum’) palfrey, defined in OED as ‘a horse for ordinary riding (as distinct from a warhorse).’ Fewterer seems to use the word here to mean a warhorse 68/27
pall n. robe, cloak, mantle 95/18
palsey n. paralysis or weakness, sometimes with tremor 113/24
pappes, pappys n.pl. woman’s breasts or nipples 46/23, 46/24
paralisie n. paralysis 113/23
particle, perticle, pertycle n. small part of a whole (tr. ‘particula’) 4/9, 9/12, 9/15, etc.; pl. particles 9/10
parylles n.pl. perils, dangers 28/6
passionarie n. book about the sufferings of saints or martyrs 50/14
pecys n.pl. pieces, fragments 60/28
perce, perse v. pierce, penetrate 18/7, 40/15, 70/21, etc.; perced, persed pp. pierced, penetrated 7/28, 93/10; persed pa.t. 15/22, 111/19
perfite, perfyte adj. perfect 36/24, 36/25, 47/25, etc.; perfitely adv. perfectly 80/16, 130/16, 139/2
perseuerantly adv. persistently, continually 22/16
perteyn(e) v. pertain, belong as a possession or right 95/20; pertain, be connected or appropriate 86/18, 127/1; perteineth, perteyneth pr.3.sg. pertains, is connected or appropriate
86/29, 87/3, 94/11, etc.; **pertynyng**

*adj.* appertaining, connected or appropriate 117/28, 138/9

**peynaunce** *n.* penance 28/15

**peyne takynges** *n.pl.* pain takings, penances, suffering pain or punishment 24/11

**pitie, pyte, pytie, pytye** *n.* pity, mercy, compassion 21/3, 29/2, 34/25, etc.; *(tr.* ‘pietas’) piety, devoutness, affection, loyalty 10/29, 11/1, 75/23, etc.

**pleantie** *n.* plenty, abundance 116/23

**pleantuouse** *adj.* plenteous, abundant 4/8

**plentye, plentie** *n.* a large amount or quantity, in abundance 20/27, 23/26, 24/6, etc.

**potage** *n.* pottage, soup 88/20

**potecarye** *n.* apothecary, one who kept a shop of non-perishable commodities, spices, drugs, comfits, preserves, etc. 63/21 (see commentary)

**potestates** *n.pl.* Powers, angels of the sixth order in the pseudo-Dionysian hierarchy 17/15, 72/22 (see commentary 17/15)

**power** *adj.* poor, of a low standard 1/6

**predestinate** *pp.* predestined, foreordained 139/7

**premisses** *n.pl.* things previously stated, the aforementioned 88/26, 120/15, 136/1, etc.

**presidency** *n.* residence, authority 70/7, 70/10, 73/23

**prested** *adj.* ready for action, willing, at hand 14/6

**preuented** *pp.adj.* given spiritual guidance, predisposed to repentance or faith *(tr.* ‘praeuenta’) 20/6 (see commentary)

**principalitie, principality** *n.* principality, supremacy *(tr.* ‘principatus’) 74/1, 74/3

**principate** *n.* principality, supremacy 71/1

**principates** *n.pl.* principalities, one of the nine orders of angels 17/15, 56/23, 70/29, etc.

**prohem** *n.* proem, preface, introduction *(tr.* ‘prohemium’) 9/3, 9/10

**pronitie** *n.* proneness, aptness, tendency 55/12

**proue** *n.* proof 31/6

**proue** *v.* prove, attempt, strive 106/15

**pynt** *n.* print, image 29/8; **prints,** **pryntes** *n.pl.* images 66/7; marks, traces 19/15, 86/1

**pruy** *adj.* privy, furtive, secret 111/16

**publican** *n.* Roman tax-collector *(tr.* ‘publicanus’) 84/3

**purchaser** *n.* acquirer, owner *(tr.* ‘conquisitor’) 134/3 (see commentary 134/1-3)
purgation  n. purification, cleansing 36/11
purposed  adj. set on a course of action, determined 88/15
purposeth  pr.3.sg. intends, aims 79/27;
purposing  pr.p. intending, aiming 60/26

Q
quasye  adj. queasy, sick 56/29
quicke  adj. alive 6/9; keen, strongly felt 63/12; vigorous, energetic 64/5
quycken  v. trans. rouse, motivate 57/13;
quickened  pp.adj. roused, motivated 64/7; quickeneth  pr.3.s. rouses, motivates 42/5
quicknes  n. animation, vigour 61/25
quietnes, quyetnes  n. calmness, tranquility 14/18, 36/16, 105/19, etc.

R
rapte  adj. rapt, transported spiritually 106/13, 106/14
rauenar  n. ravener, plunderer, despoiler 44/8
raungynge  adj. ranging, wandering; (or possibly tr: ‘rugientes’: raging, roaring) 95/24 (see commentary)
rayment  n. raiment, clothing, apparel 121/17, 132/24; raymentes  n.pl. (tr: ‘vestimenta’) raiments, garments 84/23
reanswere, reaunswere  v. make an answer or return (tr: ‘reddo’) 34/11 (tr: ‘recompensamus’) 32/9; answer, respond (tr: ‘respondere’) 104/17
reast  v. rest 10/11
reasonable  adj. endowed with reason 15/24, 24/14, 24/16, etc.
rebuked  pp. despised, scorned 21/11, 37/16
rebuke  n. reproof, reprimand 8/5, 8/6; shame, disgrace 45/1, 133/25; shame, insult 116/18; rebukes  n.pl. shames, insults 9/27, 28/7, 34/4, etc.
rebukyng  adj. scornful, opprobrious 64/16
reciteth  pr.3.s. recites, tells, reports 66/22
reclamatorie  n. (tr: ‘reclamatorium’) bait used to recall a hawk (see lewer) 43/22
recourse  n. a running back, return; have a ~ run back, return (tr: ‘recurramus’) 83/27
reduxest  pr.2.sg. lead or bring back 17/15
redy(e  adj. easy, effective 1/25; ready, prone, inclined 3/10, 14/26, 37/8, etc.; prest and ~ ready for action, prepared 14/6
redynes n. readiness, proneness, inclination 55/12

re dynge n. reading 132/29

reed adj. red 29/9, 29/10, 43/22, etc.

