AN EDITION OF MARIAN DEVOTIONAL TEXTS EXTANT IN ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY-SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

ELIZABETH MAY TOWL

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Otago, Dunedin,

New Zealand

October 2010
In this study I edit eight texts extant in manuscripts from the fifteenth and early-sixteenth century. Their similarity lies not only in their historical moment; they are all connected to the cult of the Virgin Mary, and they are all in Middle English prose. Finally, and most importantly, they were all in need of editing or re-editing; this thesis seeks primarily to address this last consideration by providing critical editions of these texts.

Much Marian material has already been edited, particularly if it is or was thought to bear the mark of a known author, is in verse, or is found in at least one well-known manuscript. There are many devotional texts which fall outside of these categories, however, and which have escaped critical notice. Because they have “flown under the radar”, these texts remain largely unavailable. I hope that by providing access to them, this edition will help to further understanding of the development of Mary’s cult and late medieval piety. Several of the texts exist in two or more versions; these texts are presented as facing-page, parallel editions, which are designed for ease of comparison. Textual variants are given at the foot of the page.

The Rule of the Life of Our Lady is edited below in its two versions; version A from London, British Library MS Harley 2339 and version B from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938. Two texts from London, Lambeth Palace MS 546, the Fifteen Steads and Fifteen Sorrows devotions, follow. The Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin meditation is edited from Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33. The Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin appears in three versions: the first is edited from Cambridge, University Library Additional MS 6686, the second from Cambridge, University Library
ABSTRACT

MS II.6.43 and the third from New Haven, Beinecke MS 317. The Treatise on Ave Maris Stella and version B of the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet are edited from London, British Library MS Arundel 286, while version A of the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet is edited from London, Westminster School MS 3. The last text in the edition is the Commentary on the Ave Maria, edited from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296.
PREFACE

Before I began this project, I had never worked with manuscripts and had seen only one. Having been raised a Protestant, I had always assumed that the Immaculate Conception and the Annunciation referred to the same event. Consequently, I needed a lot of help.

I found that help and a lot of tolerance in my supervisors, Dr Greg Waite, and Professor Lyn Tribble. I am very grateful to them for their advice and support, which was freely given at all times. I am also thankful to the Department of English, the Division of Humanities and the University of Otago for the facilities and support that I have received during my candidacy. The people make the institution; I have been lucky to enjoy the support of the faculty and the companionship of my postgraduate colleagues.

The nature of this project necessitated my visiting a number of different libraries and the use of many digital images and microfilms; I am very grateful for the access and assistance that I received from those libraries and their imaging services. I offer my thanks to the staff of the British Library, Bodleian Library, Lambeth Palace Library, Norwich Castle Museum, Cambridge University Library, the Cambridge College libraries (Corpus Christi, Magdalene, Sidney Sussex and St John’s), Glasgow University Library, the Beinecke Library and the Huntington Library. I would specifically like to mention Westminster School Library and its staff, who made me feel so welcome for an extended period during my first research trip to the UK. I am grateful, also, for the help and leads offered by other scholars and experts including Dr Christopher de Hamel, Parker Librarian, Corpus Christ College, Cambridge, and Anthony Tedeschi, Reed Librarian, Public Library, Dunedin.

Several people took me into their homes around the UK while I was there on
Preface

research, and I could not have managed without their accommodation and their local knowledge. I am very grateful to Valerie Probert, Dr Audrey Meaney, and Pete and Caroline Osborne for their kindness.

A lot of life happened in the course of my candidature. I can, and do, thank the unfailing support of my friends and family for my continued sanity (such as it is). In particular, these truly special people kept me going: Cassie, Catherine, Emily, Fiona, Linda, Lynda, Mary and Pete. To the Daves: thank you for your occasionally rabid protectiveness and your continually entertaining cynicism. On a more boringly practical note, Day, thanks for sorting out my formatting woes—the parallel texts would not have worked without your help.

Finally, to my parents: I can’t begin to write what you’ve done for me. This, all of it, is for you.
# Table of Contents

## Introduction to Texts and Sources

- *Rule of the Life of Our Lady* 42
- *Fifteen Steads and Fifteen Sorrows Devotions* 52
- *A Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin* 57
- *A Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin* 64
- *Treatise on Ave Maris Stella* 72
- *Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet* 78
- *Commentary on the Ave Maria* 85

## Manuscript Descriptions

- London, British Library MS Arundel 286 (MS B3) 96
- London, British Library MS Harley 2339 (MS B6) 108
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London, Lambeth Palace MS 546 (MS L)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Westminster School MS 3 (MS W)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6686 (MS C1)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, University Library MS Fr.6.33 (MS C2)</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, University Library MS Il.6.43 (MS C4)</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (MS CC)</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (MS O2)</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Haven, CT, Beinecke MS 317 (MS NH)</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-copy Manuscripts</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Procedure</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Texts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rule of the Life of Our Lady</em></td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fifteen Steads and Fifteen Sorrows Devotions</em></td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin</em></td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin</em></td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Treatise on Ave Maris Stella</em></td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet</em></td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Commentary on the Ave Maria</em></td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

Index of Proper Nouns 593

Appendix

*Appendix: Vision of St John Version A, Prayers* 600

Works Cited 605
ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscript Sigla

B1  London, British Library MS Additional 11748
B2  London, British Library MS Additional 37787
B3  London, British Library MS Arundel 286
B4  London, British Library MS Harley 1022
B5  London, British Library MS Harley 2339
B6  London, British Library MS Royal 8. C. i
L   London, Lambeth Palace MS 546
W   London, Westminster School MS 3
C1  Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6686
C2  Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33
C3  Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.11
C4  Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43
CC  Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296
CM  Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125
CJ  Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208
CS  Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74
G   Glasgow, University Library Hunterian MS 472
N   Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.296.4g3
O1  Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 41
O2  Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938
O3  Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 175
NH  New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 317
SM  San Marino, Huntington Library MS HM 127
# Abbreviations

## Text Sigla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Treatise on Ave Maris Stella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Commentary on Ave Maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ea</td>
<td>Ecce Virgo Concipiet, Version A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>Ecce Virgo Concipiet, Version B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ja</td>
<td>Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin, Version A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jb</td>
<td>Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin, Version B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jc</td>
<td>Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin, Version C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Fifteen Steads (Places of the Passion) Devotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>Rule of the Life of Our Lady, Version A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rb</td>
<td>Rule of the Life of Our Lady, Version B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Fifteen Sorrows Devotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Bibliographical Abbreviations

- **Ancrene Wisse**
  - Millett, *Ancrene Wisse* (EETS OS 325–26) [Vol. 1, Text; Vol. 2, Notes]

- **Hali Meiðbad**
  - Millett, *Hali Meiðbad* (EETS OS 284)

- **Hodgson, *Hid Diuinitie***
  - Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite, and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to the Cloud of Unknowing* (EETS OS 231)

- **Hunterian Catalogue**
  - Young and Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*

- **Huntington Guide**
  - Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*

- **IMEP**
  - *The Index of Middle English Prose*

- **IMEV**
  - Brown and Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse*

- **IPMEP**
  - Lewis, Blake and Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isidore, <em>Etymologiae</em></td>
<td>Isidore of Seville, <em>Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MED</td>
<td><em>Middle English Dictionary</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCE</td>
<td><em>New Catholic Encyclopedia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIMEV</td>
<td>Boffey and Edwards, <em>A New Index of Middle English Verse</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td><em>Oxford English Dictionary</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODNB</td>
<td>Matthew and Harrison, <em>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG</td>
<td>Migne, <em>Patrologia Graeca</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Migne, <em>Patrologia Latina</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepys Catalogue</td>
<td>McKitterick and Beadle, <em>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargent, <em>Mirror R</em></td>
<td>Sargent, <em>The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>Madan, <em>Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This study provides critical editions of eight texts, four of which are at present unedited and extant only in manuscript copies, and four texts which are in need of re-editing. All are late-medieval devotional texts recorded in English prose, surviving in manuscripts of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, and connected with the Virgin Mary in one way or another. Collectively, they serve to add to our understanding of the Cult of the Virgin as it flourished both in monastic houses and among pious lay people in England up to the time of the Protestant Reformation.

The texts presented here reveal some of the Blessed Virgin’s many faces: devout, obedient virgin; caring intercessor; sorrowing mother; and icon of moral perfection. The Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R) is an account of the early life of the Virgin and her exemplary conduct during her time in the temple. The Fifteen Steads devotion (P) describes the pilgrimage that Our Lady was supposed (according to popular tradition) to have made every day after Christ’s death and Resurrection, visiting key locations of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, so that the reader might undertake the same journey imaginatively. The Fifteen Sorrows devotion (S) is a prayer invoking the Virgin, asking for help in memory of each of her sorrows in turn. The Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin (D) and the Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (J) are both accounts of conversations between Christ and the Blessed Virgin concerning the Passion. The last three texts in this edition are treatises related to Marian texts that use the Blessed Virgin as an exemplar of perfect conduct. The Treatise on Ave Maris Stella (A) uses the invocations from the first stanza of the Marian hymn “Ave Maris Stella” to begin a treatise on humility. “Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium” (Isaiah 7:14), a prophecy of the Virgin Birth, is the founding
INTRODUCTION

text for a treatise on virginity in the *Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet* (E). The *Commentary on the Ave Maria* (C) explains the clauses of the angelic salutation, before juxtaposing the dissolute behaviour of the upper classes against the Virgin's fullness of grace and the good example offered by the saints. Full discussions of the texts are provided in each text's introduction below; the general remarks here are intended to give a sense of their diversity and the range and combinations of genres, themes and modes of piety that these texts reflect.

This introduction will address the key developments in late-medieval piety which are suggested most strongly by the texts themselves.¹ I will begin with a brief outline of Mary’s *cultus*, before discussing two key areas of late-medieval devotion that are especially predominant in the texts outlined above: affective piety and the cult of the *Mater Dolorosa*. In the next section, I shift focus to the manuscripts in which these texts are found; I will consider the audience of these texts suggested by what we know of the origins of the manuscripts and the key centres of production for those manuscripts. I will then address the predominant type of manuscript represented here, the devotional miscellany. The last section of the introduction will outline the selection criteria for the study and explain its contribution.

**The Cult of the Virgin**

The Blessed Virgin Mary is a potent figure within the culture of medieval Europe. Her cult had had a long history, and by the later Middle Ages it “was one of the most widespread and dynamic aspects of late medieval spirituality” (Swanson 144). Eamon Duffy asserts that the Blessed Virgin’s “cult came second only to that of Christ himself; and

---

¹ A full account of the cult of the Virgin and late medieval piety is beyond the scope of this study, but I will sketch here a few of the key features of the cult and the devotional environment most relevant to these texts.
Introduction

towered above that of all other saints” (Altars 256). Her many devotees were drawn to her as she accrued virtues, titles and intercessory power.

The limited material in the Gospels testifying to the actual, historical Mary is not sufficient to explain her importance in early Christian worship and the development of her cult. In the Gospels, she is the humble virgin (Luke 1), espoused to Joseph and made pregnant by the Holy Ghost (Matthew 1), who goes to visit and serve her pregnant cousin Elizabeth (Luke 1); she is the new mother in Bethlehem and at the Presentation to Simeon (Matthew 2, Luke 2), and the worried mother searching for her son in Jerusalem (Luke 2); she is the concerned guest at Cana (John 2); she is the witness at the foot of the cross (John 19), and the steadfast disciple in the Upper Room after the Ascension (Acts 1). These few references to the human woman who gave birth to the Son of God became evidence for those exegetes interested in Christ’s human parent and the repercussions of his humanity; they sought further evidence elsewhere in the Bible. The virginal conception of Christ, foretold in Isaiah’s messianic prophecy that “a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel” (Isaiah 7: 14), was confirmed and authorised by Matthew’s and Luke’s accounts of the Annunciation (Matthew 1; Luke 1). Because she was the woman who had brought forth Christ, she was connected to the woman “clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars” (Revelation 12: 1), who “brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with an iron rod: and her son was taken up to God, and to his throne” (Revelation 12: 5). The stories from the Apocrypha of Mary’s own conception, birth, and infancy, and of her passing from her earthly life provided further evidence. Over a period of centuries the exegetes deduced, reasoned and argued, until the woman of the Gospels had become the perpetually virginal, immaculately conceived co-redemptrix of the human race, who was assumed bodily into heaven, whence she reigns as
Many modern scholars, seeking to explain the key features and development of the Blessed Virgin’s cult, see in its initial stages Mary’s replacement of other, earlier, virginal-mother figures. As Miri Rubin points out, “Jesus was a god who had been mothered. It is, therefore, not surprising that in regions familiar with goddesses as mothers and gods suckled by mothers, local knowledge and traditions merged with thinking about Jesus and Mary” (Mother 40). Popular understanding of the Blessed Virgin was conditioned by the attributes of the mother goddesses and the virgin goddesses who had gone before her. Christian leaders suppressed the cults of the Virgin’s predecessors; in their place, Mary “assumed the presence and stature of all the goddesses before her—Cybele, Aphrodite, Demeter, Astarte, Isis, Hathor, Inanna and Ishtar. Like them, she is virgin [and/or] mother, and, like many of them, she gives birth to a half-human, half-divine child, who dies and is reborn” (Baring and Cashford 548). The similarities between these earlier mother goddesses and the mother of the Christian God resulted in a familiarity which allowed the former devotees of the virgin-mother goddesses easily to adopt her as their new patron.

Michael P. Carroll disagrees with the received wisdom suggested by comparative mythography; his explanation for the emergence of the cult of the Blessed Virgin is psychoanalytic and sociological. He argues that devotion to Mary results in men from “strong but strongly repressed” sexual desire in sons towards their mothers; for women, identifying with Mary “allows [them] to experience vicariously the fulfilment of their desire for sexual contact with, and a baby from, their fathers” (56–59). He argues that the prevalence of Marian devotion in Mediterranean countries (which he characterises partially as

---

2 As I note below, the Immaculate Conception, Assumption and Queenship of Mary were not ratified officially until 1854, 1950 and 1954 respectively, but were part of popular belief throughout the later middle ages. See below, pages 7–8, 11–12, and 13, for a discussion of these aspects of the Blessed Virgin’s cult.
being populated by men dominated by *machismo* from father-ineffective families (49–55)) and the influx of the Roman proletariat into the church in the fourth century (which he defines as being likewise predisposed towards father-ineffective family units (80–83; 89)) initiated the rise of the Marian cult in the fifth century and its power in the Roman Catholic church until the present day.\(^3\)

The Blessed Virgin was initially and primarily revered as the Mother of God. The title “Mother of God” results from an earlier honour: she was first officially declared *Theotokos*, the “God Bearer.” This title emerged out of a Christological, rather than a Mariological crisis. In 428, Nestorius preached that Mary was the mother of Christ’s human aspect alone, and not of the divine aspect of Christ; he argued that Christ’s divine nature did not require a normal human pregnancy and, by doing so, he very nearly divided Christ’s divinity from his humanity (Graef 27). The Nestorian controversy was eventually resolved (in Nestorius’ absence) at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Rubin points out that:

Ephesus was a meaningful choice, for by this time local tradition claimed that Mary had followed the Apostle John to that city and even that she had died there. The Christian exaltation of *Theotokos* occurred in the city still remembered as the centre of the cult of Artemis. (*Mother* 46)

In a city already reputed to have been Mary’s final earthly home and the centre of a powerful goddess cult, the Blessed Virgin was officially declared *Theotokos* and mother of the unified God-man.

---

3 These are not the only explanations for the prominence of the Virgin’s cult, nor of its key attributes. Geoffrey Ashe, for example, recognises the influence of the “Ewig-Weibliche” (Goethe’s term for the Goddess archetype), but argues that “Mary’s cult did not simply evolve” (33). He sees in its origins the influence of an early heretical religion, the “Collyridian” sect, which he considers to be part of a Marian Church. For Ashe, the Collyridians hint at a wide-spread, non-Christian religion, “drawn from the same sources [as Christianity], but distinct” (151), for which, in the absence of other evidence, he writes a fictional history (162–70).
The implications of the Blessed Virgin’s maternity are crucial to her cult. George W. Shea notes that it is in the writings of St Anselm that “one can discover [...] the basic Mariological principle [...] that her divine Maternity is the very well-spring of Mary’s dignity and prerogatives; from the divine Maternity Anselm infers Our Lady’s purity, virginity, sanctity and intercessory power” (287). Bernard, likewise, emphasised “the composite [principle] of the grandeur of Mary’s divine Maternity and her exalted role as Mediatrix between God and men, her association with the supreme Mediator in the work of our Redemption” (Shea 290).

As Shea notes, the Blessed Virgin’s maternity leads naturally to her role as intercessor between mankind and her son. Baring and Cashford recognise the power of Mary’s maternal influence; theologically, she “is a compassionate mother whose heartfelt plea no son could refuse” (582–83). As mother of Christ she is also mother of all the faithful. Her motherly care towards those who demonstrate that they love her is a key theme, for example, of the miracles ascribed to her. As protective mother, her role is “to pray for her adherents, for those who celebrated her feasts, who remembered her in their prayers, who chanted her hymns and recorded her life” (Rubin, Mother 117).

Being “she who bore God” soon was not enough. In order to preserve Christ from even the suggestion of the taint of original sin, his nativity had to be removed from those natural conditions of childbirth which implied Eve’s curse: pain, blood, “urine and faeces” (Baring and Cashford 539). This position precipitated two key developments in Mary’s cult: her Perpetual Virginity and her Immaculate Conception.