refection n. spiritual refreshment or comfort 102/14; food or drink 106/12, 106/15

reformed, refourmed pp.adj. re-formed, formed again or anew 41/26, 49/22, 139/2

relent v. trans. (tr. ‘resolvo’) melt, soften 10/9, 36/10, 47/21, etc.; relented pp. melted, softened 18/25, 20/27, 49/7, etc.; relentynge vbl.n. softening, melting 36/15, 48/4; relentynge pr.p. softening, melting 49/11

releuacion n. relevation, raising up 71/5

releue v. relieve, ease 72/27; releuyed, releaued, relyued pp. relieved, eased 17/5, 113/29; rescued, delivered 71/7; relieved, freed (from) 2/14

repare v. repair, mend 71/25, 71/29, 87/22; repared pp. repaired, mended 45/3, 45/6, 75/1, etc.; reparynge vbl.n. repairing, mending 44/24

repreues, reproues n.pl. reproofs, insults, abuses 34/7, 35/25

reprouynges n.pl. reprovings, insults 25/16

resolue v. (tr. ‘resolvo’) melt, soften (see relent) 10/9, 36/10, 47/21, etc.; resolued pp. melted, softened 90/18

restauracion n. restoration 94/21, 120/7

restauraed pp. restored 99/9

retayne v. retain 88/13

reueled pp. revealed, shown 71/17, 98/3

reuelue v. revolve, turn over (in mind) 26/1

reuysshed pp. ravished, transported, enraptured 59/16

reewlyng pr.p. ruling, governing, controlling 113/2

reysynge vbl.n. raising, lifting up 75/18

rychesse n. wealth, opulence 116/8, 118/11

rydell n. riddle, coarse-meshed sieve for separating chaff from corn 109/8

ronne v. run 16/11, 23/17

S

saciate v. satiate, saisfy, gratify 16/7, 73/12, 101/18; saciat, saciate pp.a. satiated, glutted, satisfied 14/20, 14/24, 73/16, etc.

sacietie n. satiety, the sensation of being fulfilled, fully gratified 98/17

sacrate adj. sacred, hallowed 5/9, 71/20

sad adj. sorrowful 38/19; grave, serious 95/14

salet n. sallet, helmet, ‘a light globular headpiece, either with or without a vizor, and without a crest, the lower part curving outwards behind’ (OED) 111/18
sapore, sapour n. savour, taste 138/21, 138/21
satisfaction n. compensation, amends 2/17, 66/9
satisfye v. make satisfaction, payment, or atonement 33/12, 76/9
sawdiours n.pl. soldiers 52/9
science, scyence n. knowledge 11/2, 11/4, 75/23, etc.; sciences n.pl. a person’s various kinds of knowledge 98/10
sclaundered pp. slandered, defamed 42/28
sclaunders n.pl. slanders, false or malicious statements 42/24
se v. see 3/13, 3/22, 7/26, etc.; se pa.t. saw 18/18, 95/11, 106/23, etc.
seyenge, seyng(e pr.p. 83/1, 83/14, 90/28 etc.
seclude v. cut off, obstruct access to 65/12
sede n. seed, offspring, progeny, 129/9
see n. sea, ocean 17/19, 33/29, 45/20, etc.
seet n. seat, throne 69/29
seke adj. sick, ill 19/1, 49/19, 56/29, etc.
sekenes, seknes n. sickness, illness 18/22, 42/5, 78/7
sene pp. seen, percieved 71/21, 127/4, 136/26, etc.; be ~ seem, appear 93/3; was ~ seemed, appeared 140/12, 142/1
sensibly adv. in a manner perceptible to the senses, appreciably (tr. ‘sensibiliter’) 19/4, 19/6, 19/9
sensual adj. endowed with sensation (but not reason) 24/15
sensualitie, sensualitye n. animal instincts and appetites, sensual nature (as opposed to reason or rational nature) 61/6, 79/9
sentence n. opinion, statement 22/6; mayster of the ~ (tr. ‘magister sententiarum’) probably refers to a work of that name by Albertus Magnus 60/7 (see commentary)
sepulture n. internment, burial 95/5
shamefastnes, shamfastnes n. modesty, propriety 95/15; shame, ashamedness 83/13
sheld(e n. shield 51/2, 51/3, 64.13, etc.; sheldes n.pl. shields 51/7
shew(e v. show 22/3, 22/22, 23/25, etc.;
shewed pa.t. showed 42/25, 64/2, 70/21, etc.; shewed pp. showed 3/15, 4/10, 5/4, etc.; sheweth pr.3.sg. shows 60/25, 113,6; shewing, shewynge vbl.n. showing 44/6, 54/19, 75/8; shewynge pr.p. 44/12, 121/24
sholder, sholdre, shulder n. shoulder 17/13, 71/2, 74/3
shortely, shortly adv. speedily, with little delay 3/6, 23/4, 28/30, etc.; in short,
briefly 4/6, 37/25, 85/23; **shortly** adv. more speedily, sooner 16/5

**shuld(e pa.t.** should, ought to 5/11, 6/11, 7/4, etc.

**shyt, shytte** v. shut, close 78/10, 79/14; **shyt pp.** shut, closed 2/23; **shitteth pr. 3.sg.** shuts, closes 78/10

**signification** n. meaning, import 25/27

**similitude** n. form, likeness 35/16, 135/1, 139/5; similarity, resemblance 48/6, 48/22, 48/23, etc.

**simple adj.** deficient in knowledge or learning 1/5

**simplicite** n. simplicity, artlessness 114/16

**singuler adj.** (tr. ‘singularis’) remarkable, extraordinary 18/14, 92/1, 141/20; separate, individual 75/24

**singulerly** adv. (tr. ‘singulariter’) remarkably, particularly well 91/30

**systeren n.pl.** sisters (of a religious community) 105/19

**sith(e, syth conj.** since, because, seeing that 13/7, 13/10, 38/22, etc.

**sitten pp.** sat 56/6, 62/22

**slee, sley v.** slay, kill 15/12, 60/21; **sleyne pp.** slain, killed 42/29

**sliper adj.** (of memory) not retentive, forgetful 36/21

**sodaynly, sodenly, sodeynly adv.** suddenly, without warning (tr. ‘inopinate’) 60/11, (tr. ‘subito’); 105/28, 141/3; forthwith, promptly (tr. ‘continuo’) 55/23

**solempne adj.** solemn, sacred 140/21, 141/8; grand, imposing 51/14

**somtyme, sumtyme adv.** sometimes, at one time or another 28/14, 30/18, 30/23, etc.

**son, sone, sonne** n. Son (of God) 2/5, 6/14, 6/16, etc.

**sonne n.** sun 42/30, 74/8, 110/8, etc.

**sone adv.** soon 32/15

**sowdiour n.** soldier 38/24

**spake pa.t.** spoke 3/28, 77/1, 81/29, etc.

**speciouse adj.** specious, beautiful (tr. ‘speciosa’) 81/4

**spectacle n.** means of seeing something, window or mirror 7/3

**spede v.trans.** send with speed or haste, hurry 106/1

**spedy adj.** speedy, quickly accomplished or obtained 2/30; speedy, prompt, quick 51/25

**spytted pa.t.** spat 105/16

**spoiled pp.adj.** pillaged, plundered 115/25; **spoilynge pr.p.** despoiling, robbing 56/23

**sportes n.pl.** activities, diversions, pastimes 22/20

**spouses, spousesse** n. female spouse, wife, bride 49/25, 49/29, 125/1, etc.
spred, sprede *pp.adj.* spread spred

abrode spread widely; parts or limbs wide spread (see abrode)

squyre *n.* square, tool for measuring or setting out right angles, used by carpenters and joiners, here *fig.* (*tr.* ‘regula’) rule or guiding principle 88/8

stabilishment *n.* (*tr.* ‘stabilitatem’) the action of stablishing, rendering stable in faith, virtue etc. 82/27

steppes *n.pl.* (*tr.* ‘vestigia’) steps, footprints 5/12, 5/26 18,6 etc.; traces, marks 19/15

sterre *n.* star 140/18

stynche *n.* stench, stink 84/21, 98/7

stomacher *n.* ornamental covering for the chest, worn by women under the lacing of the bodice 88/4

stomack(e) *n.* stomach 56/29, 106/17

strait, strayt, streit *adj.* narrow, difficult 38/29, 38/30, 39/10

streynynge *vbl.n.* straining, stretching, drawing tight 53/11

stubbernes *n.* stubbornness 23/22

subtility *n.* subtlety, tenuity, fineness 73/30

suerte, surety *n.* security, guarantor (*tr.* ‘fideiusssor’ 8/12, 96/1 (see commentary 95/30-96/1); feeling of safety, confidence 82/15; certainty (of an end, of obtaining something) 73/15, 74/22, 85/29, etc.

supererogacion *n.* action of doing more than is commanded or required; works of ~ performance of good works beyond what God requires (see commentary) 115.14, 119/9

sustayne, susteyne *v.* sustain, bear, endure 16/23, 84/21, 132/15;
susteyned *pp.* sustained, borne 116/17; susteyneth *pr.3.s.* sustains, supports 16/22, 30/16

swage *v.* mitigate, relieve, pacify 62/28, 65/24; swaged *pp.* mitigated, pacified 103/16

swerd(e) *n.* sword 32/14, 109/11, 111/18

sufferance, sufferaunce *n.* patient endurance, forbearance 6/6, 73/23, 79/5, etc.

swouneth *pr.3.sg.* swoons, faints 125/16

swowne *n.* swoon, fainting-fit 20/16

T

tabernacles *n.pl.* huts or tents, dwellings (*tr.* ‘tabernacula’) 18/1, 110/15

taper *n.* wax candle 141/4

tary *v.* tarry, wait 26/1; tarieng, taryenge *vbl.n.* tarrying, waiting 25/28, 112/12

tedyouse *adj.* tedious, tired, wearied 112/15

tencion *n.* intention, design 74/22

the 2.s.pron. thee, you 5/5, 7/2, 7/26, etc.