---

4 For further discussion of the Virgin’s intercession, see pages 6 and 10–11.
5 See, among others, miracles 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 13 and 20 of *The Myracles of Oure Lady, Ed. from Wynkyn de Worde’s Edition*, ed. Peter Whiteford, Middle English Texts 23 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1990).
INTRODUCTION

Mary’s virginal conception was a well-established scriptural fact; the perpetuity of her virginity was a new distinction. At the Fourth Ecumenical Council of the Church at Chalcedon in 451, “Mary was awarded the greatest honour in Christendom: she was given the official title of *Aeiparthenos*, ‘Ever-Virgin’, so she was now deemed to be virgin before, during and after birth” (Baring and Cashford 551). A number of analogies later developed to explain Mary’s post-partum virginity: for Rabanus Maurus (d. 780), for example, she was the burning bush of Exodus 3, “because she brought forth the divine radiance without being consumed by it” (Gambero 67); in the fourteenth-century Birgittine *Sermo Angelicus*, Christ emanated from her like the scent from a rose, which leaves the rose intact (Ellis 226).

From approximately the twelfth century, in addition to her extraordinary virginity, the Blessed Virgin began to be credited with the distinction of being the only human being other than Christ himself to be born without original sin (Rubin, *Mother* 303). Augustine had earlier argued that, although Mary would have been born in the usual way, she must have been exempt in some way from the taint of original sin. He did not advocate, specifically, the Immaculate Conception as it came to be known later (Baring and Cashford 552). Baring and Cashford point out that much of the argument in favour of the Immaculate Conception was “theoretical and counterfactual. Mary must have been immaculate or she would not have been Christ’s mother” (552). Rubin explains that:

> God dwelt in Mary and so she had to be spotless, perfect. [...] The Franciscan theologian Duns Scotus (1266–1308) elaborated most clearly the necessity of Mary’s Conception without sin: God prepared Mary as a fitting mother of God. Mary’s *natural* humanity, which Franciscans valued so greatly, required an

---

6 The key texts supporting this position are the messianic prophecy “Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son”, (Isaiah 7:14) and Mary’s astonished response when told that she would give birth: “How shall this be done, because I know not man?” (Luke 1:34).
infusion of grace to make her worthy of the motherhood of Christ. (Mother 303; Rubin’s italics)

Although the Immaculate Conception did not become dogma until 1854, Mary’s Immaculate Conception had been for some part of traditional belief and theological argument for centuries.

Whether she was immaculately conceived or not, her son certainly was, and his conception and Incarnation without the taint of sin was the primary condition for the reversal of the Fall. Adam, the first man, had fallen because of his subsequent involvement in Eve’s disobedience; Christ, through his humanity, his utterly sin-free state and his undeserved death, atoned for and reversed the Fall as the “Second Adam.” From the fourth century onwards, Mary began to be considered a “Second Eve” (Baring and Cashford 537). Pelikan explains that:

Salvation depended on the true and complete humanity of Christ in his life and death; that true and complete humanity depended in turn on his having been truly born; and his birth in its turn depended on his having had a mother who was truly and completely human. And if [...] it was the voluntary and virginal obedience of Mary by which the voluntary and virginal disobedience of Eve was undone and set aright, Mary became, by that voluntary obedience, both the Second Eve and the principal guarantee of Christ’s humanity. (50; Pelikan's italics)

Her perfect obedience at the Annunciation (“Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word”; Luke 1:38) was the first of her two key roles in the history of the salvation of mankind; the second occurred at the foot of the Cross.

The Blessed Virgin’s role during Christ’s Passion was not only that of chief
mourner. In her grief, as “the most important and the most involved spectator at the crucifixion” (Pelikan 126), she became the perfect model of compassion. Anselm of Canterbury, Bestul notes, “finds in her emotional reaction to the Passion an ideal model of how one who contemplates these same events in meditation should be moved by them” (Texts 37). Beginning in the twelfth century and steadily accelerating through the middle of the thirteenth century, attention to the events of the Passion intensified in response to an increasing interest in the humanity of Christ (Bestul, Texts 37, 113). Passion meditations came increasingly to emphasise the Blessed Virgin’s suffering alongside that of her son. This “drama of loss and bereavement” became more detailed, and consequently “[a]s Jesus’ pain was made more graphic so was Mary’s agony in beholding it” (Rubin, Mother 246).

Two important devotional developments emerged out of this intense interest in the Mother suffering at the foot of the cross. Duffy characterises the first, the cult of the Mother of Sorrows or Mater dolorosa, as “the most distinctive manifestation of Marian piety in late medieval England”, noting also that it was a “European rather than a merely English phenomenon” (Duffy, Altars 258–59). Because of the importance of the cult of the Mother of Sorrows to the texts in this study, I discuss it separately below.

The second development was a belief in Mary’s co-redemption. As Passion meditations emphasised her active participation in the Passion, where she suffered alongside Christ, they began to intimate that she suffered as “a representative of all humanity” (Bestul, Texts 37). Bestul explains further that, “in the course of the twelfth century a theological doctrine began to form that stressed the idea of Mary’s unique compassion, or co-suffering, with Christ, a doctrine that gradually created an exalted position for Mary as the co-

---

7 See further the discussion of affective piety below, pages 15–20.
8 See pages 21–23.
INTRODUCTION

redemptrix of the human race” (*Texts* 112–13). As co-redemptrix, closing the gap between Christ and the people for whom he died by suffering with him, the Blessed Virgin strengthened the case for her ability to mediate between mankind and her son (Bestul, *Texts* 45).

Mary’s role as Mediatrix and “Mother of Mercy”, therefore, arose out of her two key roles in the redemption of mankind: her willing participation in the Incarnation of Christ and her co-passion with Christ during his Crucifixion. Pelikan explains the effect of the Virgin’s involvement, stating that “[b]y her participation in redemption she had filled heaven with the saved and had emptied hell of those who would have been condemned except for her” (131). Her mediatory power extends beyond her place in the narrative of the Atonement, however; she intercedes with her son on behalf of those who pray to her (Pelikan 132). Although her intercessory power is considered to be strong, it is firmly circumscribed. Marina Warner notes that the theology of the Virgin’s intercession maintains very strictly that the Virgin does not have the power to grant any boon by herself, but only intercedes with her son, who as God is the only source of salvation. But the powers of mediation attributed to her throughout Christianity are considered sovereign: the son can refuse his mother nothing. (286)

Her devotees approach her as “a human mother who brims over with a mother's love” (M. Warner 286). She is their last chance, the mother who “can be swayed by feelings of compassion for the suffering of sinners, whereas [Christ], the righteous judge, only enacts the law whatever the punishment, in spite of the fact that in the Gospels he is the one who refuses to judge” (Baring and Cashford 584). Her calling, to mediate the divine through her human maternity, gave her the prerogative to mediate on behalf of humanity with the
INTRODUCTION

divine.

Long after the events of the Annunciation, Incarnation and Passion, the Virgin’s mediation is conducted from heaven. The Roman Catholic faith teaches that she was assumed bodily into heaven and was there crowned by her son “Queen of Heaven.” The official proclamations of the Virgin’s Bodily Assumption and heavenly Queenship occurred in the mid-twentieth century (1950 and 1954 respectively; M. Warner 82, 116), but both of these beliefs had long standing in the history of Marian piety.

The question of the Blessed Virgin’s end was an early concern. So little was known about its nature that it is even now usually termed a “dormition” (“falling asleep”) rather than a “death.” Unlike other saints, the Virgin did not leave behind a corpse; the lack of a body to visit and venerate caused people to begin to suspect that her body was, for one reason or another, not accessible, and to create narratives that explained what little information they had (M. Warner 82).

At about the turn of the sixth century, a range of narratives appear which describe the end of her earthly life (Shoemaker 5). Shoemaker notes that there are a series of facets of the story common to all of the many early versions of the narrative: “Mary’s death in Jerusalem; the involvement of at least a few of the apostles; Christ’s reception of his mother’s soul; the transfer of Mary in body and/or soul to Paradise; and the imagined hostility of the Jews towards Mary” (2). Broadly speaking, these narratives fall into two groups: those in which Mary’s body as well as her soul are taken to heaven; and those in which only Mary’s soul is transported to heaven, while her body remains on earth awaiting the end of days (Shoemaker 3). The two traditions seem to have developed alongside one another; Shoemaker rejects the attempts at relating these approaches chronologically because there is insufficient evidence to suggest which of the two might have preceded the other (5).
INTRODUCTION

The *Transitus Mariae* was the narrative of Mary’s final days most popular in Western Christendom; its influence is clear in artistic representations of the Dormition and it provides a reason for the Blessed Virgin’s possible bodily removal from earth—her purity (M. Warner 84–85). The account is a “Latin translation of a Greek document attributed to Melito, the renowned second-century bishop of Sardis” (M. Warner 84). In this account, Mary dies, but is immediately resurrected. Christ tells her: “thou that didst not suffer corruption by union of the flesh shalt not suffer dissolution of the body in the sepulchre” (17:1, James, *Apocrypha* 216). Consequently, her living body is transported to heaven by angels (18:2, James, *Apocrypha* 216). Because “she lived pure, she shall not be submitted to the impurity of death, or, like sinful Adam, dissolve into dust” (M. Warner 85).

Pelikan notes that the Blessed Virgin’s participation in the redemption was another key argument in favour of the bodily Assumption. He states that:

In her function as the representative of the human race [...] she had uniquely documented the subtle relation between divine grace and human freedom when, by her voluntary assent to God’s plan of redemption through her Son [...] she had set in motion the series of events that would lead to the redemption of humanity and its victory over sin and death through the resurrection of Christ. Her victory over sin, original and actual, had been achieved through the unique gift, conferred on her as a consequence of the merits of Jesus Christ, of being spared the burden of original sin through her immaculate conception. (209)

Pelikan explains that this position—incorporating both the Virgin’s obedience to the divine will and her immaculate nature—is consistent with “the larger body of Christian teaching and the Mariological development that had preceded it” (209).

Having been transported body and soul to heaven, the Virgin was then crowned
“Queen of Heaven.” Like the Immaculate Conception and the Bodily Assumption, popular belief in Mary’s Queenship significantly predated the Church’s official recognition. Rubin points out that:

[by] the twelfth century it was clear to all that Mary’s extraordinary end was followed by Assumption into heaven and Coronation by her son. So two formative strands met in Mary: bridehood and queenship; Mary, like all brides, was treated as a queen who was crowned, heralded and preciously adorned on her wedding day. (Mother 306)

Three of the four great Marian antiphons invoke Mary as “Queen”: Ave Regina Caelorum, Regina Caeli, and Salve Regina (Graef 55). Her Coronation became a popular focus for artists (Rubin, Mother 306). The images of the Coronation echoed nuptial scenes: “Mary and Jesus—bride and bridegroom—were often shown sitting companionably, equal in size, while Jesus crowns his mother’s slightly bent head” (Rubin, Mother 306). This imagery reflects the last of the Virgin’s personae: the Bride of Christ.

The laudatory phrases of the Song of Songs nourished Mary’s characterisation as the Bride of Christ. They reinforced belief in both Mary’s Immaculate Conception and her Assumption. She was “fair” and “comely”, there was “no spot in [her]” and she rose up and was crowned (Song of Songs 4: 7–8, 11). Christ was already her son, father (because God is Father as well as Son) and her Lord; as her bridegroom, he fulfilled the last of the typical relationships between male and female.

The Bride in the Song of Songs was also read as a representation of the Church,

---

9 The fourth is Alma Redemptoris Mater.
INTRODUCTION

with whom Mary had long been identified. In addition to the connection through the person of the Bride, both the Church and Mary were considered to be the “woman clothed with the sun [... who brings] forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with an iron rod” prophesied in the Apocalypse (Revelation 12:1–5). Revelation 12 outlines also the enmity between the woman, her son and a dragon, which in turn was identified with the serpent of Genesis. The woman and her seed were to crush the heads of the serpent and its seed (Genesis 3:14), just as Christ was to triumph over sin.

Graef outlines how the Fathers further explained the identification of Mary with the Church. For Ambrose, “Mary is ‘the type of the Church’ [because, just as] Mary brought forth Christ as a virgin and without pain, so the Church brings forth her children in baptism as a virgin, without suffering” (Graef 21). Augustine also connected the Blessed Virgin and the Church through “their virginal motherhood, the Church being a mother through her charity, a virgin because of the integrity of her faith” (Graef 22). Bede extended the connection between the Blessed Virgin’s virginal motherhood to her metaphorical labour at the foot of the cross:

the Church conceives Christians by the Spirit and gives birth to them without pain, just as Mary conceived and brought forth Christ, both remaining virgins even in the act of giving birth; and as Mary suffered pain under the cross, so did the Church in the persecutions. (Graef 23)

Just as Mary was mother to all Christians, so was the Church; just as the Church mediated between the human and divine, so Mary did also.

All of these characteristics—her maternity, purity, sorrow, mercy, queenship,

---

10 Jeffrey explains that “[i]n traditional Catholic doctrine the symbolic images applied to the Church generally (generaliter) applied with special force (specialiter) to the Virgin Mary, as paradigm of the Church; thus the Mother of God became also, paradoxically, the Bride of Christ” (Dictionary 108).
INTRODUCTION

bridehood—meant that the Virgin had almost universal devotional appeal. As Miri Rubin has it:

Mary was central to the identification and lives of medieval people in many different ways. There was the monk whose life of liturgical action and inner struggle found solace and inspiration in the Virgin Mary. There were nuns whose devotions were particularly attached to Mary as Christ’s bride, and as Virgin, and other nuns who favored the fantasy of motherhood through immersion in Mary’s own. There were dynasts who saw in Mary exalted royalty, and the promise of dynastic fecundity and health; and there was neighbourhood Mary, at street corners and in parish churches. This loving mother reminded people of the code of Christian life to which they must adhere and in which they so often failed. (Emotion 46–47)

Rubin’s description testifies to the Virgin’s influence; there were few members of society from whom she was remote or for whom she lacked relevance.

Predominant Themes: Affective Piety and the Cult of the Sorrowful Mother

Two closely interrelated aspects of late medieval devotion predominate in the texts edited here: affective piety and the cult of the Mother of Sorrows. The material that follows here sketches the key features of these themes as a context for the texts in this study.

In the later Middle Ages, the love of God for man and of man for God was expressed prominently and popularly through affective piety. This mode of devotion is particularly noticeable in this study in the Steads (P) and Sorrows (S) devotions, the Vision of St John (J)
and the *Doctor of the Church* (D) text. In general terms, affective piety encourages the emotions to fuel a burning desire for the soul’s perfection; it relies on emotional engagement and identification for its impact. This close identification is achieved by recognising Christ’s humanity; this shared humanity becomes “a kind of bridge over which [affective piety] can transfer to His Person responses [...] with which [the meditator] is familiar from elsewhere” (Ong 321).

Using the facets of Christ’s human life with which even the most simple could identify (his infancy, poverty, hunger and physical pain, for example), affective preachers and writers fostered a closer bond with Christ’s divinity. Having established a general level of identification with his humanity, the affective approach intensified this connection by focusing on the details pertinent to that humanity: the chill of the stable on a winter’s night; the roughness of the cloth used to swaddle the baby Jesus; the tenderness of his mother’s attentions; the bloody wounds on his back from his scourging; the way that his garments must have adhered to those same bloody wounds; his mother’s desolate attentions to his body after his death. Although these details were not necessarily scripturally accurate, they were grounded in a realism extrapolated from scripture, from patristic exegesis and from scholastic deliberation.

Bestul notes the first steps towards a specifically affective devotional mode in the writings of Saints Anselm, Bernard and Aelred, who all recognise and focus upon Christ’s humanity as the common bond between meditator and Saviour (“Antecedents” 1–17). This shared humanity became the key to Anselm’s theory of the redemption of mankind (Bestul, “Antecedents” 1–2). Anselm’s writings invoke Christ’s humanity in order to stir the

---

11 For further information on these texts see their introductions. For the *Fifteen Steads* and *Fifteen Sorrows* devotions see pages 52–56; for the *Vision of St John* see pages 64–72; for the *Doctor of the Church* text see pages 57–64.
emotions and to “arouse a subjective response [... in order to motivate the reader] to the love and fear of God, or to self examination” (“Antecedents” 8). Bestul notes in Anselm’s *Prayer to Christ* an early example of a popular rhetorical method for inciting a subjective response: the “speaker who summons the memory and imagination to recreate the events of the passion as though he were physically present” (“Antecedents” 6). The *Prayer to Christ* is partially a record of Anselm’s actively engaging his own emotions: he compels himself to watch an innocent fellow human being tortured horribly to death for his sin.

Bernard’s theology of the love of God was likewise rooted in Christ’s humanity. For Bernard, “intense concentration on the earthly life of Christ [was] a means of enkindling love in those who [found] themselves in the initial stages of the contemplative life” (Bestul, “Antecedents” 12). Bestul notes that:

Bernard was perhaps the paramount witness for the later Middle Ages of the usefulness, and indeed the joy, to be found in a variety of contemplation which took as its starting place concentrated meditation on the events of Christ’s life, and, grounded in love for his physical nature, led away from its beginning in corporeal images to a wholly spiritual love and a transcendent vision of the divine. (“Antecedents” 13–14)

As with later medieval writers and contemplatives, much of Bernard’s contemplation of Christ’s earthly life was focused upon Christ’s earthly death; Bernard’s particular devotion to Christ crucified stimulated later Passion devotion (Bestul, “Antecedents” 13). Bernard’s influence, and especially his emphasis of devotion to Christ’s Passion, can be felt in the texts edited here. The four most affective texts—the *Steads* (P) and *Sorrows* (S) devotions, the *Vision of St John* (J) and the *Doctor of the Church* (D) text—all devote significant attention to the Passion.
Like Anselm and Bernard before him, Aelred advocated imagining the events of Christ’s human life in order to inspire devotion. For Aelred, the emotions are “the essential medium by which our love of God is expressed [... and] are best aroused by forming detailed mental images in our minds of the events themselves and thinking on them as though we were present at the actual scene” (Bestul, “Antecedents” 15). Although separated from the Passion by time and space, the approach that Anselm, Bernard and Aelred advocated allowed the meditator to close the gap imaginatively and participate in Christ’s sacrifice.