thefe *n.* thief 62/11; theues *n.pl.* thieves 33/27
thence, thens prep. there 25/9, 126/1
thider prep. thither, to there 39/1
tho, thoo adj. those 67/23, 118/25, 128/21
thoro, thorough(e, thorowe, thorough(e,
    through(e adv. through, because of
    19/16, 20/11, 23/29, etc.
thraldome n. thraldom, bondage 26/12, 26/13
thrist n. thirst 33/30, 42/22
thristynge pr.p. thirsting 16/7 thrysteth
    pr.3.s. thirsts 92/13
thurst v. thirst for, long for 76/8
thyrle v. pierce, run through 18/7
togeder, togider, togyder, togydre adv.
    together 27/12, 27/15, 75/5, etc.
toke pa.t. took 13/19, 35/15, 35/17, etc.
toure n. tower 78/28
tratoures, tratours n.pl. traitors 40/12, 43/8
trew adj. true, real 134/9, 138/7
trewly adv. truly, genuinely 109/25
trier n. (tr. ‘conflator’) refiner, one who
    tries out or separates (metal) from
    impurities 38/8 (see commentary)
tryed pp. (tr. ‘conflavit,’ see blowen)
    refined, removed (the dross or
    impurity) from metal by fire 38/8
type n. trap 28/5
twise, twyse adv. twice 24/6, 24/7, 81/20
tyll prep. to 81/6
vnquiete, vnquyet v. unquiet, disturb
vnquyet adj. unquiet, restless, uneasy
vnready adj. unready, hesitating, slow
vnreste v. unrest, disturb, trouble
vnsaciable adj. insatiable
vnseperably adv. inseparably
vnto prep. # until
vtter adj. outward
vttermoost adj. outermost, farthest off, remotest
V
vanitees, vanities, vanytes n.pl. vain, idle or worthless things or actions
vain(e, vayn(e adj. vain, idle, worthless
vanquesshynge, vaynquesshynge vbl.n. vanquishing, overcoming
voyde v. void, discharge, let out
voyded pa.t. discharged, spat
voyde adj. devoid, free from
vycyouse adj. vicious, depraved, immoral
vynacre, vynegre n. vinegar
W
wantonnes n. (tr. ‘puerilia’) unruliness, naughtiness (of a child)
waremly adv. watchfully, prudently
warenes n. cautiousness, vigilance
warkes n.pl. works, deeds
watch(e n. wakefulness
wedder n. weather
wedder n. wether, male sheep, ram
were v. wear, wearing
wery adj. weary
werynges n. weariness
werynges n. vbl.n. wearing
wey v. weigh
wherefore, wherfore adv. on account of which, because of which 8/3, 15/6, 20/16, etc.
whereunto adv. whereto, unto which 29/2, 115/14, 127/10
whoso pron. whoever, anyone who 17/11, 56/25, 67/17, etc.
wyl, wyll n. (tr. ‘affectu’) desire, wish, liking, inclination (to do something) (sometimes used by Fewterer interchangeably with affeccion and loue ) 9/21, 25/14, 28/24, etc.

wyl(l v. will 7/11, 13/16, 13/28, etc.; wylt pr.2.s. will, wish to 15/6; wold(e pa.t. 3.sg. would 1/6, 1/7, 1/8, etc.; woldest pa.t.2.s. would, wish to 79/21
wylfully adv. of one’s own accord, voluntarily 14/26, 90/14, 90/17
wyndeth pr.3.s. winnows 109/9
wyndose n. Probably error for ‘winnow’, contrivance for winnowing grain 109/9
wood adj. enraged, furious, insane 95/24
worthely adv. deservedly, justly 99/30

Y
yat conj. that 2/17, 2/19, 5/15, etc.
yate n. gate 78/25
yen(e n.pl. eyes 7/18, 7/23, 57/9, etc.
yocke n. yoke fig. subjection, restraint 108/27
yong(e adj. young 27/29, 34/24, 114/10
yowe pron. you 22/3

Z
zele n. zeal 91/21, 92/8, 130/25
Appendix 1: Emendations to the text

page/line Emended text in the present edition | Printed text of 1534
5/8 for | or
7/17 my | me
10/15 remembraunce | remembranbe
21/3 thy | the
27/9 that [the] more | that more
27/12 commended | commend
29/19 [in] ii maner of wayes | ii maner of wayes
31/2 man | men
31/6 outward dedes | inward loue
31/30 whan [we] suffere | whan suffere
32/27 f.viii | f.xii
33/29 in [the] wyldernes | in wyldernes
37/12 fro | for
48/9 nothynge | that nothynge
51/20 sayth | sath
52/6 spirituall | spirituall
55/10 debilitat | dibilitat
60/15 (margin note) [Apoc. 7] | Apoc. 4
61/3 (margin note) [Ser. lx] | Ser. lx
64/14 receiueth | receineth
66/10 good | god
66/16 pessumdat | pessundat
76/15 man | men
78/2 goodnes | goodes
82/17 conversion | couersion
88/6 her | his
94/3 of | or
100/22 Et fluius | Eluuius
102/10 and [he] gyueth ] and gyueth
104/8 & [in] muscipulam ] & muscipulam
114/9 from ] for
120/9 preclarus ] peclarus
120/10 inebriatynge ] inebritynge
125/29 sumtyme [in] darknes ] sumtyme darknes
Appendix 2: Pinder’s sources

This list traces the sources apparently used by Pinder in compiling the five *particulae* included in the present edition. Folio and column references to Pinder’s *Speculum Passionis* are to the 1507 edition; folio references to the *Stimulus Amoris* are to the Cologne edition of 1502. Folio and column references to Reinhard are to his *Passio Domini Nostri Iesu Christi* (1501). References to the *Vita Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony are to the volume and page numbers of the four-volume Rigollot edition (1878), and references to the works of Albertus Magnus are to the volume and page numbers of the Borgnet edition (1890-1899). See works cited list (234) for details.

Pinder’s sources are unacknowledged by him except where I explicitly state otherwise.

**Prologus in speculo passionis domini** (f.i, col. 1)

‘Inspice et fac ... nostra versabitur consideratio’ (f.i, col. 1) is from the prologue to the *Articuli Passionis* of Jordanus of Quedlinberg.

The rest of Pinder’s prologue is not from the prologue to the *Articuli Passionis*, and I have not identified a source.

**Diusio huius speculi.** (f.i, col. 2)

This is from Reinhard’s *Passio Domini* (sig. A, col. 1).

**Prohemium in se continet decem particulas** (f.i col. 2)

This seems to be original to Pinder.

**Exhortatio in meditationem passionis domini. Particula prima.** (f.i col. 1-f.ii, col. 2)

‘Currite gentes undique ... super aram crucis oblata est (f.ii, col. 1-f.ii col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.1 (f.v-v). Pinder does not acknowledge the *Stimulus Amoris*, but Fewterer does so in a margin note.

Pinder’s next sentence: ‘quamobrem passionis eius cottidie nunc in corde tuo rumines eo que sic in mente hominis reuoluta sanguinem christi pro nobis offert aspectibus dei patris’ (f.ii, col. 1) is probably also based on *Stimulus Amoris*, though it has no exact counterpart in the 1502 edition.
‘Scribitur enim in libro de mixtionibus elementorum ... pendenti in cruce’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{r}, col. 1) is not from Stimulus Amoris. Possibly it is Pinder’s own addition.

‘O passio delectabilis morsque admirabilis ... eius caput christus eleuans suauissime osculatur’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{i}, col. 1) is also from Stimulus Amoris I.1 (f.v\textsuperscript{v}-vi\textsuperscript{r}).

‘Proinde Bernhadus ait ... gloria mea et exaltans caput meum’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{r}, col. 1-2) is a quotation from Bernard not in Stimulus Amoris.

‘O mors amabilis. O mors delectabilis ... cum filio suo crucifixum’ (f. ii\textsuperscript{i}, col. 2) is from Stimulus Amoris I.1 (f.vi\textsuperscript{i}-vi\textsuperscript{v}).

Exemplum huius exhortationis (f.ii\textsuperscript{r} col. 2-ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 1)

This whole section is derived from the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer. (Pinder and Fewterer refer to different editions of the Speculum Historiale).

A prayer (f.ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 1)

This is from Stimulus Amoris, I.1 (f.vii\textsuperscript{v}-viii\textsuperscript{r}).

De modo recordandi passionem domini. Particula secunda. (f.ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 1-2)

‘Occurrît nunc vt passionem domini nostri ... accipiet tua vota: & acceptabit tua facta’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 1-2) is from the Vita Christi of Ludolphus of Saxony II.58 (Rigollot 4: 1-2).

‘Interea memoria eius fieri debebit ... ipsius manibus piissimus committe’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 2) is from further on in the same chapter of the Vita Christi (Rigollot 4: 5).

‘quam si adhuc manes inconcussus ... vero fontem lachrimarum emmittas’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 2) is not from the Vita Christi. Fewterer refers us to Pliny the Elder’s Natural History, but the wording of this passage is not copied from there.

‘Percute bis silicem ... gratiam humilietur, et statim sequetur’ (f.ii\textsuperscript{v} col. 2) is from the Vita Christi, II.58 (Rigollot 4: 5).
Quomodo passionis domini sentiri debet in nobis. [particula tertia]. (f.iii\textsuperscript{r}, col. 1-2)

I have not been able to find a source for this section, or for most of this third 
particula. See introduction, xlv-xlvi.

The following quotation from Bernard: ‘Ego fratres abeunte mea conversione ...

tutum prebet vtrrobique ducatum’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1-2) appears in the Vita Christi, II.58
(Rigollot 4: 4).

Quomodo passio domini sentiri debet in affectu (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 2)

No source has been found for this section.

Quomodo passio domini sentiri debet in effectu. (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col.1)

No source has been found for this section.

Quomodo passio domini sentiri debet in defectu. (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col.1-2)

No source has been found for this section.

Quomodo passio domini sentiri debet per despectum. (f. iii\textsuperscript{v} col.2)

No source has been found for this section.

De diuersis modis memorandi passionem domini. Particula quarta. (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1)

This fourth particula is principally derived either from Stimulus Amoris I.4 (f.xii\textsuperscript{v}-
xv\textsuperscript{v}), or from the Vita Christi II.58 (Rigollot 4: 9-11), where the same passages appear. I have not been able to determine which of these sources Pinder was working from when compiling this particula. The following references are to the Stimulus Amoris.

‘De diuersis modis ... Sexto ad quiescendum’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1) is based on the first
lines of I.4 (f.xii\textsuperscript{r}).

‘Ita et ymitacio ... ad deuotionis consummationem’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1) is from the last
few lines of I.4 (f.xv\textsuperscript{r}).
De hiis singulariter ... fortius imprimetur’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1) is not in \textit{Stimulus Amoris}. Possibly it is Pinder’s own addition.

**Quomodo consideratur passio ad ymitandum.** (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1-2)

‘Passio Christi primo ... sit passio salvatoris’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1) is from \textit{Stimulus Amoris} I.4 (f.xii\textsuperscript{r}).

‘Cum ipse sit quasi liber ... merito potiri speramus.’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col.1) is from the \textit{Summa Theologiae} of Albertus Magnus, book 4, chapter 20 (Borgnet 34. 143).

‘Profecto iam tanto amplius ... quantum possimus conformemur.’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col. 1-2) is from \textit{Stimulus Amoris} I.4 (f.xii\textsuperscript{r}-xiii\textsuperscript{r}).

‘Nam sine ymitatione ... cumulans ab intimis repellat’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col.2) is not from \textit{Stimulus Amoris}, and I have found no source. The passage is a compilation of quotations from St Gregory, Isaiah, and the Psalms.

**Quomodo consideratur passio ad compaciendum.** (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col.2-iii\textsuperscript{v} col. 1)

‘Secundo debemus considerare ... dolore videretur deficere’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{r} col.2-iii\textsuperscript{v} col. 1) is from \textit{Stimulus Amoris} I.4 (f.xiii\textsuperscript{r}).

‘Magnam materiam flendi ... Ihesu Christi filio suo. Amen.’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col.1) is not in the 1502 edition of \textit{Stimulus Amoris}. ‘Magnam materiam flendi...non affligatur dolore’ is in the \textit{Vita Christi}; however this does not prove that Pinder was working from Ludolphus here, as he may well have been using another copy of \textit{Stimulus Amoris} which did include those few lines.

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Quomodo consideratur passio ad ammirandum.** (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col.1-2)

‘Tercio consideremus passionem domini (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col.1) ... diuine pietatis ammirationem eleuemur’ (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col.2) is from \textit{Stimulus Amoris} I.4 (f.xiii\textsuperscript{r}-xiii\textsuperscript{v}).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Quomodo consideratur passio ad exultandum.** (f.iii\textsuperscript{v} col. 2-v\textsuperscript{r} col. 1)
‘Quarto consideremus eam ad exultandum ... erat morte positus eterna’ (f.iiiiv col. 2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.4 (f.xiiiiv-xiiiiv).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Quomodo consideratur passio ad resoluendum.** (f.vr col. 1-2)

‘Quinto consideratur passio domini ad resoluendum ... crucifixum pro nobis’ (f.vr col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.4 (f.xiiiv).