Hirsh tracks the development of affective piety in its early stages and in the monastic context. He emphasises that the founding precept of affective devotion is a “felt relationship between a divine being and a human agent [and] is a medieval development, resting as it does on a concept of the individual which began to gain currency only in the eleventh century” (12-13). The monastery provided a situation in which “personal attitudes [were] acknowledged along with communal ones [... in which remained] a tension […] between the requirements of the subject in prayer and those of the community of which he or she was a part” (13). Within the communal context there existed an expectation of individual prayer, and the compilers of the manuscripts that began to emerge which catered to that expectation “recorded the first examples of an individual response to God” (16). He discusses in particular British Library MS Egerton 3763, a twelfth-century manuscript compiled for the private devotion of Archbishop Arnulf II of Milan. Although most of its contents are extant in other manuscripts, Hirsh argues that the arrangement of the texts in the manuscript “suggest[s] a conscious effort to engage deeply the individual reader in his prayers and devotions” (17). The articles within the manuscript are arranged in order to suit the particular reader, and are grouped to initiate an intense emotional response. The cumulative effect of the prayers for repentance at the opening of Archbishop Arnulf’s manuscript, for example, is that, “conditioned by the repeated invocations to divine mercy, [...] the reader
INTRODUCTION

[will become disposed] to an awareness of his own sinful state and of past weaknesses, against which stands a present source of strength” (18). Each group of prayers has their own focus, and their sequence leads the reader through a “clear program of private devotion” in which the response of the subject-reader is the primary concern (20).

Affective devotion emerged from these initially monastic origins through the ministry of the Franciscans. The emphasis on a personal connection with Christ’s humanity resonated with their spirituality, which centred on a principle of identification with Christ’s humanity within the context of redemption (Jeffrey, “Drama” 20). The emphasis on sharing human flesh with Christ was not specific to Franciscans, but it was key to their theology of redemption; their evangelical calling and mendicant lifestyle facilitated the spread of the phenomenon among the people.¹²

The Atonement was the “thematic centre” of Franciscan spirituality (Jeffrey, Lyric 53). Christ’s death on the cross re-established the balance lost to all Creation through mankind’s disobedience at the beginning of time, because “since human nature had sinned, human nature had to atone for the sin, and it was in his divine nature that Christ was able to become a truly surrogative sacrifice” (Jeffrey, Lyric 53). It was the “surrogative” nature of the suffering that lay at the centre of affective piety. Christ suffered as man for man, and

¹² Sarah McNamer takes issue with scholarly annexation of compassionate devotion to St Francis and his order. She provides an earlier, female example of typically “Franciscan” compassion in Marie d’Oignies (Affective Meditation 86). Although she does not attempt to prove that Marie necessarily influenced St Francis, she intends to undermine Franciscan claims to originality in what has been characterised as typically Franciscan devotional practice (Affective Meditation 87). She also reassesses the textual history of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, a tremendously influential affective treatise, the authorship of which is usually ascribed to the Franciscan friar Johannes de Caulibus. The traditional textual history suggests that the earliest version of the Meditationes was the long Latin text, from which the many vernacular and extracted versions descend (Affective Meditation 103). McNamer argues instead “that the original version of the Meditations was a short Italian text composed by one nun for another; this base text—highly dramatic and affective in character—was then edited, heavily glossed, expanded into successively longer Italian versions, and finally translated into Latin by a Franciscan redactor (perhaps Johannes de Caulibus)” (Affective Meditation 96–97).
In order to enact an emotional and spiritual response to Christ’s sacrifice, the physical details of the process of Christ’s death were set out in affective accounts of the Passion in a brutal, clinical detail not seen before the twelfth century (Bestul, *Texts* 146–47). Jeffrey notes that the Franciscan poets departed substantially from previous tradition, taking the sometimes remote biblical doctrine and infusing it with vivid, even gruesome descriptions of the pain and suffering of Christ. Almost always, Christ’s bodily agony becomes overtly symbolic of the infinitely greater magnitude of his spiritual suffering on behalf of sinful mankind, but to drive the spiritual message home the physical point was graphically portrayed as perhaps never before in Christian art. Christ crucified became the supreme image and focus for the universal tension between Love and Death. (*Lyric* 32)

The detail in which writers explained the mechanism of Christ’s torture creates a connection between meditator and suffering subject through their shared humanity. Christ’s own reactions need not be explained; given the details of the torture, devout readers can extrapolate from their own experiences of pain to imagine his. Crucially, this is pain that a fellow human being suffered because of the meditators’ sins and in order to secure the meditators’ salvation. The message is clear: the best Man that ever lived died the most horrifying death there ever was, and he did it for them.

The gruesome treatment of the physical was not the only means by which affective piety engaged the emotional response, nor was Christ’s physical pain the only referent founded in a common humanity. The Blessed Virgin’s role as witness to her son’s murder became progressively more important. Jeffrey notes that:
INTRODUCTION

[s]ince Christ’s humanity is the aspect of his person which the Franciscans wished to emphasize in order to clarify the surrogative nature of his suffering, the love and compassion of a human mother for her suffering child would naturally have a compelling emotional effect in actuating this realization. (Lyric 51)

Mary’s emotional suffering exemplified the requisite emotional response of the human connected most closely to the suffering subject. Her suffering became a lesson in itself.

The focus on Christ’s humanity and the consequent focus on his human parent resulted, therefore, in the second feature of medieval devotion prevalent in these texts. The cult of the Sorrowful Mother, the *Mater Dolorosa*, had its roots in this collision of affectivity and maternity. It is no accident that the four most affective texts in this study—the Steads (P) and Sorrows (S) devotions, the *Vision of St John* (J) and the *Doctor of the Church* (D) text—are also those which focus on Mary as Mother of Sorrows. The affective mode in combination with the Virgin’s maternity is especially potent; the collective suffering of the mother and her murdered child amplifies their individual suffering.

In the texts that exemplify the cult of the *Mater Dolorosa*, Christ is no longer simply a human being, nor is he merely ‘some mother’s son’; he is *this* mother’s son. These texts emphasise the relationship between mother and suffering son, and the pain of the one feeds off and intensifies the pain of the other. In the Pseudo-Bernardine “Quis Dabit” meditation, for example, the Crucifixion is simply described; the narrative focuses almost entirely upon the relationship between Mary and Jesus. Mary tells the narrator that “... they crucified him before me. As he looked at me, he was raised up on the cross and fixed to the wood with

---

13 For further information on these texts see their introductions. For the *Fifteen Steads* and *Fifteen Sorrows* devotions see pages 52–56; for the *Vision of St John* see pages 64–72; for the *Doctor of the Church* text see pages 57–64.
I looked at him, and he looked at me, and he grieved more for me than for himself” (Bestul, *Texts* 171). In both the “Quis Dabit” meditation and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, the Marian laments over Christ’s dead body extend the period of shared suffering past the moment of Christ’s death. Bestul argues that in these texts, the “augmented role of Mary in the events after the death of Christ rewrites the Gospel to give priority to the mother-son relationship, creating a climate that allows for the extravagant display of intimate affection” (*Texts* 50). This affection has the ability to cause, inflame and extend the pain of the mother and child, and has a similar effect upon the pity of the devotee.¹⁴

The potency of the affective response generated through contemplating the Mother of Sorrows made the cult tremendously popular. Duffy notes that the quest for a share in the sufferings of Christ, through identification with Mary, dominated the piety of Christian Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It gave rise to literally thousands of treatises, hymns, poems, sermons, and devotional images [...]. Mary was a natural focus for the attempt to realise for oneself the sufferings of Jesus, for she had stood by the cross, supported by John the beloved disciple, when the rest of the apostles had fled. Her Mother’s grief could be dramatized so as to melt the hearts of those whom the stark facts of the crucifixion left untouched [...]. (*Altars* 260)

Even in the early stages of the development of affective devotion, Anselm had attempted in his *Prayer to Christ*, “to identify himself with [Mary] and to share her suffering as she watches her son tortured and put to death” (Bestul, “Antecedents” 6). Subsequent writings, art and song increasingly deployed this impulse towards identification with Mary as well as

---

¹⁴ See further Towl 253–56.
with Christ because in “this literal compassion, this identification with the sufferings of Christ by sharing the grief of his Mother, lay salvation” (Duffy, *Altars* 259).

The cult of the Mother of Sorrows became, according to Duffy, the “most distinctive manifestation of Marian piety in late medieval England” as well as across continental Europe (*Altars* 258–59). Almost by default, the image of the mother sorrowing at the foot of the cross was present in “every [English] parish church […], for all were dominated by the Rood across the chancel arch, invariably flanked by the mourning figures of Mary and the Beloved Disciple” (Duffy, *Altars* 260). Mourning Mary was a consistent presence, therefore, even for those for whom books and Latin had little or no meaning.

The development of the cult of the *Mater Dolorosa* was also intensified by its historical moment; it coincided with a time at which much of the population was mourning. Duffy notes that one of the key functions of devotion to the Sorrows of Mary was to serve “as an objective correlative for the discharge of grief and suffering in the face of successive waves of plague sweeping through Christendom” (*Altars* 259). As Marina Warner has it:

> The cult of the Mater Dolorosa stressed [the Blessed Virgin’s] participation in mankind’s ordinary, painful lot, and so although the repercussions of the Black Death restored a certain degree of majesty and terror to the personality of Christ the Judge, the Virgin herself retained the common touch. (216)

The people mourned for those they loved and dreaded the judgement implied by the plague’s terrible and unrelenting devastation of families and communities. Mary’s grief for her dead son was familiar to them, and devotion to it was a means of expiating the sin that had caused God’s anger.
Popularity and Production

The expressions of piety outlined above appeal to an audience composed of both professional religious and the devout laity.\textsuperscript{15} Duffy, in \textit{The Stripping of the Altars}, his thorough and sympathetic study of “traditional” religion in England during this period, does not artificially separate popular religion from that of the professional religious.\textsuperscript{16} He prefers to note the ways in which ordinary parishioners “appropriated for themselves traditional religion”, the “focal points of the late Medieval Catholic sense of the sacred” (the Mass, parish, gild and saints) and “the ways in which lay people prayed” (\textit{Altars 7}). Various artifacts testify to the ways in which the laity were able to absorb ecclesiastical teaching and to participate in devotional activities: books of hours and devotional treatises for those who could read, and “surviving church iconography in the form of painting, carving and glass” (Duffy, \textit{Altars 7}) and the records of sermons and drama for those who could not. Because much of this kind of evidence would have been commissioned by laypeople for their own use or for the use of their own parish, the existence of such items testifies to a spirituality designed for and embraced by a lay audience.

Where a distinction is possible, lay practice is an adoption of the teachings and practices of the Church, adapted into a form which was understandable and usable for the

\textsuperscript{15} For the purposes of this study, I use the term “professional religious” for those whose profession was within the Church, encompassing coenobitic, eremitic, anchoretic and parochial vocations. Its semantic opposite is “laity.”

\textsuperscript{16} Duffy uses “traditional”, rather than “lay” or “popular”, to describe the religious practice on which he focuses, in order to emphasise the connections between religion as practised by the laity and by the clergy rather than the differences. In the preface to his second edition, Duffy explains further that by making a claim for a certain “social homogeneity” in “late medieval religion, [his] contention was not that there were no tensions within it, but that those tensions would not be found to run directly along the lines often laid down by those seeking conventional explanations of the Reformation. The divisions of late medieval religion were subtler and more various than had commonly been suggested, and did not, for example, seem to [him] to run along such obvious fault-lines and divides as the distinctions between \textit{elite and popular, clerical and lay}” (\textit{Altars xx}; his italics).
INTRODUCTION

laity. Books of Hours, or “Primers”, for example, emerged from the practice of the professional religious, but they were designed for lay use and tremendously popular. The core text of the Book of Hours, the “Little Hours” of Our Lady, was recited by professional religious in addition to their office; unlike the office, however, it was not subject to and complicated by daily and seasonal change, so it was suited to lay use (Duffy, *Hours* 5–6). Along with the calendar, office of the dead, and the gradual and penitential psalms, other Marian prayers, such as the prayers “Obsecro Te” and “O Intemerata”, became so common as to be almost obligatory (Duffy, *Hours* 28). Around this core material, other favourite prayers and images were added, either during production or afterwards.  

This process of production and adaptation of devotional texts for the laity was generally undertaken by professional religious. Walter Hilton (an Augustinian canon) and Richard Rolle (hermit), for example, both wrote treatises in the fourteenth century for professional religious, but their works soon began to appear in manuscripts for the literate laity.  

Syon Abbey and the Charterhouse at Sheen were notable centres of religious textual production, both in terms of the manuscripts that they produced (several of which appear in this study; see page 40 below) and in the production of translations and devotional texts. The audience for their manuscripts and their devotional texts included both professional religious and the laity. Ellis notes that the requirement that monks “preach both to the community and to seculars [...] was readily understood [...] to include the production of

---

17 See Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, and, for a discussion of the impact of silent reading and silent prayer, and of phonetic and comprehension literacy upon the utilisation of Books of Hours, see Saenger, “Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages.”

18 For what little is known about Hilton himself, and for information on his works and his mysticism, see Bestul, *Hilton* 1–19. For further information on Rolle, see Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* and Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*.  

25
INTRODUCTION

religious texts” (224). The “seculars” for whom these monasteries produced texts included prominent members of society. Syon and Sheen were well connected; they had been established by Henry V in 1415, and were situated near the royal palace at Richmond and near enough to London to make them accessible (Lawrence 101–02). Both houses offered indulgences (Rhodes, “Syon” 12), and both were recognised for their sanctity and learning (Lawrence 102).

These two monasteries were also home to some of the more prominent names in later medieval textual production and annotation. At Sheen, William Darker and John Feriby were prolific scribes, and James Grenehalgh, whose annotations and monogram can be found in many manuscripts, was, Lawrence argues “probably the best-known Middle English textual critic” (Lawrence 104–105). On the other side of the Thames, Syon housed the scribes Clement Maidstone (Lawrence 110) and Robert Taylor (Barratt, Anne Bulkeley 13–18), and the scribe-authors John Fewterer, Thomas Betson, William Bonde, Simon Winter and Richard Whitford (Lawrence 104).

In his article “Further Thoughts on the Spirituality of Syon Abbey”, Roger Ellis discusses the writings of Bonde, Betson, Fewterer and Whitford in particular. He argues that much of their output constituted “texts of monastic outreach, notably manuals of spiritual direction” (227). The audience for these texts included both the nuns of Syon and those outside Syon’s walls. Bond’s Pilgrimage of Perfection was written for a monastic audience (239), and Betson’s Treatyse to Dyspose Men to be Vertuously Occupyed was intended both for novices and for the laity (228), whereas Whitford’s Werke for Housholders and Fewterer’s Mirror or Glass of Christ’s Passion were both, Ellis argues, aimed at a more

---

19 Although Ellis is discussing the Birgittine Regula here, he extends this injunction to include the Carthusians specifically.

20 William Darker’s hand features in this study; he is the scribe of the whole of MS C2 and part of MS L. For further information, see the manuscript descriptions, pages 128–40 (MS L) and 171–81 (MS C2) below.
Introduction

distinctly lay audience (234–35).21

George Keiser’s work on Winter’s Life of St Jerome, written for Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, demonstrates both a Syon monk’s literary influence and the mechanics of late medieval patronage and textual dissemination.22 Margaret of Clarence was, in the 1420s, widowed for the second time and living a celibate life near Syon. In 1428–29 she received permission to have members of the brethren of Syon visit her to “hear her confession, grant her absolution and enjoin penance; administer sacraments and sacramentals; preach to her; and assist her in the making of her will”; Keiser suggests that Winter may have been Margaret’s chosen confessor (37–38). In any event, out of this connection between Syon and Margaret of Clarence came the Life of St Jerome, “the work of an author in the monastic life, writing specifically for a noble laywoman who, like many members of the laity in her time, was striving to achieve a life of piety outside the cloister” (Keiser 41).

This relationship also offers important information about the dissemination of bespoke religious texts like Winter’s Life. Winter urges in the prologue “that hit sholde lyke your ladyship first to rede hit & to do copye hit for yoursilf, & syth to lete oþer rede hit & copye hit, who so wyll” (Keiser 41). Keiser suggests that this passage “indicates that upon approving the work, the duchess is to have her own copy made from the original—that apparently to remain at Syon for further copying. The duchess then is to act as a publisher, encouraging others to read the work and to have their own copies made” (41). By this means

21 All of these texts were printed shortly after their probable dates of composition, which widens the audience to which they were available, but does not alter the audience for which they were written. Ellis notes that “[w]ith the advent of print, texts could reach a wider and more diverse audience than a writer had originally intended; nevertheless, they were generally targetted [sic] at fairly precise readerships, whose expectations thus exerted an indirect but important influence on the finished product” (“Further Thoughts” 227).
22 Keiser, “Patronage and Piety in Fifteenth-Century England: Margaret Duchess of Clarence, Symon Wynter and Beinecke MS 317.” The MS in question, Beinecke 317, features in the present study also, as it is the copy text for version C of the Vision of St John (Je). See pages 64-72 for an introduction to the text, and pages 240–51 for a description of the manuscript.
the work, originally written for a devout noblewoman, might make its way into the possession of her associates, which included “both pious laity and members of other monastic institutions with which [...] the duchess had connections” (Keiser 41).