‘quod non sit nisi huius sacramentalis ... penas indetraetibiles susceptione’ (f.vr col. 1-2) is from Albertus Magnus’ *De Eucharistia* Dist. III, Tract.I, 6: ‘De cibi hujus ad cibatum congruitate ex similitudine’ (Borgnet 38: 259-264).

‘quod Albertus Magnus declarat ... ex similitudine’ (f.vr col. 2) is Pinder’s acknowledgement of Albertus as his source for the preceding passage.

**Quomodo consideratur passio ad quiescendum.** (f.vr col. 2)

‘Sexto consideremus illam beatissimam passionis ... dilectam donec ipsa velit’ (f.vr col. 2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.4 (f.xivv-xivv).

‘Hec penetratio ... esset hic declarare’ (f.vr col. 2) refers to the same chapter of Albertus Magnus’ *De Eucharistia* as in the previous section: Dist. III, Tract.I, 6. ‘De cibi hujus ad cibatum congruitate ex similitudine’ (Borgnet 38: 259-264).

**Viginti fructus seu vtilitates dominice passionis secundum numerum alphebeti. Particula quinta.** (f.vr col. 2-viir col. 2)

‘Venerabilis pater Reinhardus de Landenburg ... vt infra notamus’ (f.vr col. 1) is Pinder’s acknowledgement of Reinhard’s *Passio Domini* as his source for this alphabet. Most, but not all of *particula* 5 is drawn from Reinhard’s Prologue.

A. ‘Animoram purgat seditatem ... meditentur passionem christi.’ (f.vr col. 1) is from Reinhard (sig. Ar col. 1).

The rest of the section is based on Albertus Magnus, *Compendium Theologiae*, lib. IV, ca. xx ‘De effectu passionis christi’ (Borgnet 34: 143-144).

B. (f. vr col. 1) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Ar col. 2).
C. (f.v col. 1-2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. A col. 2).

D. ‘Dyabolorum fugat potestatem ... recurrendum est ad meditationem passionis christi’ (f.v col. 2) is from Reinhard (sig A col. 1-2).

I have found no source for the rest of this section.

E. (f.v col. 2) This is all from Reinhard (sig A col. 2). Pinder copies Reinhard’s incorrect reference to Osee, chapter 11. Fewterer corrects this to give the correct chapter 9. See commentary, 54/12.

F. (f.v col. 2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1).

G. ‘Gaudiorum donat vbertatem (f.v col. 2) ... dulcis gutteri meo’ (f.vi col. 1) is from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1). I have found no source for the rest of the section.

H. (f.vi col.1) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1).

I. (f.vi col.1) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.2).

J. (f.vi col.1-2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1).

K. (f.vi col.2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1).

L. (f.vi col.2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1-2).

M. (f.vi col.2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1-2).

N. (f.vi col.2-f.vi col.1) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.2).

O. (f.vi col.1) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.2).

P. ‘Peccatorum aduocat viuacitatem ... lignum vitae apprehendentibus eam’ (f.vi col.1) is from Reinhard (sig. Aii col.1).

‘Vnde Augusti ... omnis caro’ (f.vi col.1) is not in Reinhard. I have found no single source for this passage, which is composed of quotations from Augustine and from the Song of Songs.

Q. ‘Quassatorum mitigat aduersitatem ... et quietum facit (f.vi col.1-2) is from Reinhard (sig. Aii col. 1-2).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

R. (f.vi col.2) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col. 2-sig. Aii col. 1).

S. (f. vi col.2-f. vii col. 1) This is all from Reinhard. (sig. Aii col. 1).

T. (f. vii col. 1) This is all from Reinhard (sig. Aii col. 1-2).

V. ‘Viatorum gubernat prosperitatem ... hereditatem celestis promissionis’ (f.vii col. 1-2) is from Reinhard (sig. Aii col. 1).
In passione domini resplendet omnis perfectio hierarchie. (f.vii col. 2-vii v col. 2)

All of this chapter is copied verbatim from *Stimulus Amoris* I.14 (f.xxviii v-xxx v).

In passione domini refugiet hominium beatitudo. (f.vi v col. 2-viii r col. 1)

This chapter is also derived from *Stimulus Amoris* I.14 (f.xxx v-xxxi v), where it follows directly after the passages about the orders of angels used by Pinder in the previous chapter.

In passione domini relucent omnes virtutes: dona: fructus. (f.viii r col. 1-2)

‘Nam primum hec passio ... pro nobis ymmolauit.’ (f.viii r col. 1-2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.7 (f.xvi v).

‘In ea quoque relucet ... dicemus proprius capitulis’ (f.viii r col. 2) may be Pinder’s own words.

‘Similiter et octo beatitudines ... exemplo suo demonstrauit’ (f.viii r col. 2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.10 (f.xxvii r-xxvii v).

‘Item et fructus suauissimi ... et cruci affigentes’ (f.viii r col. 2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.11 (f.xxvii r).

‘qua per virtuosas operationes ... dictum est et dicitur’ (f.viii r col. 2). I have found no source for this. It may be from another edition of the *Stimulus Amoris*, or may be Pinder’s own words.

Per passionem christi sit omnium bonorum spiritualium efficacia. (f.viii r col. 1-ix r col. 1)

‘Per fructiferam enim ... preciosissimo eius passionis thesauro’ (f.viii r col. 1) is from the *Vita Christi*, II. 58 (Rigollot 4: 4).