At least in the context of this study, there is little evident differentiation between the audiences using individual devotions. The Vision of St John (B) appears in MS B2 (compiled by a Cistercian monk) and MS NH (probably copied for a monastic library), but also occurs in other manuscripts with no known monastic connections. Notably, it was written into the flyleaves of Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (CJ) by a layman, a member of the Bramshott family. The Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R) occurs in MS B5 (produced for a secular priest) and MS CM (possibly produced for a male recluse), but is also extant in several other manuscripts which bear no signs of monastic, clerical or parochial ownership.

Both of the manuscripts which contain the Doctor of the Church (D) meditation have connections with professional religious. MS C2 was produced for a nun or nuns of Syon and MS CM may have been produced by or for a male recluse (see above). The Fifteen Steads (P) and Fifteen Sorrows (S) devotions appear only in one manuscript, MS L, which belonged to a nun of Syon. Although there is no evidence for lay use of these devotions, there also appears to be little evidence that they must have been the sole preserve of professional religious. The restricted current audience may be a result of the limited number of manuscripts in which

23 The Pepys Catalogue entry for CM suggests that this manuscript was “compiled by or for a male recluse”; this suggestion is based on the contents of the manuscript but is not explained (Pepys Catalogue 61). Many of the texts included in this manuscript are relatively common in devotional anthologies (Rolle’s Form of Living and Ego Dormio, the Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost, extracts from the Speculum Ecclesiae and the “Three arrows on doomsday”, for example), but the rubrics to some of the entries suggest a connection to a monastic or hermitic audience. Item 37, the first of two copies of Rolle’s Form in the manuscript, for example has the heading “For men and wymmen that beþ enclosed”, while item 38(i) is a prayer “taught by St Ursula to a hermit of Warwick”, and item 38(ii) is a prayer to the name of Jesus, beginning “Et idem heremita notificauit istam precem inter profundos doctores” (Pepys Catalogue 58). The contents of the manuscript are diverse, and not out of keeping with the contents of other devotional anthologies; its texts might serve many different types of owners, male recluses among them.
INTRODUCTION

these texts appear. Like the Vision of St John (J) and the Rule (R), it may be only those texts
that are extant in a large number of manuscripts that demonstrate the breadth of their
audience.

Even within the small sample studied here, texts initially designed for one audience
appear adapted in manuscripts compiled for an entirely different audience. The Treatise on
Ecce Virgo Concipiet (E) contains a significant amount of excerpted material from Ancrene
Wisse and Hali Meiðhad, two early vernacular conduct manuals for female religious.24 The
manuscripts in which E is extant (B3 and W) seem to have been produced for lay owners, or
at least bear no mark of monastic or parochial ownership. Rolle’s Ego Dormio and Form of
Living, both of which are letters written to female religious, also appear in manuscripts in
this study.25 In the case of both E and Rolle’s letters, material originally designed for an
enclosed, female audience has here been appropriated and adapted for use in manuscripts
bearing marks of male ownership, and often in manuscripts which do not suggest monastic,
clerical or parochial ownership.

In addition to their influence on the production of devotional texts, religious
institutions were strong centres of manuscript production, and many of the surviving
manuscripts in this study show connections to monastic institutions. Keiser calls Syon,
Sheen and the Charterhouse of Mount Grace in Yorkshire “three houses especially
distinguished for the production and transmission of vernacular devotional writings” (37).
Individual Birgittine houses like Syon, Ellis notes, were each “a powerhouse of religious
knowledge and activity and exerted considerable influence not only on the lives of the
inmates, but also on the outside world, which it reached both directly, when visitors came to

24 For detailed information on the sources of E, see pages 80–85 below.
25 Rolle’s Form of Living was written for the recluse Margaret Kirkeby, and Ego Dormio for a nun of
Yedingham (Rolle, English Writings 10, 132). Of the manuscripts studied here, the Form of Living appears in
MSS B4, CM and W, and Ego Dormio in MSS CM and W.
the Abbey, and indirectly, by the production of religious books” (“Further Thoughts” 220).

Several of the manuscripts containing texts edited here were produced either at Syon Abbey for its own members or at Sheen for the nuns or monks of Syon. Cambridge University Library MS Ff.6.33 (MS C2) was produced for nuns of Syon at Sheen (Hutchison 216). Shailor suggests that Beinecke Library MS 317 may have been produced either at Syon or at Sheen (123). Lambeth Palace Library MS 546 (MS L) was copied for a nun at Syon. It is constructed of two sections; the first contains names associated with Syon and the second with names associated with Sheen.  

Because of the strong book production relationship between these two houses, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a MS was produced in Syon itself, or at Sheen for Syon.

All of the Syon/Sheen manuscripts in this study and all but one of the other manuscripts are devotional anthologies. Because few of the texts edited here are long enough to exist as the only item in a manuscript, they are found coexisting in manuscripts with many other texts. The texts found in manuscripts alongside those discussed in this

---

26 See the manuscript description for MS L, pages 128–40, for further information.
27 One manuscript in this study, Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (MS CJ) is not a devotional anthology; it is a copy of Scrope’s Epistle of Othea, with the Vision of St John (J) written into the back.
28 It is possible that some of the longer texts in particular might have circulated independently, and that their being found now only in manuscript miscellanies is an accident of survival. If any of this material circulated in pamphlets, it has not survived; without the physical protection of a binding, and also without the status and expense afforded a bound manuscript, pamphlets tend not to survive. Of the short poems by Lydgate that are the subject of her study, Boffey recognises that:

they are all works that because of their relative brevity have in the main been preserved only in composite collections of some kind. This is not of course to deny that the early circulation of many of them may have occurred in other quite distinct forms [...] precisely because they were often not conceived as components of books, these poems had a precarious literary future, and those that survived were the fortunate ones that made their way at an early stage into a written collection of some sort (“Short Texts in Manuscript Anthologies” 70).

Although the subject matter is different, the process by which and the reasons for which texts survive is the same for these short devotional works.
INTRODUCTION

dition are almost all of a religious or devotional nature.²⁹

Devotional anthologies are books made for the health of the reader’s soul; they feature a range of religious material, including prayers, treatises, graces, visions, sermons and indulgences. They allowed, also, for a selection of devotional texts, rather than indulging a single aspect of religious observance. By the late-fifteenth century, the range of vernacular, devotional tracts available for use in these anthologies had significantly increased. Jennifer Bryan notes that from “the mid-fourteenth century and gaining momentum in the fifteenth, an immense and various body of devotional texts was written, translated, adapted, compiled and copied into the English language”, and that these works “blurred the traditional boundaries between the active and contemplative lives” (2). In owning a devotional anthology, the literate laity had recourse to the spiritual edification previously reserved to professional religious.

By the later Middle Ages there existed a degree of literacy (at least in the vernacular) among those with sufficient disposable income to be able to purchase books, and a concomitant sufficiency of commercial book producers eager to help.³⁰ Ralph Hanna III

²⁹ There are two exceptions: MS CJ (see note 27 above) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 175 (MS O3), which includes the metrical romance The Seven Sages of Rome (NIMEV 3187).

³⁰ Although the context of readership and literacy is important to these anthologies in general, the range of possible readers and their levels of literacy prevents my drawing any meaningful conclusions on the subject or adding substantially to the existing discourse. As a useful introduction to the subject of literacy, Harvey J. Graff’s compendium of articles on the history of literacy, Literacy and Historical Development: A Reader, offers a series of reprinted articles on historical levels of and ideas about literacy. Many of the articles challenge or completely subvert modern assumptions about literacy and modes of literary production. For further information on literacy, readership and book ownership at the beginning of the period addressed in this study, see Janet Coleman, Medieval Readers and Writers, 1350–1400; for information on the end of the period and the impact of printing on book ownership, see H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475–1557. For information on devotional reading in general see Bryan, Looking Inward; for a series of case-studies concerning women’s devotional reading and practice see Erler, Women, Reading and Piety in Late Medieval England. For case studies of female engagement with literate practice, considering both reading and writing and the influence of community—whether familial or religious—on that practice, see Krug, Reading Families: Women’s Literate Practice Late Medieval England.
notes that, because of the nature of medieval book production, all English books prior to 1450 were “bespoke”, and that their contents were therefore shaped by the inclinations of the people who commissioned them (“Miscellaneity and Vernacularity” 37). As there is little concrete evidence of speculative book production in manuscript, Hanna’s position would appear to be an accurate representation of the process of text selection and commission, although other factors would have influenced the formation of each volume. These factors include the range of texts available and their variety, and organisational and physical considerations, such as scribal practice and mode of production.

The manuscripts in this study regularly feature an internal coherence in their organisation, despite their contents being the result of individual devotional preference. Texts often appear to be grouped according to their purpose (as prayers, graces, or catechetical works), their author or supposed author, or their theme (such as tracts about and prayers to the Blessed Virgin, treatises on preparation for death, or tracts in commendation of virginity, for example). The rubrics to these texts often betray the underlying organisational principle operating within a section of a manuscript by mentioning, for example, that the tract that follows is “þe ij pistle of þe same autour” (London, British Library MS Arundel 286, f. 92r).

Connolly has studied the effect of these linkages by investigating a group of six manuscripts that contain a “common stock of material which has been selected, reproduced, and reordered, according to the particular context of each volume” (Connolly, “Six

---

31 In his article “The Whole Book: Late Medieval English Manuscripts and their Modern Interpreters”, Derek Pearsall warns against working too hard to find organising principles in miscellaneous manuscripts. Although he specifically excludes religious miscellanies on the basis that they are “capable of being discussed in their own right in terms of variations on their prescript” (22), I recognise that it is important to exercise restraint and circumspection when discerning organisational themes in anthologised or miscellaneous manuscripts.
INTRODUCTION

Devotional Anthologies” 171). In the course of her article, she shows how variation in the ordering, inclusion and exclusion of texts from a common pool of catechetical works is made clear by means of scribal explanation. She pays particular attention to the “prologue”, which appears in various forms in four of the six manuscripts; she notes also that the variations found within the text of the prologue are appropriate to the specific manuscript in which it appears (173–77). By means of these prologues, particularly in the Manchester and Durham manuscripts, Connolly argues that the scribe/compiler is able to foster “a strong sense of progression”, in which the relevance of the constituent parts of the sequence is made clear in terms of the whole (174). In the two manuscripts where there is no prologue, “the sense of a distinctive mini-compilation is lost completely” (177).

Another factor influencing the formation of these anthologies was the general availability and popularity of the texts that appear in these manuscripts. There was a broad range of texts available to the commissioner of the religious anthology, but again and again certain texts appear. Even the most cursory glance at the contents notes for the manuscripts in this edition bears out Hanna’s list of “absolute classics of English vernacular spirituality: Hilton, Rolle, Ancrene Riwle, as well as [the] Abbey [of the Holy Ghost] and Charter [of Heaven][...] a translation of Edmund Rich’s Speculum [Ecclesiae] and other shorter works”, which he selects from the compendious Vernon manuscript (“Miscellany and Vernacularity” 48). From the limited evidence available, it seems that these texts and their extracts formed a core around which other smaller or less-well-known texts were added. The prevalence of these well-known texts within devotional manuscripts cannot be purely an accident of

---

32 The six manuscripts that Connolly discusses are: Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS English 85; Durham, Cathedral Library MS A.iv.22; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 23; London, British Library MS Cotton Titus D. xix; and Cambridge, Trinity College Library MSS R.3.21 and O.1.74.
INTRODUCTION

survival; their wide-spread existence must be due to popularity, and that popularity to their appeal to the prevailing religiosity of the period.

As to the smaller, less prevalent texts, it is unclear how particular people were in their requests. Did they ask for a specific treatise on the Pater Noster, for example? What course of events would cause there to be two separate tracts on the Pater Noster in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33 (MS C2), both of them extracts from the Speculum Ecclesiae? In an environment of bespoke book-production, the variation sometimes found in the versions of treatises on popular catechetical topics might be as a result of consumer choice and specificity or, conversely, of a lack of consumer specificity. Alternatively, this variation might result from more practical, less customer-driven concerns, such as which exemplars happened to be available to the producer at any given time. As Boffey puts it:

Some of the processes at issue [in the selection and arrangement of manuscript anthologies] can be reconstructed, more or less precisely, from physical evidence: collation, signatures, paper stocks, hands, evidence of wear. Much more effectively concealed, however, are the intellectual, aesthetic, practical, and possibly even financial considerations in the minds of the scribes, compilers, patrons, and commissioners of the books. (“Short Texts in Manuscript Anthologies” 81)

While we can suggest scenarios from which certain evidence might arise, the reality usually remains elusive.

While the range of available texts is large, the variability in the order and combination in which they appear is much larger. Even in manuscripts which contain a

---

33 See the manuscript description for this manuscript, (pages 171–81), items four and five for further information.
significant number of the same treatises, the contents are never quite the same and the
order is ever variable.\textsuperscript{34} Several of the manuscripts considered in this study belong to groups
of manuscripts which share parts of their contents. London, Westminster School MS 3
(MS W), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 296 (MS CC), Cambridge, Sidney Sussex
College MS 74 (MS CS), and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (O2) are part of a
wider group of manuscripts which share a number of texts. London, British Library MS
Harley 2339 (MS B5) shares a number of metrical, catechetical texts and the “Complaint of
God” with four other manuscripts: London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Cambridge,
University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; and
London, Lambeth Palace 491. B5 also shares the four graces it contains with Dublin,
Trinity College MS 70. The relationships between the group of manuscripts which
includes W, CC, CS and O2 has been studied,\textsuperscript{35} but it is the presence of the Lollard texts
shared between those manuscripts which initiated the attention that that group has
received. Further scholarship on manuscript groups connected by less sensational subject
matter would be also beneficial.

The practical means by which each manuscript was produced also has a significant
impact on the organisation of the material. Some of the manuscripts in this study were
written by a single scribe, such as B5, O2 and Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33
(MS C2). Several of the manuscripts, including W, London, British Library MS Arundel
286 (MS B3), and Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6686 (MS C1), show

\textsuperscript{34} I am not aware of two devotional anthologies where the contents are exactly the same, although some are
very similar. See, for example, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 and Dublin, Trinity College MS
244, the latter of which Hanna calls the former’s “partial twin” (\textit{Pursuing History} 49). See also the manuscript
description for Corpus 296 (MS CC) in this edition, pages 207–27, which lists those texts which occur in
both CC and Trinity 244.

\textsuperscript{35} See, for example, Hanna, \textit{Pursuing History} 35–46.
INTRODUCTION

evidence of booklet production. The prevalence of booklet production in these manuscripts seems to be typical of manuscript miscellanies; studies of anthologised manuscripts regularly report evidence of booklet production. “Booklet production” refers to the circumstances under which a manuscript is manufactured in a series of discrete units, or “booklets.” It is often unclear exactly whether a manuscript made up of these separable units was designed from the beginning of production to be bound together or not. The reasons that studies postulate for this modular approach to manuscript production seem to be as varied as the manuscripts themselves, but centre either on the exemplars or on scribal practice. Where exemplar supply is the deciding factor, the producer does not necessarily have all of the exemplars at his or her disposal at the same time, and has to organise the copying of the manuscript around what texts are available. Alternatively, booklet production might result from scribal availability rather than exemplar availability: the work might have been dealt out or organised around the scribes that were available and their abilities. Whether as a result of pressure on exemplars or on workforce, booklets tend to indicate a pragmatic approach to manuscript production, where making use of the resources at the producer’s disposal was the most important factor.

There is insufficient specific evidence for what reason any given manuscript in this study might have been produced in separate units. There is often not even enough evidence to conclude with certainty how long these manuscripts spent in their component parts, before being bound into the form in which they are now found. From the information available, it is unclear whether the manuscripts which seem to have been produced in

---

36 See Robinson 47–48 for the ten key features which suggest booklet production, and the manuscript descriptions for which of these features occur in each manuscript.

37 See, for example, Hanna’s study of Winchester College MS 33 in “Miscellaneity and Vernacularity” (39–47), Taylor’s discussion of the creation of the Auchinleck manuscript (“Manual to Miscellany” 1–2) and Boffey and Thompson’s investigation of “imaginative and recreational” anthologies in “Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts” (279–315).
booklets were initially intended to circulate separately, whether the initial plan was to have individual scribes copy each unit separately in order to facilitate speedy production of a pre-planned volume, or whether the units were determined by the form of the exemplars and when they became available.

What is clear is that these manuscripts—particularly the more “modular” ones—are, for the most part, not elaborate. They are not highly ornamented presentation copies; many of them lack even basic decorative features. In a culture of production where even quite expensive manuscripts are produced in separable, obviously heterogeneous units, comparatively inexpensive, “everyday” books for the health of the soul would be produced by the most practicable means available.

Selection Criteria

The primary aim of this study is to provide critical editions of manuscript material which had not received much scholarly attention, or to re-edit material about which there is more to be said. I sought out texts that had “fallen through the cracks”, primarily because they did not belong to an easily definable genre (such as sermons, lyrics or miracle stories), or because they were not ascribed to a named author, or because they were not found in a famous manuscript. Early editions, such as the early EETS editions, Camden and Percy Society editions, “Wyclif’s” collected works edited by Matthew and by Arnold, and “Rolle’s” works edited by Horstmann, were focused predominantly on making manuscript material available to scholars. They were invaluable because they made further study of those texts possible, but the editors were not always aware of all available manuscripts and the editions were not designed to provide extensive explicatory material. More recently, there has been a greater focus on producing critical editions with explicatory notes, but these editions still tend to concentrate on texts large enough to have their own dedicated editions, to come
from well-known MSS, or to have been attributed to well-known authors. This is the first time that four of the eight texts in this study have been edited; perhaps because of the anonymity of their authorship, brevity, or the perceived ordinariness of their manuscript context, they have previously been overlooked.

The four remaining texts have appeared in print before, in one form or another, and are reedited here. The Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R) was edited by Horstmann and the Commentary on the Ave Maria (C) by Matthew, both in the late-nineteenth century. Neither scholar was aware of all of the manuscripts in which their respective texts could be found—Horstmann edited from two of eight manuscripts and Matthew from two of five—and neither provided notes. Both Horstmann and Matthew chose to edit their texts as part of a study of the works of “big name” authors. Horstmann’s attribution of the Rule (R) to Rolle and Matthew’s attribution of the Commentary (C) to Wyclif have been dismissed by subsequent scholarship, so these texts no longer appear in editions of Rolle’s and Wyclif’s works. In 1956, Nita Scudder Baugh published her edition of London, British Library Additional MS 37787 (MS B2), which included an edition of the Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (J). Her work was driven by her interest in the manuscript; her edition features only the Vision of St John (J) as it is found in B2—without reference to the ten other Middle English and at least two Latin copies—and is without explicatory notes. Recently, Sara Schwamb edited the Fifteen Steads (P) devotion from London, Lambeth Palace MS 546. Although she provides a commentary and notes to her edition, I felt that there was more to offer and decided to include an edition of the text here.

---

38 See the introduction to the Vision of St John (J), pages 64–72 below, for further information about the manuscripts and the three distinct versions in which this text appears.

39 Many texts which fell safely within the other parameters of the study were excluded because they had recently been edited. Several of the pieces of Marian prose in London, British Library MS 494, for example, would have been included had they not been recently edited by Alexandra Barratt in Anne Bulkeley and Her
INTRODUCTION

The secondary aim of this project is to edit material pertinent to the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the century prior to the Protestant Reformation. All of the texts edited here relate in some way to veneration of the Virgin and all are extant in manuscripts dated to the fifteenth and early-sixteenth century.

At the beginning of this introduction, I noted the surprising lack of information about the Blessed Virgin in the Gospels when compared with the extent of the honours which she subsequently acquired. Since the Council of Ephesus in 431, where she was proclaimed Theotokos, the virginal mother of the Gospels accrued praises and titles, “feasts, miracles and images, pilgrimages and devotions [which] seemed to overwhelm Mary’s slim scriptural persona” (Rubin, Mother 367). As we have seen, these traditions, honours and devotions emerged often from non-Scriptural evidence; from the Apocrypha and from debate within the Church. With the Protestant Reformation of the early-sixteenth century, the Blessed Virgin Mary would begin to be unmade. For those who practised the state-sponsored religion in England, from the 1530s onward Mary’s influence would shrink to match her “scriptural persona.” The Virgin did not disappear at the Reformation, however; the reformers recognised the important roles she had played in the drama of the Incarnation and Atonement, but those roles were restricted to that which could be ratified by means of scripture (Rubin, Mother 369).

The texts edited here, then, by virtue of their Marian content and their being extant in manuscripts in the century prior to the Protestant Reformation in England, reflect the

---

Book: Fashioning Female Piety in Early Tudor England. The texts “Frebertus says”, “Luf’wele this blyssed name Maria” and “Of the fayrnes of saynt Mary” from London, British Library Additional MS 37049 were considered, especially as James Hogg’s proposed edition of this manuscript had not come to fruition, but there are two pre-existing PhD theses on the manuscript. Other, longer texts were also considered, including the Lamentation of Our Lady, edited by Sarah Ogilvie-Thomson in her PhD thesis on Warminster, Longleat Marquis of Bath MS 29, and the Birgittine Life of the Virgin from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 41, which has been edited recently by Domenico Pezzini in Translation of Religious Texts in the Middle Ages.
devotional environment at the temporal extent of Mary’s veneration in medieval England. They vary in their types and levels of Marian content: in the Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R), the Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin (D) and two of the three versions of Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (J) the Virgin is a central character, speaking for herself; in the Fifteen Steads devotion (P), the treatises on Ave Maris Stella (A) and on Ecce Virgo Concipiet (E), and the Commentary on the Ave Maria (C), she is set forth as an example to be followed; in the Fifteen Sorrows devotion (S) she is invoked as protectrix of the devotee. When selecting texts on the basis of their Marian content I tended toward inclusion rather than exclusion; they had only to demonstrate a connection to the Cult of the Virgin.

In addition to their Marian content, the texts had to appear in a manuscript of the fifteenth or early-sixteenth century. This measure was difficult, in that manuscript dating is often inaccurate, particularly in the library catalogues which were my first resource. There was no way to avoid this problem, other than to adjust the dating that I had as I gathered further information on likely candidates from other sources, such as the IMEP handlist series, Jolliffe’s Checklist and the IPMEP, which often also provided cross-references to suitable manuscripts or texts that could then be included.

Although the texts were selected partially on the basis of manuscript dating, the copy manuscript for each text was based on the best text of all of the manuscripts. This meant

---

40 The initial step in the early stages of the project was to search through manuscript catalogues for likely texts. This first step proved also to be the first hurdle, in many instances. Many of the manuscript catalogues were compiled long ago simply in order to record the existence of the manuscripts and differentiate between them, and therefore their descriptions are not always particularly specific. Other reference texts, such as P. S. Jolliffe’s Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance, the Index of Middle English Prose series, N. R. Ker’s Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, and the Index of Printed Middle English Prose, however, made it possible to check vague catalogue references and cross-reference the texts with other known manuscripts. Where these reference materials were unable to help me, I checked the manuscript myself, in person, where possible.
that for some texts, the date of the copy manuscript fell outside the date-range of the study. The *Commentary on the Ave Maria* (C), for example, is edited here from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (MS CC), which is dated to the late fourteenth century. The *Commentary* appears also, however, in a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts.\(^{41}\) Because the impetus was to present the best version available of texts that happened to exist in manuscripts of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, rather than necessarily to make available texts as they appeared in manuscripts of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, using the best available text was more important than the date of the manuscript in which appeared. The date of composition of the texts was similarly unimportant; provided that a devotion was popular and current enough to appear in a manuscript of the period, I deemed it current enough for the purposes of this study, regardless of when it was composed, compiled or translated.

\(^{41}\) See the introduction to the *Commentary on the Ave Maria* (C), pages 85–94 below, for further information.
The Rule of the Life of Our Lady exists in two versions: one (Ra) is found in British Library MSS Harley 2339 (B5) and Royal 8. C. i (B6); the other (Rb) is found in Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (CM), Bodleian Library MSS Ashmole 41 (O1) and Bodley 938 (02), British Library MSS Additional 11478 (B1) and Harley 1022 (B4), and Westminster School MS 3 (W). All but Ashmole 41, a short fragment, are full renditions of their version of the text.

The Rule begins with a translation of chapter three of the Meditationes Vitae Christi. This chapter adapts a vision from the Revelations of St Elizabeth of Hungary and a section from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew in order to describe the Blessed Virgin’s exemplary behaviour during her time in the temple. In addition, Ra draws upon the Legenda Aurea for an account of a miracle of the Virgin, where her purity drives away men intent on ravishing her. One of the two versions of Ra, found in Royal 8. C. i, then begins an evidently incomplete section which suggests that those who wish to recommend themselves to the Blessed Virgin should avoid pride and which praises the Blessed Virgin’s own “homeliness.” I have not been able to find a source for this last section, which is preserved in the textual apparatus. For further information on the sources of the Rule, see below.

42 The Meditationes Vitae Christi is a thirteenth-century meditative manual, long attributed to St Bonaventura but now thought to have been written by another Franciscan, Johannes de Caulibus. Organised in a series of meditations arranged across the days of the week, the Meditationes provides an affective, imaginative reconstruction of Christ’s Incarnation, life and death. It was tremendously influential: among others, Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Life of Christ and Rolle’s Privy of the Passion are both translations of the Meditationes, and Ludolphus of Saxony’s Vita Christi draws heavily on it. For further information on this text and its translations see Sargent’s introductions to both Mirror C and Mirror R; on the connections between the Meditationes and another text in this study, A Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin (D), see pages 69–76 below.
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

(“Source”, pages 50–52).

Versions

The most obvious difference between the Ra manuscripts and the Rb manuscripts is the presence of the miracle from the *Legenda Aurea* in Ra and its absence in Rb. In addition to this preliminary distinction, instances of variation involving the same groupings of manuscripts appear repeatedly throughout the material excerpted from the *Meditationes*.

There remain strong verbal parallels between Ra and Rb that are not explained by the source material, however, which suggests that the two versions descend from one translation, rather than descending independently from the Latin. The following passages are from the opening of the source text, followed by the equivalent passages from Ra and from Rb:

Circa Virginem, ex qua incarnatio facta fuit, meditari possumus vitam ipsius.

Unde scire debes, quod dum esset trium annorum, fuit a parentibus oblata in templum, et ibi stetit usque ad decimum quartum annum. (Peltier 513, col. 1)

[About the Virgin, through whom the incarnation was made to happen, we may contemplate her life. From which you must understand that when she was three years old, she was offered by [her] parents into the temple, and there she remained continuously to the fourteenth year.]

Aboute þe glorious maiden of whom Oure Lord, Jhesu Crist, took fleisch & blood, we haue to þenke upon hir lif; of which þou schalt wite, þat whanne sche
was þre ȝeer old, sche was offrid into þe temple of hir fadir and hire modir, & þere sche dwellide in þat degree into xiii ȝeer. (Ra 3–6)

Aboute þe glorious Maiden of whom Oure Lord, Jhesu Crist, toke fleisch and blood, we may biþenke vs of hir lif; of whiche þou schalt wite þat when sche was þre ȝeer olde sche was offrid into þe temple of hir fadir & hir modir, & þere sche duellid in þat degre into þe fourteneþ ȝeer. (Rb 2–5)

Note, for example, the similarity between the Middle English “of whom Oure Lord, Jhesu Crist, toke fleisch and blood” (quoted from Rb) when compared against the Latin “ex qua incarnatio facta fuit” [through whom the incarnation was made to happen]. The similarity of the Middle English material reflects the influence of a single translation in which these verbal parallels originate.

In areas where there is an evident difference between the two Middle English versions, version B tends to record the reading most similar to the Latin text, but the text in version A is usually not very different. What changes exist are often instances of omission rather than extensive recasting. Here, for example, is one of the sections which differentiate between Ra and Rb, as it is found in the Meditationes:

Quinto petebam, ut faceret me videre tempus in quo esset nata illa beatissima
Virgo, quae debebat Filium Dei parere; et ut conservaret oculos meos, ut
possem eam videre; linguam, ut possem eam laudare; manus, ut possem ei
servire; pedes, ut possem ire ad servitium suum; genua, ut possem adorare Dei
Filium in gremio suo. (Peltier 513, col. 2)
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

[[In the] fifth I asked, that he would make me see the time in which that most blessed virgin would be born, who was destined to bear the Son of God; and that he would preserve my eyes, in order that I could see her; [my] tongue, in order that I could praise her; [my] hands, in order that I could serve her; [my] feet, in order that I could go to her service; [my] knees, in order that I could adore the Son of God in her lap.]

The fifth petition in Rb is a close translation of this Meditationes material:

In þe fiueþ praier, I askid þat He wolde make me see þat tyme in þe whiche þe holy virgyn schulde be born þat schulde bere Goddis sone. And I askid þat He wolde kepe myne iþen, þat I myȝt se hir; my tunge, þat I myȝt preise hir; my handis, þat I myȝt serue hir; my feet, þat I myȝt go to hir seruise; my knees, þat I myȝt worschip hir & Goddis sone in hir barme. (Rb 37–42)

The same section from Ra, however, is missing the central part of the Meditationes text, although the surrounding phrases are similar to the original Latin:

In þe v praier, I axide grace þat I myȝte abide þe tyme to se þe holi virgyn þat schulde bere Goddis sone, & þat I myȝte be worþi to serue hir & algatis þat blessid child. (Ra 39–42)

As these examples show, although both versions represent the Meditationes material, Rb is a closer translation than Ra.

Copy Text Selection: Version A (Ra)

There are only two extant copies of version A of the Rule, so it is difficult to posit relationships within this group. As will be clear from the limited list of textual variants for
this version, there are very few differences of any significance between these two copies. The few differences that do exist are minor: word substitutions where neither variant is obviously incorrect, such as “yuel” / “þingis” (Ra 37) and “craft” / “werke” (Ra 69); or the expansion or contraction of phrases, such as “seruyñ hir and worschipen hir” (B6), rather than “serue hir” (B5) at line Ra 41. In the absence of definitive evidence proving that one was copied from the other, for the purposes of this study these manuscripts are treated as collateral.

The main factor in differentiating between the two copies and selecting a copy text is the water damage to the upper and lower margins of B6. There are several areas where the manuscript is illegible, particularly between lines Ra 54–63 and Ra 79–85. If B6 were used as a copy text, text would have to be transferred from B5 to supplement these damaged sections. As the textual differences between the two copies are minor, B5 was selected as copy text because of its better condition.

The short, imperfect section on effectively venerating the Virgin by shunning pride, which follows the Legenda material in B6 only, is presented in the apparatus rather than the text. The primary reasons for this decision are textual: this section is unattested in any other manuscript and it is evidently incomplete. Additionally, the material that it covers does not seem particularly relevant to that which has gone before. Despite the presence of the seemingly conjunctive phrase “and therefore”, pride and humility have not been features of the material from the Legenda that immediately precedes this section and it seems out of place.

Copy Text Selection: Version B (Rb)

The readings in the Rb manuscripts are not uniform, and although they usually agree with each other when compared against the readings in the Ra manuscripts, the Rb
manuscripts show evidence of sub-groupings. At lines Rb 53–54, for example, O2 and W have “many colde teeris, mekil affeciou.” At the same point, CM has “depe deuocioun haboundaunce of terys & greuous affliciou”; B1 has “many teres and myche affluccioun”; and B4 has “many teres & mykel tourmentyng.” Additionally, the list of faculties that the Virgin prays that God will preserve (Rb 37–42, quoted in full above) appears as a whole in all of the non-fragmentary version B texts, but not as exactly the same list. The list quoted above is that which appears in O2 and W. The three other manuscripts add “myn eres þat I myȝt here hir” (quoted from MS B1) to the list as it appears in W/O2 and in the Meditationes (Peltier 513, col. 2)

The contents of W and O2 are very similar, and these manuscripts belong to a group that have a number of texts in common, including the Commentary on the Ave Maria (C). Even within that group, the similarity of W and O2 is particularly close and has been discussed by Hanna, who noted that, “[o]n the basis of contents and similarities of format, Doyle long ago [...] suggested connections between Bodley [938] and Westminster [3]. In [the Rule of the Life of Our Lady] the two copies agree almost word for word for the entire brief text” (Pursuing History 289, n. 10).

CM exhibits the tendency either to represent a reading common among most of the manuscripts of the group or to give a variant shared with no other manuscript. It is the only manuscript, for example, to speak of the precepts that the Virgin keeps as a single precept. The other manuscripts in version B say that she kept three precepts (Rb 14): firstly, to love God with all her heart, with all her soul, with all her mind, and with all her strength; secondly, to love her neighbour as herself; and thirdly, to hate no enemy other than sin. CM refers to these individual components collectively as “on” (one). The example given
above of “depe deuocioun haboundaunce of terys & greuous afflicioun” also shows this manuscript’s tendency to present variant readings.

B1 also regularly exhibits distinctive variant readings, but in different parts of the text, and often as a result of a more literal translation of the material from the *Meditationes* than that found in the other manuscripts. At the end of the sentence which finishes “and of þis loue comeþ al fulnes of grace” (Rb 20–21), for example, B1 alone continues with “withouten qweche non virtu comeþ into þe sawle.” At line Rb 19, the other manuscripts all have “and so I wol teche þee”, where in B1 the Virgin states “and I wol þat þou do.” These instances, along with others at lines Rb 7, 21–22, 78, and 85, are examples of points at which B1 alone transmits the material from the *Meditationes* more literally than the other manuscripts in version B. Often, the alternative reading found in the other version B manuscripts is closer to that found also in the version A manuscripts than that found in B1. This similarity between B1 and the source material does not make B1 the best Rb copy text. Although its readings are often closest to those found in the *Meditationes*, its difference from all of the other Rb manuscripts means that B1 is not representative of the Rb as a stand-alone text, independent of its source material.

Occasionally, where B1 disagrees with the other manuscripts in this version, it agrees with B4. At line Rb 4–5, where the other manuscripts have the passive construction “sche was offrid in to þe temple of hir fadir & hir modir”, B1 and B4 both have an active construction: “hir fadir & hir modir offyrd hir in þe temple.” At Rb 7–8, both B1 and B4 have “Seynt Eliabeth, whos feste we syngen solemplyche” (quoted from B1), where W and O2 have “Seynt Eliabeth, of whom we synge of solempnely” and CM “Seynt Eliabeth, of whom we synge solemnly in cherche.” Other than the variations that it shares with B1, B4 rarely differentiates itself in its readings from the reading found in the rest of the manuscripts in version B.
In addition to the similarity in some of their readings, B1 and B4 also share a more northern dialect than the other complete texts in version B. They each often use “qu-” or “qw-” readings for Old English initial “hw-“ , they have “s-” for “sh-” in words such as “shalle” and they use the northern variants “scho” or “sho” for “she”, and “-and” for “-ing.” These dialectal features are not completely uniform across the text, however; B1 uses “whos feste” rather than a “qu-” or “qw-” spelling in the example of Rb 7–8 given above, for example. O1 also exhibits some of these northern features, but, because it is a very short fragment, extending only to line Rb 21, it is difficult to generate a proper impression of its dialect.