‘a qua etiam omnia sacramenta ecclesiastica ... omnia in luce clarescunt’ is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.13 (f.xxviii v).
'Nam si iam diuinitatis ... quod delectat inuenimus’ (f.viii v col. 1-2) is from the *Vita Christi*, II. 58 (Rigollot 4: 2-4).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Memoria passionis domini conferuntur dona spiritussancti & primo donum timoris.** (f.ix v col. 1-ix v col. 2)

‘Potes adhuc frater me charissimi ... fortitudinis & timoris.’ (f.ix v col. 1) does not correspond to any words in 1502 edition of *Stimulus Amoris*, but the phrase ‘frater me charissimi’ occurs in other places in the *Stimulus Amoris* and most of the rest of the chapter comes from there. Possibly this passage was copied from another edition.

‘Primo namque per frequentem ... inuiatur & inducitur: hec modo’ (f.ix r col. 1-2).

I have found no source for this passage, though the phrase ‘Timor fuga mali’ is from St Thomas Aquinas’ *Scriptum Super Sententiis*, lib. 3 dis. 34, art. 1.

‘homo videns que filius dei ... nil aliud sitientes’ (f.ix v col. 2-f.ix v col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xxiii v-xxvi v).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Exemplum spiritus timori domini.** (f.ix v col. 2-x r col. 1)

This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.

**Memoria passionis domini datur homini etiam donum pietatis.** f.x v col. 1-x v col. 1)

‘Per frequentem et continuam ... pietatis accenditur. Hoc modo.’ (f.x v col. 1). I have found no source for this.

‘Contemplanti modo viscera domini ... collocat et quietat’ (f.x v col. 1-x v col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xxii v-xxiii v).

I have found no source for the rest of the section. The passage ‘in fructibus aut bonitas ... impedimenta actuum pietatis’ (f.x v col. 1) is a quotation from Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Ila IIae Q. 121 a. 2.
**Exemplum pietatis spritus.** (f.xv col. 1-2)

This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.

**Memoria passionis domini acquiritur etiam donum scientiae.** (f.xiv col. 1-ixv col. 2)

‘Per deuotam et continuam ... recto poterit conuersari’ (f.xiv col. 1). I have found no source for this.

‘in medio nationis...super celestia contemplanda’ (f.xiv col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xx').

‘sicut est cognitio ... vermesque rodentes’ (f.xiv col. 1). I have found no source for this.

‘Has autem quamplures alias cognitiones ... feruido amore absorbeatur’ (f.xiv col. 1-ixv col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xx'-xxii).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Exemplum huius spiritus scientiae.** (f.xiv col. 2-xixv col. 1)

This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.

**Memoria passionis domini confertur etiam donum fortitudinis.** (f.xiv col. 1-f.xivv col. 1)

‘Per deuotam et frequentem ... prospera vel adversa.’ (f.xivv col. 1). I have found no source for this.

‘Nam in illa beatissima passione ... illuminatio mea in deliciis’ (f.xivv col. 1-2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xxiv'-xxx').

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Exemplum spiritus fortitudinis.** (f.xivv col. 2)
This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.

**Memoria passionis domini confertur etiam donum consilii.** (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1-xiii\(^v\) col. 1)

‘Per deuotam et frequentem ... spiritu consilii subleuatur: hoc modo’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1).

I have found no source for this.

‘Cogitanti primo quomodo dominus noster Ihesu Christus ... plenus fuerit amaritudine et dolore’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xviii\(^v\)-xviii\(^\nu\)).

‘Precisa enim fuit hec vera vitis ... mirre & felle mixtum’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1-2) is from St Bonaventure, *Vitis Mystica* (*PL* 184: 0638C).

‘ex quibus iam consurgit...in domino deo suo requescit’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 2) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xviii\(^v\)-xix\(^r\)).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Exemplum spiritus consilii.** (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1-2)

This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.

**Memoria passionis domini confertur donum intellectus.** (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 2-xiii\(^v\) col. 1)

‘Per frequentem et deuotam ... per donum intellectus hoc modo’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 2).

I have found no source for this.

‘Cum homo corde pio cogitat qui filius dei voluit ... in domine Ihesu suo requiescit’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 2-f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xvii\(^v\)-xviii\(^r\)).

‘Nam primo homo ad hoc conditus fuit ... diligit semper mansura confidat’ (f.xiii\(^v\) col.2-xiii\(^v\) col. 1) is from Hugh of St Victor’s *De Arca Noe*, I.i.

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Exemplum huius spiritus scilicet intellectus.** (f.xiii\(^v\) col. 1-2)
This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.

**Memoria passionis domini confertur donum sapientie.** (f.xiii\textsuperscript{v} col. 2-xv\textsuperscript{v} col. 1)

‘Per deuotam et frequentem ... virtutis atque gratie’ (f.xv\textsuperscript{v} col.1-2). I have found no source for this.

‘Nam dum homo considerat potentissimum ... sponsam cum sponso requescere’ (f.xv\textsuperscript{v} col.2-xv\textsuperscript{v} col. 1) is from *Stimulus Amoris* I.9 (f.xvi\textsuperscript{r}-xvii\textsuperscript{r}).

I have found no source for the rest of the section.

**Exemplum illius spiritus sapientie.** (f.xv\textsuperscript{v} col. 2-xvi\textsuperscript{r} col. 1)

This is from Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*, as acknowledged by Pinder and Fewterer.
Appendix 3: St Paul’s Cathedral MS 52. B. 22

1. Text omitted in the first twenty-seven folios of the manuscript version of the *Myrrour*

[References to the manuscript are abbreviated to ‘MS’. References to the *Myrrour* are to the printed edition of 1534. References in brackets are to the page and line numbers of the present edition.]

MS f.1v: ‘& put it into our natyue & mother tongue ... rudely and barbarously set forward.’ *Myrrour* sig. +ii (1/4-11).

MS f.3v: ‘And this shall better appere ... to the passion of our lorde.’ *Myrrour* sig. +iii (4/8-16).