In the stemma below, I have grouped B1 and B4 together, and provided them with a common ancestor (Y) to explain their shared features. As B4 generally exhibits common readings against B1, B1’s readings may be as a result of scribal “correction” from the Meditations, for example, or of contamination. B4 and the hypothetical ancestor Y may be very similar, but they cannot be the same because of extant common readings omitted from B4 but still extant in B1 (Rb 28, 48 etc). For the same reason, B1 cannot descend from B4, at least without a significant amount of contamination.

O1 rarely displays variant readings. Although O1 is a fragment, and does not therefore have the opportunity to exhibit many errors or variants, I have grouped it on the basis of the little evidence that I do have with W and O2, and have supplied a common ancestor for these three manuscripts (Z).

Graphically, these observations and conclusions yield the following stemma:
I have selected O2 as a copy text based on a number of considerations. Even though CM is probably the oldest copy in the group, and B1 often offers the most literal translation of the *Meditationes*, neither CM nor B1 is representative enough of the group to be used as the base text; using either of these manuscripts as copy text would result in a prodigious set of textual variants. B4 would be a suitable copy text, as it often represents a happy medium between the readings found in B1 and in the other manuscripts. W and O2, however, generally agree with the common reading; when B1, B4 and CM are not being “individuals”, they usually agree with the W/O2 group. It is rare for these two to form a reading all of their own without support from at least one other manuscript. As Hanna has noted (see above), there is very little to separate these two manuscripts. They have similar dialect, and very rarely disagree with one another. Of the two, I selected O2 predominantly because of practical considerations: it was possible to purchase manuscript images of O2 with which to check my readings, but not of W.

Source

The *Rule* is an anonymous translation of chapter 3 of the *Meditationes Vitae*
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

43. The material from the Meditationes translated in the Rule comes from two sources: the Revelations of St Elizabeth of Hungary (Ra 3 / Rb 2 – Ra 66 / Rb 64) and the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (Ra 67/ Rb 65 – Ra 91 / Rb 91).

   The material from the Revelations is a close adaptation of a Marian vision which St Elizabeth of Hungary received on the vigil of the Feast of the Nativity. In this vision, the Blessed Virgin outlines to St Elizabeth her guiding principles during her time as a young girl in the temple, before her betrothal to St Joseph and the Annunciation. In the process of discussing the viable candidates for the visionary “Elizabeth of Hungary”, Alexandra Barratt notes that this material from the Revelations occurs in the long version of the Meditationes, but not in the short version (Barratt, “Problems” 10).

   The second part of this extract from the Meditationes is taken from chapter six of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, which M.R. James describes as an “embroidery” of the Protevangelium and the Gospel of Thomas (James, Apocrypha 38). Although “nearly all” of the content of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew appears in the two infancy narratives from which it derives (James, Apocrypha 70), the material covered here does not belong to either the

---

43. Carl Horstmann’s 1895 edition of the Rule in Yorkshire Writers I argues that the translation was undertaken by Richard Rolle, as the Rule is one of the short pieces in Harley 1022 which, he says, although they “do not bear the author’s name […] suggest R. Rolle” (157). “Authorship” of the Rule was loosely associated with Rolle from the publication of Horstmann’s edition in the 1890s until Hope Emily Allen rejected it from Rolle’s canon in her Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography in 1927. The IPMEP entry retains “[Richard Rolle]”, although it also includes a reference to the Meditationes as the original source (IPMEP 22). Neither Allen nor Nicholas Watson (Invention 34) give any credence to the suggestion that most of the English prose treatises that Horstmann edits, including the Rule, were associated with Rolle, either as an author, or as a translator. No other author or translator for the Rule has been suggested.

44. McNamer, Two Middle English Translations 62–67.

45. For a discussion of the candidates for “St Elizabeth of Hungary”, see Barratt, “The Revelations of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary: Problems of Attribution.”
**INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES**

Protevangelium or the *Gospel of Thomas*. The attribution to St Jerome of the material in both the *Meditationes* and the *Rule* results from letters prefaced to the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, supposedly to or from St Jerome. James explains that: “By way of introducing it to the world under good auspices the compiler (probably) provided it with credentials in the shape of pretended letters to or from St Jerome” (James, *Apocrypha* 70).

Following the material from the *Meditationes*, but in only the *Ra* texts, there is a brief account of a miracle of the Virgin. This material is taken from the *Legenda Aurea*’s reading for the feast of the Purification (Graesse 158–67, at 164). The attribution to Saint Denis given in *Ra* does not appear in the *Legenda*. As I note above, I have not been able to find a source for the fragmentary section that recommends avoiding pride to those who wish truly to venerate the Blessed Virgin.

**FIFTEEN STEADS AND FIFTEEN SORROWS**

The *Fifteen Steads* devotion (P) and the *Fifteen Sorrows* devotion (S) are two Passion devotions found only in London, Lambeth Palace MS 546 (MS L). The *Sorrows* devotion immediately follows the *Steads* devotion. Because of their Passion focus, Marian content, structural and numerical similarity and proximity within the manuscript, I suggest that the

---

46 Because of the similarities between the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* and the texts from which it derives, James does not print the text in full; he gives instead a chapter-by-chapter “analysis” (summary). Mary Clayton’s edition of the *Apocryphal Gospels in Anglo-Saxon England* does have this text, and it is very similar to that found in the *Meditationes*.

47 For further information about the attribution to St Denis, see note to line *Ra* 96.
two were intended to complement each other, and that their selection and inclusion in this order in MS L reflects that intent.

Although Sara Schwamb has recently edited the Steads devotion, she does not consider extra-biblical sources in her notes to the text, and some of the points in her commentary require clarification. I hope to rectify some of those issues in the course of this study.

MS L is a Syon MS—one of three among the copy manuscripts in this study. Several of the identified and named hands have been found in other manuscripts produced for Syon Abbey. For a discussion of Syon's manuscripts and the influence that Syon had on devotion, see the Introduction above (pages 24–37); for information on this MS, including information pertaining to the scribes and their relationship with Syon, see the description of MS L, pages 128–140 below.

The name “Master John Warde” appears at the end of the Sorrows devotion (S 171). Erler records that a John Warde was Steward of Syon in 1485 (“Devotional Literature” 510). It is unclear whether this name is the signature of the scribe, the name of the author, or both.

Fifteen Steads Devotion (P)

Raymo describes the Steads devotion as a “late medieval devotion, perhaps of Dominican origin [... which] describes the fifteen ‘stations’ or halting places along the Via Dolorosa which the Virgin Mary [...] visited daily” (Manual VII, 2368). He gives no

---

48 The other two Syon manuscripts are MS NH, produced at Syon, and MS C2, produced for a nun of Syon Abbey by William Darker, a monk of the Carthusian House at Sheen; Darker copied ff. 57r–77v of this MS, also. For further information on these MSS NH and C2, please see their manuscript descriptions below.
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

explanation for his suggestion that the devotion might be “of Dominican origin”, and neither Schwamb nor I have found a source for this devotion as a whole. Schwamb seems to presume that the devotion has been translated from Latin, on the basis that many texts were translated for the use of nuns at Syon Abbey whose understanding of Latin was poor (Schwamb 21). Although this text may indeed have been translated from a Latin or French source, I have no evidence to confirm that it was. Because Raymo does not explain his attribution, I am not certain about what specific aspects of the text may be specifically Dominican. There does not seem to be anything unusual in the details of the devotion when compared with, for example, Ludolphus of Saxony’s _Vita Jesu Christi_ (Carthusian), the Pseudo-Bonaventuran _Meditationes Vitae Christi_ (Franciscan) or the _Meditationes’_ English adaptations, including Nicholas Love’s _Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ_ (Carthusian).

The prologue of the _Steads_ devotion, which describes how the Virgin Mary would travel each day around each of the places in which Christ suffered in the course of his Passion, and how she would contemplate the event which occurred at each of these places, effectively explains both the devotion itself and the behaviour which the reader was required to emulate in his or her imagination. The fifteen places are distributed across events on the evening of Christ’s arrest, Good Friday, Easter Sunday morning, and the day of the Ascension; the events of these days are related in the meditations for Thursday, Friday and Sunday in popular devotional treatises like the _Meditationes Vitae Christi_.

Schwamb discusses the places that appear in the _Steads_ devotion and the events commemorated there in terms of both current and past practice of the Stations of the Cross, outlining the events that are traditionally included in the Stations and comparing the _Steads_ devotion against them. As Schwamb herself proves in the course of her article, however, past practice was very varied, and the modern Stations of the Cross commemorate the events of
Good Friday alone, and without specific reference to their locations.

The Fifteen Steads devotion is not merely an unusual rendering of the Stations of the Cross. It is structured primarily around the locations in which each event takes place; in each case the location is the catalyst for the meditation which follows and acts to make the event concrete by placing it within in a physical environment. Also, the events which the Virgin remembers are not restricted to the Passion alone. The devotion incorporates also places important to the Resurrection and the Ascension, thereby completing the story begun in Christ’s suffering, rather than simply commemorating his suffering alone.

Fifteen Sorrows Devotion (S)

The Sorrows devotion immediately follows the Steads devotion. It is a series of fifteen prayers, each prefaced by an invocation of the Virgin Mary and a brief, affective outline of one of her sorrows. The cult of the Sorrowful Mother (Mater Dolorosa) was, as Duffy describes it, “the most distinctive manifestation of Marian piety in late medieval England” (Altars 258). The essential purpose of the cult in the context of devotion in the later Middle Ages was in “arousing and focusing sympathetic suffering in the heart of the onlooker” (Duffy, Altars 259). The affective content of the description of each of the Blessed Virgin’s sorrows in the Fifteen Sorrows devotion, where the frailty of the Baby Jesus, the horror, pain or fear of the Virgin, or the mutilation of Christ’s adult body is described in detail, sharpens the penitent’s focus on the suffering of the Virgin and the Son. The number of sorrows examined in the course of any sorrows devotion varied, usually between five (as in, for example, the Vision of St John (J)) and the fifteen found in this devotion.⁴⁹ In this case, the use of fifteen sorrows mirrors the number of places found in the preceding text, even though

⁴⁹ The number of sorrows stabilised in the fifteenth century; seven is now the usual number (NCE 443).
the sorrows themselves do not reflect specifically the events commemorated in the Steads
devotion.

The Sorrows devotion itself follows a rhetorical pattern very similar to that found in
the Fifteen “Oes” devotion, which was traditionally attributed to St Birgitta of Sweden
(Meier-Ewert 355). The Fifteen Oes are a series of fifteen prayers to Christ, each beginning
“O Jesu”, each commemorating an aspect of the Passion, and each asking Christ’s help in
return for the commemoration of that aspect. The Sorrows devotion follows exactly the
same formula: the Blessed Virgin is invoked, the sorrow in question is described, and help is
asked in response to the commemoration of that sorrow. Both the Fifteen Oes and the
Sorrows devotion make attempts to connect the event commemorated with the type of help
that is being asked. In both texts, for example, there is a prayer which commemorates
Christ’s being made to drink vinegar and gall. In the Fifteen Oes, Christ is invoked as a
“sweptes”, which is set in opposition to the “bittirnes” of the drink, and his body and blood
are to be ingested to remedy the sins of the petitioner (Meier-Ewert 360, prayer eight). In
the Sorrows devotion, the Virgin is invoked on the grounds of her temperance, the vinegar
and gall is juxtaposed with her “swete maydys mylke”, and the petition is for forgiveness for
the sin of gluttony (S 136–43). Although the connections between invocation, event and
petition are not always completely clear in these two devotions, the impulse thematically to
connect all aspects of each prayer exists throughout both texts.
A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH ON THE COMPASSION OF THE VIRGIN

The *Doctor of the Church* meditation (D) exists in two manuscripts: Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33 (MS C2), and Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys MS 2125 (MS CM). The two manuscript versions of the text are roughly contemporary with one another. Although CM as a whole has been dated to the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, the “Doctor of the Church” text itself has been added to the end of the manuscript in a “small secretary hand” of the late fifteenth century (Pepys Catalogue 60). In his description of CM in his edition of Rolle’s *Uncollected Prose and Verse*, Hanna says that the text in CM has been “added on blank leaves, in anglicana”, at the end of the fifteenth century (*Rolle* xlviii). The version found in C2 was copied by a known scribe, William Darker, a Carthusian of the Charterhouse at Sheen, whose work A. Ian Doyle dates to around 1500 (Pepys Catalogue 60).

**Textual Variation and Copy Text Selection**

Occasionally, CM and C2 disagree with one another; on almost all of these occasions, however, it is impossible to tell which manuscript best represents the hypothetical archetype. The forms of variation are relatively minor and make very little change to meaning. At line 3, for example C2 reads “grace and devocioun”, and CM “deuocion”; at line 11, C2 has “lufe & kyndenes” for CM’s “kyndenesse”; at line 20, CM reads “clere myrror” and C2 “myrror”; at line 40, CM has “dy & suffer passion”, when C2 reads “suffyr deth.” In
a more extended variation, at the end of Christ's response to the Virgin's first request (D 67–69), C2 reads “for I muste nedys dye. And as to your iide request”; CM has none of this material, and simply moves on to the content of the second request.

There are several single word or word-group variations, where the words used in both manuscripts fit the context and it is difficult to suggest which might best represent an archetypal reading. At line 9, C2 reads “comprised” (meaning “contrived”) where CM reads “conspyred.” “Universally” (C2, D 15), meaning “totally, completely” is not significantly different to “unmesurably” (CM) meaning “boundlessly, greatly”, in the context of the surrounding passage. “Domage” (C2, D 34) and its equivalent “danger” (CM) might be synonymous; alternatively, the former might refer to injury and harm and the latter to dominion and power, either of which makes sense in context.

There are more significant variations, although they do not obviously constitute definitive corrections or errors. At line 12, the absence of “his” from “dyynge” in CM is puzzling, and the reading found in C2 (“his deth”) is preferable. The subtle clarification offered by “bodyli beynge” in CM (D 24) against the reading “begynynge” in C2, is more specific and theologically rigorous, but this theological rigor is undermined by the next line in C2: “as welle of the fadir as of the moder” (C2).

In three cases, the readings found in CM are almost certainly preferable to those in C2. At line 5, CM includes the words “thys tretys”; these words do not appear in C2, and the sentence seems incomplete.⁵⁰ At line 71, Christ describes his death as “a nobyll e sacrifice for the salvation of mankind in C2, whereas, in CM, it is “an able” sacrifice; given Christ’s emphasis on the “satisfaccioun” of the Atonement, the sufficiency of the latter fits the context better than the heroism of the former. The other probably preferable reading is

---

⁵⁰ See note to D 2 for a discussion of this sentence.
at line 75, where C2 reads “must be nedys” and CM reads “must be medlyd.” Again, either reading is appropriate to the situation, but the subsequent “with” fits better with “medlyd” than it does with “nedys.”

CM has two obvious copying errors: “peyfulle” (D 41) for “peynfulle”; and “synne” (D 74) for “synner.” C2, on the other hand, has two corrections in the scribe’s hand (or a very similar one): “[þ]at” (D 11) and “lyue” (D 86) are each entered above the line with carets.

The physical condition of the sections of C2 and CM containing the Doctor of the Church text is also important: C2 is in better condition than CM. The last leaf of CM is ripped, with particular areas of damage to the ends of the last four lines of the text. Parts of a number of words are missing.

The overall similarity of the two versions in their readings and their age made selection of a copy text difficult. There are few definitive errors, and fewer demonstratively preferable readings amongst the alternatives provided. Because of the damage to the end of CM, where words are missing, C2 has been selected as the copy text.

Sources

The identification of a specific source for D has proved difficult. The received position is that the ultimate source of D is Pseudo-Bonaventura’s Meditationes Vitae Christi (see further below, page 73–75) but this proposition does not stand up to inspection.

The Doctor of the Church meditation outlines a conversation between Christ and his mother, explaining the necessity of the atonement and importance of the Blessed Virgin’s role in it. The aspects of the Passion which are emphasised here relate to the Virgin’s role as
co-sufferer with Christ and the responsibility under which she labours in return for the blessings that she received in being permitted to bear the Son of God.

D begins with a brief introductory passage, followed by a series of petitions from the Blessed Virgin to her Son, each attempting to minimise the pain that Christ will suffer in the course of his Passion and the pain which she will necessarily suffer as a consequence of his pain and death. The Blessed Virgin's petitions are: that Christ find another way of redeeming mankind which does not require his death; that Christ redeem mankind by means of a less painful death than the one to which he is destined; that the Virgin be allowed to die before Christ's death; or, if she is not allowed to die before the Passion, that she be made insensible at the time so that she does not have to witness it. Christ is unable to grant any of the petitions, and, at the end, provides a justification for why it is that he cannot for each petition. These justifications constitute an explanation of the process of the Atonement as a whole.

A conversation between Christ and his mother where Christ comforts the Virgin by outlining the necessity of the Passion and the joy of the Resurrection occurs, to one extent or another, in the course of many Passion-related texts. In the Pseudo-Bernardine “Quis Dabit” meditation (Meditacio Bernardi de lamentacione Beate Virginis), the Virgin and Christ do not engage in an actual conversation, but there is a prolonged moment of understanding between them while Christ is hanging on the cross (Bestul, Texts 172–175). Looking at her, and without speaking, it is “as if” ("ac si") he explains the reason that he must suffer and the joy in which she will participate at the Resurrection. In the Complaint of Our Lady, a fourteenth-century Passion narrative, Christ comforts her at the end of the Last Supper, saying, “My swete moder be nouȝt sory, for ich haue seide þe bifore þat it mote nedes be so & þou schalt be gretlich conforted whan ich am arisen fram ded to lyue” (Marx and
Drennan 78, ll.8–10). Both Chapter 72 of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and Love's *Myrour* (Sargent, *Mirror R* 139) have a short account of a conversation between Christ and his mother before his going to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover.

Although the compilers of the Pepys catalogue suggest that chapters 69 and 72 of the *Meditationes* form the probable source of the *Doctor of the Church* text (Pepys Catalogue 60), and Hanna calls it “an excerpt from Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditationes Vitae Christi* on the sorrows of the Virgin” (Hanna, *Rolle* xlvii), its connection to the *Meditationes* is not clear-cut. Part of Chapter 69 of the *Meditationes* may be a source for a section of the beginning of D, which outlines the conspiracy of the Jews to have Christ put to death. D reads:

... Oure Lord, after the raysynge of Lázare, was sore envyed of the pryncys of þe Jwes for the doynge of that mervelous myracle, from the Frydaye next before Passion Sonday, which was the day of the sayd Lázarus raysynge, euery day vnto Good Fryday, the sayd princes maliciously comprised in theire counsell-hows dayly to dampne Oure Lord to deth. (D 6–10)

Chapter 69 of the *Meditationes* reads:

... armavit diabolus satellites suos, et acuit corda eorum contra ipsum Dominum usque ad occisionem ipsius, et ex bonis operibus Domini, maxime autem propter suscitationem Lazari, [...] collegerunt Pontifices et Pharisaei concilium, in quo Caipha prophetante, deliberaverunt ipsum agnum innocentissimum occidere. (Peltier 593, col. 1)

[... the devil roused his accomplices, and incited their hearts against the Lord until the murder, and because of the good works of the Lord, but chiefly on account of the raising of Lazarus, [...] the Princes and the Pharisees assembled a
council in which, Caiaphas prophesying, they resolved to slaughter that most
innocent lamb.]

Because much of the same material can be found in John 11: 47–53, and the tone is required
by the affective approach of both texts, it would be difficult to prove that this section of D
derives directly from the Meditationes.

The case for chapter 72 of the Meditationes as a source for much of the rest of D is
even less compelling. The conversation between Christ and his mother in this chapter is not
actually directly concerned with the Crucifixion at all; the Virgin Mary, at the insistence of
Mary Magdalene, attempts to dissuade Christ from travelling to Jerusalem to celebrate
Passover, because they are aware of the conspiracy of the High Priests against him. The
Virgin asks that Christ not go to Jerusalem, and that, “si sibi placebit, poterit de alio modo
redemptionis sine morte tua providere, quia omnia possibilia sunt ei” (“if it is pleasing to
[God], [He] would be able to find another way to provide redemption without [Christ’s]
death, because all things are possible to [Him]”; Peltier 595, col. 2). Christ’s response is to
ask her and Mary Magdalene not “to weep; you know that it requires submission from me to
the Father: but trust confidently, because I will swiftly return to you, and the third day will
rise unimpaired” (... flere; scitis quod obedientiam Patris me implere oportet: sed pro certo
confidite, quia cito revertar ad vos, et tertia die resurgam incolmis”; Peltier 596, col. 1).
This conversation is similar to the first petition in D and occurs at a position in the Passion
sequence similar to that of the conversation in D; D specifies that “the tyme of his Passion
fast drewe nye” (D 21), but the early events of the Passion seem not to have occurred. The
placement of the material in the Meditationes occurs prior to Christ’s leaving Bethany for
Jerusalem.

Other conversations between the Virgin and Christ are closer to the content in D
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

than that found in the Meditationes. Of the petitions outlined at the beginning of this section, the Meditationes material coincides only with the first: that Christ find a way to redeem mankind without his death. John Fewterer’s Myrour or Glasse of Cristhes Passion, a translation of Pinder’s Speculum Passionis, is a step closer to D than is the Meditationes; it has, for example, the first and third questions as they are asked by the Virgin in D (STC 14553, ff. 53r–53v). Pinder’s named sources do not seem to contain the other questions.

The nearest approximation of the conversation that I have found is in the lyric “Stond wel, moder, ounder rode” (Brown, Fourteenth Century 87–89). Although this lyric is a dialogue between Christ and his mother during the Crucifixion itself, and most of the content is designed to illustrate their shared suffering and the effect that the suffering of each has on the other, several of its details have parallels in D which are not present in the other Passion texts. Just as he does in D, Christ tells Mary that he must die, not only to save mankind, but because, if he does not she will go to hell (l. 26). Mary asks to die, because her suffering at watching her son die is causing her so much pain (l. 36), and Christ equates her current pain with the suffering that other women have during childbirth (“Nou þou wost of wimmanes kare” l. 44). I do not suggest that “Stond wel” or its known sources is the source of D. Neither of the well-known Passion narratives identified by Brown as sources for “Stond wel” (Pseudo-Anselm, Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini, (PL CLIX 271a–290a)); Pseudo-Bernard, Meditacio Bernardi de lamentacione Beate Virginis (the “Quis Dabit” meditation, Bestul, Texts 166–185)) contain the material which is so strikingly similar in D. Additionally, the conversation in “Stond wel” and the “Quis Dabit” meditation, and the reported action of Anselm’s Dialogue all occur during the Crucifixion itself, rather than at a point prior to the Passion.

I do not have a specific source for D which can be shown to share both its context
and its details. D must, for now, remain the product of an environment of affective Passion devotion, in which the devout reader, as well as the Blessed Virgin, needs to know both why Christ must die and why his mother must suffer with him. The specific questions which the Virgin asks and the responses that she receives all focus the meditation toward an explanation of Mariological concerns rather than the general necessity of the Atonement.

A VISION OF ST JOHN ON THE SORROWS OF THE VIRGIN

_A Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin_ (J) occurs in three Middle English versions in eleven manuscripts.\(^51\) Version A is found in London, British Library MS Additional 37787 (B2); Cambridge, University Library MSS Additional 6686 (C1) and, extracted, in Hh.1.11 (C3); Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (CJ); Glasgow, University Library Hunterian MS 472 (G); and San Marino CA, Huntington Library MS 127 (SM). Version B is found complete in Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43 (C4) and in a fragmentary form in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 175 (O3). Version C is found only in New Haven CT, Beinecke Library MS 317 (NH). The eleventh manuscript was formerly Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Bradfer-Lawrence Dep BL MS 8, now Tokyo, Takamiya MS 65.\(^52\)

There are two, or possibly three, Latin copies of this text. One is found in London,
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

British Library MS Additional 11748 (B1—which contains a copy of version B of the Rule of the Life of Our Lady, Rb). Another is found in Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys MS 2125 (CM—which also contains a copy of version B of the Rule, as well as the Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin, D). A third Latin form is listed in IMEP Handlist 1 (The Huntington Collection, page 12), as being extant in London, British Library MS Arundel 506, but I was unable to identify this text within the manuscript. Neither of the two Latin copies which I was able to consult is similar enough to any of the Middle English versions to suggest a source-translation relationship between them.

The Text

This devotion occurs in Middle English in three different versions. These versions are so distinct that they must be the products of three independent translations from an unknown source text.

The differentiation of versions A, B and C is most obvious in the structure and narrative approach. All three versions cover essentially the same material in a similar context: St John is ravished to heaven, where he is privy to a conversation between Christ and his mother. The five sorrows that the Virgin suffered on earth are briefly outlined, and Christ gives a series of rewards for those who meditate upon and have pity for these sorrows. In version A, the Virgin’s sorrows are reported by an unknown, third-person narrator one after another, and then Christ, in first-person narration, outlines the rewards. In version B, the Virgin outlines her sorrows in the first-person, rather than having them reported. In version C, both the sorrows and the rewards are given by the protagonists in first-person narration, but the narration alternates between the Blessed Virgin and Christ, so that the first sorrow is followed immediately by the first reward.
The different versions show little similarity in terms of their detail, also. Compare, for example, the account of the fourth sorrow from versions A, B and C respectively:

Ïe fourte was ful sorowfulle, when sho sawe his blody body nayled to þe crosse and herde hym with a lowde voyce betake his spirite into his fader handes. (Ja 14–16)

[...] the iiii whan Y sawe þe, byfore my face, hanged vpon þe crosse [...] (Jb 16)

The iiiithe sorowe was whan I seygh the, my beste belovyd sone, bounde & nayled to þe crosse. (Je 28–29)

Each of these three sentences presents the same situation quite differently. Laying aside for a moment the narrative point of view, even the act of Crucifixion is described variously as nailing, hanging, and binding and nailing.

The five sorrows that appear in this text are traditional: Simeon’s prophecy at the Purification, Christ’s being lost for three days in Jerusalem, Christ’s arrest, his Crucifixion, and his Deposition. The sorrows used are consistent across all versions and all manuscripts, and appear in a chronologically predetermined order. There is more variation in the rewards which Christ specifies for devotion to each of the sorrows in the different versions. The content of the rewards for sorrows one and four in version C are similar: whoever prays for and says a Pater Noster for the first sorrow will be given “fulle remyssyou

---

53 These sorrows correspond with sorrows two, four, five, thirteen and fifteen of the Fifteen Sorrows Devotion (S).
of alle his synnes yn the owre of his deth” (Jc 16); and whoever does the same for the fourth sorrow will have his soul taken “at [þe] owre of his deth ynto [Christ’s] handes [...] & lede hit ynto [his] blysse” (Jc 31–32). In versions A and B, however, the rewards for each are much more distinct. The first sorrow is to be rewarded with a combination of the rewards quoted above from Jc: “I wil hym assoyle of alle maner synne & amange my childer receyve hym to blysse” (Ja 22–23) / “Y schall e asoyle hym of alle hys synnes & deliuere hym of alle yuelys” (Jb 23). Devotion to the fourth sorrow in versions A and B is rewarded with “þe fyre of hote brynnynge lufe, so þat my Passioun sall eu er be in hys mynde” (Ja 28–29) / “þe hoot fyre of loue, soo þat he schalle euer contynue in mynde of my Passyon” (Jb 31–32).

All five complete texts of Ja refer near the end to prayers to the five sorrows; four of the five (B2, C1, CJ and G) attribute the prayers to St Anselm, while the other (SM) attributes the prayers to St Augustine. Although all of the manuscripts state that they do not have St Anselm’s/St Augustine’s prayers, they suggest that it would be appropriate to pray in whatever way the devotee is moved by God. B2 suggests at line 34 that there are prayers to follow (“þat bene folwyng”), but those prayers do not occur. G provides a series of five prayers in English and an indulgence for the praying of them. Neither Jb nor Jc contain the section found in Ja referring to St Anselm’s/Augustine’s prayers, but C4, the only complete text of Jb, provides five prayers in Latin. These prayers have not been included as part of the edited text. The Middle English prayers and indulgence from G are printed, however, in the appendix to this edition.

Despite the reference to the names “St John” and “Anselm” (or, alternatively, Augustine), I have not been able to identify a source for the Vision or for its accompanying prayers. Although there are Latin copies of the Vision, one of which is a fragment (B1), neither of the two matches any of the three Middle English versions sufficiently to represent
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

a direct Latin source.

An explicit at the end of the SM copy of the Vision reads “Explicit tractatus de quatuor gradubus [sic] amoris”, suggesting that this text forms the last section of the Contemplations of the Love and Dread of God, as it is most commonly known in English. In C1, the Vision text is found at the end of the Contemplations. Although the Contemplations do not include this text,54 it is interesting to note that the opening of the version A text “I fynde and rede be holy mennes wrytynge” (Ja 1) has many verbal parallels in the Contemplations. The second section of the Contemplations, for example, begins “Y finde and rede of oure holi fadres” (Connolly, Contemplations 5, l. B1), the third “I rede” (l. C1), and the fourth “Charite, as y rede” (l. D1). This rhetoric of reading and finding is not restricted to the beginning of chapters (see, for example, ll. E 9, F 28 and H 5), but is prevalent, specifically at the beginning of sections or subsections throughout the Contemplations. Although the Vision of St John seems to be an addition to the Contemplations rather than a core part of it (despite the explicit in SM) it is interesting that these verbal parallels exist in Ja.

Copy Text Selection

Copy text selection for versions B and C was very straightforward. There is only one manuscript of Jc, and of the two manuscripts which contain Jb, only one is complete. There are, however, five complete copies and one extract of version A, so the process of selection for Ja is more involved.

54 I refer to the Contemplations as printed by de Worde [STC 21259, 1506] and by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers II, 72–105 from de Worde’s imprint, and edited by Connolly, EETS os 303, from Maidstone, Museum MS 6, with reference to the other manuscripts.
CJ is the most idiosyncratic manuscript of version A. It has a number of significant additions which do not feature in any of the other manuscripts; there are two short additions at lines 8 and 31, and two long digressions at lines 19 and 28. It does not habitually share readings with other manuscripts other than probable archetypal readings. CJ does not present the complete text as found in B2, C1 and SM; it finishes at l. 37.

B2, the manuscript from which Nita Scudder Baugh edited this text, exhibits regular minor disagreement in its readings in comparison with the other manuscripts and has two interesting variations. At line 3 it reads “inspyryd” rather than “in spirite” (a reading which is difficult to justify in context, but not obviously wrong) and at line 18 it has “blody” for “body” (which makes sense in context but disagrees with all of the other manuscripts). It is unclear whether these examples are errors, or whether they are attempts to rationalise the text. B2 has also two minor additions relating to prayers that, it indicates, follow the exposition: “þat bene folwyng” (l. 34) and “in stede of þe orysons” (l. 35). The prayers do not occur.

In the sections which G shares with the fragment C3, the two manuscripts seem to be related, and usually represent presumed archetypal readings. Both occasionally feature minor variation from the readings found in other manuscripts. They rarely disagree with each other. The putative link between these manuscripts is based on a specific shared reading: “grace of me” (l. 31), rather than the “fulle grace and mercy” found in all other manuscripts. In the stemma that follows, I have supplied a common ancestor (Y) in which this reading exists, so that they do not have to have developed it independently.

In the sections which G does not share with C3, G exhibits minor variations against the other Ja manuscripts. There are a number of examples of independent minor omission (ll. 4 and 7) and addition (l. 12), and some instances of addition (ll. 4 and 15) and omission (l. 14) which G shares with B2. These variations are not sufficient to indicate the presence
of a common sub-archetype; in each case (“sawe and herde” (4) rather than “sawe”, “holy spirit” (15) rather than “spirit”, and “body” (14) rather than “blody body” (14)) the variations are not especially unusual and might have developed independently. The main difference between G and the rest of the manuscripts is that it supplies both a series of five prayers and an indulgence, which begins at a point equivalent to line 35 in the other manuscripts. It does not, therefore, replicate the last section found in B2, C1 and SM.

C1 and SM together seem best to represent archetypal readings. They very rarely disagree with one another and only once differ from all four other MSS (“ful sorrowful” rather than “sorrowful” at line 14). Because of this consideration, I have supplied them with a specific common ancestor (Z) in the stemma that follows. When they do offer a variant reading from each other and from the other MSS, these variations are minor omissions, as at lines 3, 10, 18 and 36. At line 41, C1 disagrees with both SM and B2, where it reads “lyke” rather than “suiche/syche”, and SM disagrees with both C1 and B2 in the same line, reading “plesinge” rather than “helpyng.” In both cases, however, either alternative reading makes sense in context.

There are two distinctive readings in SM alone. The first is “pitousli preciouslich” at line 17, rather than either “pitousli” (C1, CJ, G) or “precyously” (B2). It is possible that there was an ambiguous reading in an archetype which became one reading in one, one reading in the others, and about which SM’s scribe could not decide, or that the scribe had recourse to two manuscripts which, between them, provided both readings, or that one of the words was given as a gloss to the other in a manuscript from which SM descends, and both words were subsequently copied as part of the text. The other unusual reading in SM is “St Austin” at line 32 for “St Anselm” in all the other manuscripts.

These comparisons, collectively, suggest the following stemma:

55 There is no sign of an attempt at expunging either reading evident from the microfilm, however.
The key place at which this does not account for all of the variants is at the beginning of each of Christ’s five rewards (þat prayeth / pray / prayith / þe prayieþ / prayith to yow / preieþ the / prayet for þe / pray þe / preieth to þe etc). I have not found a pattern that explains these sections, as the distribution of these readings does not seem even to represent an internal coherence, let alone reflect a wider pattern of relationship between texts.

In selecting the copy text, I have ruled out CJ because of its variation, B2 on the basis of its errors, and G on its early ending. C3 must be ruled out because it is a fragment. C1 has been selected as the copy text from the remaining two manuscripts, because it does not replicate the unusual readings found in SM, and represents all of the sections of the text which seem to be intrinsic.
The Treatise on the Ave Maris Stella is, in fact, a treatise on humility. It takes the four invocations of the Virgin Mary found in the first stanza of the hymn “Ave Maris Stella”, and uses them as a catalyst for an exposition concerning humility. While the Blessed Virgin remains the key example of perfectly humble behaviour throughout the treatise, the author regularly uses examples from the writings of the Church Fathers and from the Bible in order further to expound and confirm the value of humility and its proper practice. This treatise is extant in only one MS, British Library Arundel MS 286 (MS B3), which dates from the fifteenth century.