MS f.5v: The entire section: ‘The Division of this treatise or mirrour’ is omitted. *Myrrour* sig. ivv'-vi (9-12).

MS f.5v: ‘Of the first perticle that is an exortation mouyng men vnto the meditation of the passion of Christe’ (chapter heading). *Myrrour* f.i (13/1-2).

MS f.10v: ‘Moreouer we rede in the same boke ... in the sayde boke if it please you.’ *Myrrour* f.iii (19/23-20/29).

MS f.11v: ‘Of the meane and maner of the remembraunce of the passion of Christe. The second particle’ (chapter heading). *Myrrour* f.iii (22/1-2).

MS f.12v: ‘The thirde particle: howe we shulde fele in ourselfe the passion of Christ; and this particle is deuided into v chapitres. Firste is howe we shulde fele the passion of Christe in our vnderstandynge and reason’ (chapter heading). *Myrrour* f.iv (25/1-4).

MS f.13v: ‘In the first particle’ (margin note). *Myrrour* f.v (25/9).


MS f.17v: ‘How we shuld fele Christes passion in our actes and dedes’ (chapter heading). *Myrrour* f.vii (30/26).
MS f.18v: ‘How we shulde fele Christes passion in our pouertie and other necessities’ (chapter heading). *Myrrou* f.vii (32/25-6).


MS f.19v: ‘How we shuld fele Christes passion in our rebukes and dispisynges’ (chapter heading). *Myrrou* f.vii (34/5-6).

MS f.20v: ‘The iii particle ... and it is diuided into vi Chapitres. Howe we may considre Christes passion with a mynde to folowe it. Chap. i’ (chapter heading). *Myrrou* f.ix (36/1-3).

MS f.23v: ‘How we may considre the passion of Christe to haue compassion therof’ (chapter heading). *Myrrou* f.x (39/23-4).


MS f.26v: ‘How we shuld consydre Christes passion to reioyse and ioy therin’ (chapter heading). *Myrrou* xii (44/20-21).

2. Textual variations between the manuscript (first twenty-seven folios) and printed version of the *Myrrou*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Printed <em>Myrrou</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>slouthfull and dull (2r)</td>
<td>dull and slouthfull (sig.+iiy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peradventure wold (2r)</td>
<td>wold peraduerture (sig.+iiy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for his excellent meryte (3r)</td>
<td>or the excellent merit (sig. +iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dearlie biloved sonne (4r)</td>
<td>deare beloued sonne (sig.+iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>token &amp; signe (4r)</td>
<td>signe and token (sig.+iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water vnto my heade (4r)</td>
<td>water vnto me heade (sig.+iii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyueth her (6r)</td>
<td>gyueth to her (i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuscript</td>
<td>Printed Myrour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slea another (7r)</td>
<td>slee another man (iγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his deathe doth give lyef (7r)</td>
<td>this deth doth gyue life (iiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beare and susteyne (8r)</td>
<td>susteyne and beare (iiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very stronge and highe (8r)</td>
<td>stronge and very hygh (iiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onelie that fervent love (9r)</td>
<td>onely the said feruent loue (iiiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burnynge and fervent (10r)</td>
<td>burnynge or feruente (ivγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and allso a lambe (12r)</td>
<td>and also of a lambe (iiiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brought furth plentye (12r)</td>
<td>brought suche plentye (iiiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[omitted] (12r)</td>
<td>or payne takynges (vγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in a wate to take hym (15r)</td>
<td>in a wayt of hym to take hym (viγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iesu Christo (16r)</td>
<td>Christo Iesu (viγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross and that is (17r)</td>
<td>crosse that is (viiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and to redeme man (20r)</td>
<td>and that to redeme man (ixγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whear as he is a pilgryme (22r)</td>
<td>where as he is as a pilgrem (xγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffereth here (22r)</td>
<td>here suffereth (xγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vngloryouse in the worlde to come (22r)</td>
<td>in the world to come vnglorious (xγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Augustyne (24r)</td>
<td>saynt Austen (xiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castigat, corrigit (24r)</td>
<td>corrigit: castigat (xiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the proude (24r)</td>
<td>the proude persone (xiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to say as augmenta (25r)</td>
<td>to say by interpretation as augmenta (xiiγ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therefore the Scripture saith (26r)</td>
<td>therefore scripture sayth (xiiγ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Transcription of the writing on the flyleaf

[Abbreviations are expanded, with missing letters italicised. Punctuation has been preserved. Alexandra da Costa transcribes the note about Fewterer’s letter in ‘Fewterer’s Glass’ (9) but not the ‘A’ note above it. The phrase ‘Affections temed and qualified: vide R’ directs the reader to a note headed ‘R’ at the bottom of f.17.1 The words ‘assuaged’ and ‘asayll’ seem to have been added later, as they are cramped between lines, and a scribbled arrow points up to them, between the words ‘Affections’ and ‘temed’.

A
assuaged asayll
Affections*temed & qualifyed: vide R:
Ayde, assystaunce, helpe,

I sende yow a lettre By John Fewterer, of his procedings & his & my rekenyngs, for horsfall came not to mee. [which ... have not] within which lettre ys a note of his own hand of his accompte, which yf yt be not delyuered yow, upon suche advertysment I shall assure yow of owr sayde doings & conclusyons.

---

1 ‘R: Reule all affections, brydle vnhonest desyres, subdew the vnruly motions of the mynd, kepe the whole estate of the mynd in suche a frame, y’nothinge aryse, which with any boysterous blaste may shake or dysquiet yt, to wayn him sellf from his owne will, tame and qualifye the affections.’
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Most of the early printed books listed with STC numbers are available in digitised form on EEBO. For other books available online, URL addresses are supplied. For books listed in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, ISTC numbers are included. Where original copies have been examined, library shelfmarks are included. Where publication information has been suggested by the STC or by a library catalogue, rather than being present in the book, this is indicated by square brackets.

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