Ave Maris Stella

The earliest extant occurrence of the hymn “Ave Maris Stella”, upon which this treatise is loosely based, is in a ninth-century manuscript (Codex Sangallensis 95) in the Abbey of Saint Gallen, Switzerland (NCE 1123). A number of authors have been posited for the hymn, including Venantius Fortunatus (sixth century) and Paul the Deacon (eighth century). St Bernard (twelfth century) has also been suggested, but the date of the St Gallen manuscript makes this attribution impossible. The predominant use of the “Ave Maris Stella” is as the hymn for vespers for the Common of feasts of the Blessed Virgin and for the Saturday office in the Roman breviary (NCE 1123), and as the standard hymn for vespers for the Hours of the Blessed Virgin (Drigsdhal).

The founding image of both the hymn and the treatise is that of the Blessed Virgin as “Maris Stella”, the “Star of the Sea.” Ultimately, the title derives from St Jerome’s gloss
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

on the name “Miryam” (Hebrew for “Maria”) in his Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis. Jerome’s discussion of the name assumes that “Miryam” is a compound deriving from “yam”, meaning “sea”, and “mar”, for which he has a number of suggestions. Among his many interpretations, Jerome proposes that Miryam might be rendered as, “vel ‘illuminatrix’, vel ‘smyrna maris’, sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam ‘stellam maris’, sive ‘amarum mare’” [“either ‘illuminatrix’, or ‘myrrh of the sea’, but it appears by no means (so) to me. It is better, however, that we should say that she be spoken of as ‘star of the sea’ or ‘bitter sea.”] (PL XXIII 842). “Stella maris” has long been seen as a mistake for “stilla maris” [“drop of the sea”], as Jerome translates “mar” in Isaiah 40:15 as “stilla.” Pelikan notes that Isidore of Seville adopted Jerome’s preferred etymology of the name in his Etymologiae (VII, x 1–2; see below), “but in the process, ‘drop’ [stilla] had become ‘star’ [stella]” (94). Regardless of the apparent error, the title “stella maris” became popular in devotional poetry, hymnody, and homiletic literature.

Isidore’s understanding of the appropriateness of “Star of the Sea” as a title for Mary was founded in his primary explanation of her name as “Light-giver”, because she was the means by which the Light of the World entered the world (“Maria illuminatrix, sive stella maris. Genuit enim lumen mundi” (Etymologiae, VII, x 1–2)). Rabanus Maurus (eighth century) maintained Jerome’s and Isidore’s focus on Mary as “Light-bearer”, but her role as Star of the Sea was to provide the opportunity for Christ to give the light by which Christians might find the right path: “[Christus] omnes ad vitam ducit dum sequantur illum, [... Maria] verum lumen et Dominum nobis perperit” (Homiliae in Evangelia et Epistolas, PL CX 464C) [“Christ guides all to life, as long as they follow him, and Mary brought forth for us our true Light and Lord” (Gambero 68)]. The homiletic uses of “stella maris” in the Medieval period developed the image of the Star of the Sea guiding Christians through life’s tempests to a safe harbour, but the stipulation that the light from the star was
the Light of Christ was not predominant. The focus of the image becomes, rather, her ability to guide Christians by means of her good example. Fulbert of Chartres (eleventh century) and Thomas Aquinas (thirteenth century) both emphasise primarily her role as an exemplar for ideal human behaviour. Fulbert’s explanation is as follows:

... oportet universos Christicolas, inter hujus fluctus saeculi remigantes, attendere maris stella hanc, id est Mariam, quae supremo rerum cardini Deo proxima est, et respectu exempli ejus cursum vitae dirigere. Quod qui fecerit non jactabitur vanae gloriae vento, nec frangetur scopulis adversorum, nec absorbebitur scyllaea voragine voluptatum, sed prospere veniet ad portum quietis aeternae. (Sermo 4, PL CXLI 322a–322b)

[“Everyone who worships Christ, when rowing through the waves of this world, must keep his eyes fixed on this Star of the Sea; that is, on Mary. She is nearest to God, the highest pole of the universe, and they must steer the course of their life by contemplating her example. Anyone who does this will never be tossed by the wind of vainglory or broken on the shoals of adversity or drowned in the stormy whirlpool of pleasures; but he will successfully reach the safe harbor of eternal rest.” (Gambero 84)]

In the twelfth century, both Bernard of Clairvaux (Super Missus Est, PL CLXXXIII 61b–71a) and Amadeus of Lausanne (Homily 8, Huit Homélies Mariales 206–23) incorporated the Blessed Virgin’s role as mediatrix into the image of the Stella Maris and the storm-tossed traveller. As a result of its passionate language, anaphora and epistrophe, Bernard’s exposition of the metaphor is especially memorable:

Ipsa est [...] nobilis illa stella ex Jacob orta, cujus radius universum orbem illuminat, cujus splendor et praefulget in supernis, et infernos penetrat [...] O
quisquis te intelligis in hujus saeculi profluvio magis inter procellas et
tempestatibus fluctuare, quam per terram ambulare; ne avertas oculos a fulgore
hujus sideris, si non vis obri procellis. Si insurgent venti tentationum, si
incurras scopulos tribulationum; respice stellam, voca Mariam. Si jactaris
superbiae undis, si ambitionis, si detractionis, si aemulationis; respice stellam,
voca Mariam. Si iracundia, aut avaritia, aut carnis illecebra naviculam concusserit
mentis, respice ad Mariam. [...] In periculis, in angustiis, in rebus dubiis,
Mariam cogita, Mariam invoca. Non recedat ab ore, non recedat a corde; et ut
impetres ejus orationis suffragium, non deseras conversationis exemplum. (Super
Missus Est, PL CLXXXIII 70c–70d)

[She [...] is that noble star risen from Jacob whose ray gives light to the whole
world, whose brightness both shines forth in the heavens and penetrates the
depths. [...] Oh, if any of you recognizes that he is caught between storms and
tempests, tossed about in the flood of this world, instead of walking on dry
land, keep your eyes fixed on the glow of this star, unless you want to perish,
overwhelmed by the tempest.

If the winds of temptation surge, if you run aground on the shoals of troubles,
look to this star, call upon Mary!

If you are tossed by the winds of pride or ambition, or detraction or jealousy,
look to this star, call upon Mary!

If anger or greed or the allurements of the flesh dash against the boat of your
mind, look to Mary!

[...] In dangers, in straits, in perplexity, think of Mary, call upon Mary. Let her
name be always in your mouth and in your heart, and, if you would ask for and
obtain the help of her prayers, do not forget the example of how she lived

(Gambero 139–40).]

Bernard’s reference to the “nobilis illa stella ex Jacob orta” is to a prophecy from Numbers 24:17, which is seen as a confirmation of the aptitude of the Virgin’s title and role as Star of the Sea: “Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israel” (“A star shall rise out of Jacob and a sceptre shall spring forth from Israel.”)

It is with Blessed Virgin’s perfection as an example of perfect human conduct that the Treatise on the Ave Maris Stella begins. She is invoked as “Maris Stella” (Star of the Sea), “Dei Mater alma” (nourishing Mother of God), “Semper Virgo” (Ever-Virgin) and “felix Caeli Porta” (blessed Gate of Heaven), and the virtues and benefits of each of these titles is briefly described. Unlike the Commentary on the Ave Maria (C), which systematically explains each of the clauses of the text upon which it is based, the connection between this treatise and its ostensible founding text is both brief and cursory. There is no return to the exposition of the clauses of the hymn after the author settles upon the virtue of humility, which becomes both the central reason for the Virgin’s perfection and the theme for the remainder of the treatise.

Treatise on Ave Maris Stella as Humility Literature

After a brief explanation of “Ave Maris Stella”, the writer turns to the true focus of the treatise; an exposition of the benefit and necessity of humility. Because of the importance of humility to the Christian ethos, especially as the virtue contrary to Pride, tracts on the value of humility are regularly found in conduct literature. Conduct manuals, such as the closely related texts the Mirror to Lewed Men and Women and the Book of Vices and Virtues, compiled material on behaviour into tracts where the evils of the vices are set
against the benefits of their respective virtues.

Most of the Treatise on the Ave Maris Stella consists of a series of quotations from biblical and patristic sources in confirmation of the importance of humility. Between A 30 and A 165, these quotations are set within an argument; they are either used to support the preceding material or expounded and discussed as part of the argument. From A 165 onwards, little argument is supplied between the quotations. In this section, the quoted material is designed to be convincing in and of itself.

Although I have not found a specific source for the Treatise on the Ave Maris Stella as a whole, much of the material which has been used to construct the Treatise is identifiable. There are some quotations which I have not been able to find; often these references are ascribed to an unnamed saint or holy man, or name a saint in whose works the quotation is not to be found.

The source material used to fuel medieval tracts on humility like the Treatise on Ave Maris Stella begins with the Bible. Ecclesiasticus 3:20 is an injunction to humble oneself: “The greater thou art, the more humble yourself in all things.” Christ made several statements about the benefit of humility in the Gospel of Matthew, including, “Blessed are the meek: for they shall possess the land” (Matthew 5:4), and “Learn of Me, because I am meek, and humble of heart” (Matthew 11.29). Mary’s profession of humility at the moment of the Annunciation, “Ecce ancilla Domini; fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum” (Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done unto me according to thy word”, Luke 1:38), the resulting Patristic homilies on the Annunciation, and the Apocryphal accounts of her humble behaviour as a virgin in the Temple (see the introduction to the Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R), above) all provided ample evidence for the Marian relationship with humility. Out of this biblical and extra-biblical material sprang tracts devoted to the virtue of humility itself,
**INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES**

including Saint Augustine’s *Sermo de obedientia et humilitate* (*PL* XL 1221–24), Saint Bernard’s *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae tractatus* (*PL* CLXXXII 939–72c) and Pseudo-Isidore, *Exhortatio humilitatis* (*PL* LXXXIII 1201–04b).

**TREATISE ON ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET**

“Ecce, virgo concipiet et pariet filium”, the text on which the opening of this tract is based, is one of the Messianic prophecies from the Book of Isaiah (7:14). Its traditional application is as a prophecy of the miracle of the virgin birth; St Matthew, for example, quotes this prophecy in his Gospel (1:23) when explaining the significance of the angel’s appearance to a dreaming St Joseph. The *Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet* (E), however, explicitly bypasses the traditional application of this verse. It acknowledges that the prophecy was spoken “about Our Lady” (“seyde by Oure Lady” *Ea* 2 / *Eb* 3), but immediately focuses the text for the requirements of a more general, virginal audience. According to this interpretation, the children that a true virgin will beget are the virtues which result from true maidenly behaviour. Although the focus of E is predominantly on the state of virginity and its benefits, the Blessed Virgin remains a key exemplar of perfect virginity throughout the text.

---

56 See note to these lines for a discussion of the word “by” in this context.
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

Manuscripts

There are two versions of this text: one appears in London, Westminster School MS 3 (MS W) and the other in London, British Library MS Arundel 286 (MS B3). For the purposes of comparison, both versions have been presented here in a parallel format. Version A (Ea, MS W, 814 lines) is almost twice as long as version B (Eb, MS B3, 417 lines), but the process of adaptation is not purely one of excision from a long text or addition to a short one: both processes seem to be operating here. The quotation from St Jerome about false maidens expounded in the paragraph Ea 26–30, for example, is found at the end of the paragraph Eb 23–37, which also contains additional evidence on the subject from St Augustine and from the Book of Proverbs.

Aspects of the idiolect in Ea suggest that it represents an earlier point in the transmission of the treatise than Eb. Version A regularly preserves words from the source quotations which are exchanged for synonyms in version B: “þolemodenes” (Ea 11), for example, seems to have been retained from the thirteenth-century source (Hali Meðbad; see below) in Ea, but it and “suffre mekely” (Ea 10) together have been subsumed into the concept “suffringe myldeliche” at Eb 12. The distinctive vocabulary in Ea persists in sections where the influence of the source material is less clear, and where there is no true equivalent in version B. The paragraph Ea 309–342 constitutes an expanded version of a sentence at Eb 205–06; this material (which has no equivalent in B) includes two distinctive words: “lymhalt” (Ea 315 and 321) and “barneteme” (Ea 323). In many dialects, “barneteme” might be rendered as “kin”, “childre” or “familie.” “Lymhalt” is very interesting, especially as it appears twice, because it is unattested in the MED, Old English Dictionary and the OED. These words, which stand out by virtue of their comparative rarity, must have fallen within the idiolect of the scribe of Ea comfortably enough for him or her to retain them. Another
scribe must have been less comfortable with these terms, and the changes that he or she made as a consequence of this discomfort resulted in the readings found in Eb.

This hypothesis—that the idiolect of Ea occupies a point nearer the archetype in the treatise’s transmission history than Eb—seems the most straightforward explanation. Using the example of “þolemodnes” (Ea 11) described above, a scribe is unlikely inadvertently to model the reading in the source by spontaneously adopting “þolemodnes” if the reading in the copy text is “suffringe mydeliche”; he or she might, however, essentially translate “þolemodnes” into “suffringe mydeliche.” I do not mean to postulate descent of version B through version A by means of this argument; I suggest merely that the readings found in Ea originate at a point nearer to the archetype than that at which the readings found in Eb appear.

Ea in particular features some passages of strangely contorted syntax. The attempts to explain these instances of peculiar structure are a regular feature of the notes to the text. I have not yet been able to construct a theory that explains all, or even most, of these instances. Currently, I suspect an very literal approach to translating from an earlier Middle English source. I hope, with further study, to establish a coherent pattern for this phenomenon.

Sources

I have not found an immediate source for this treatise in which all of the primary materials appear, but many of the sections of E are drawn from well-known tracts on virginity and treatises written for the information of virgins. Large sections of both versions, but especially of Ea, are taken from Hali Meiðbad and Ancrene Wisse. Amanda Moss signalled the similarity of some of the imagery in this treatise to that in Hali Meiðbad
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

(Moss, “Merchant’s Tales” 168), but in fact this similarity in imagery was due to the adaptation of *Hali Meðbad* within the text. The section on the spiritual pregnancy of virgins in this treatise:

> Eche mayden þat haþ mayden thewes, sche conseyueþ hem of God & bryngþ hem forþ *with* vertues & gladnes to plesyng of þe Fadir, þe which maneres and thewes properly ben vertues, þe which schal neuer deye, but euere schul *praye* bifoere hir in þe blisse of heuene. Þoo ben riþtwisnes & worschipe aþens vnthewes; mesure of mete & 3it more of drink; goostly strengþis to wiþstonde þe fongynis of þe fend; symple of semblant & gladschipe in þe Hooly Goost; suffre mekely; þolemodenes aþens harmes and reuþe of ech mannes sorewe; mildnes & swetnes in herte wiþ a brenynge wille to loue God & man. (*Ea* 4–12 / *Eb* 5–14; quoted from *Ea*)

derives from *Hali Meðbad*:

> 3ef þe were leof streon, nim þe to him under hwam þu schalt i þi meiðhad temen dehtren ant sunen of gasteliche teames, þe neauer deie ne mahen ah schulen aa biuore þe pleien in heouene, þet beoð þe uertuz þet he streoneð in þe þurh his swete grace: as rihtwisnesse ant worschipe aþeines unþeawes, mesure ant mete ant gastelich strengðe to wiðstonde þe feond and aþein sunne, simplete of semblant [ant] buhsumnesse ant stilðe, þol[c]modnesse ant reowfulnesse of euch monnes sorhe, gleadschipe i þe Hali Gast ant pes i þi breoste of onde ant of wreaððe, of 3isceunge ant of euch unþeawes weorre, me[ok]elec ant miltschipe ant swotnesse of heorte, þe limpeð alre þinge best to mei[ð]hades mihte. (20, ll. 15–26)

Another, similarly sized portion of *Hali Meðbad* is the source for *Ea* 635–40; the material
surrounding the quotation from *Hali Meðhad* is from the *Ancrene Wisse I*, Part II, ll. 748–818. In this case, the five lines from *Hali Meðhad* are deployed to expand and explain a comment in the *Ancrene Wisse* quotation.

Long passages from *Ancrene Wisse* are used elsewhere, particularly in the sections found in *Ea* only, including all of *Ea* 607–739. *Eb* often omits the distinctive passages from the *Ancrene Wisse*. At *Ea* 591–606 / *Eb* 339–347, for example, *Ea* reads:

*Loke now how þe lady in hir loue book techiþ maydens bi hir sawe how þei schal seye, “En dilectus meus loquitur mîhi, ‘surge propera amica mea.’” “Lo”, he[o] seiþ, “herken, I here my leef speke; he clepiþ me, [I] moste go”, & þee þen gon anoon riȝt to ȝoure dere lemm(an),whiche ben wordis þat he to hir spekiþ. Loue stiryngis þat he sendiþ to þat soule þat he tocomeþ wiþ swete hony teeris of louelongyng & raueschiþ hir wiþ mournynge to hym, þat þeyne it is to hir to þenke of ouȝte but of hym or þat þing þat helpe may toward hym. And þese ben þe louely wordis wherwiþ he his | lemm(an) clepiþ, “Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni, ostende michi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis”; þat is “Ryse vp, hiȝe þee toward me & come to me, my lemm(an), my culuer, my fair, my louely spouse; schewe to me þi fayre face, þi glad chere & wiþdrawe þe from oþir. Speke to me, þat þe voys of þine wordis sowne in myn eeris & mene þee to me & seye who haþ mysdon aþen þee, my dere þing. And for þou couetys noon but me, ne spekest to noon but to me: þi voice is swete to me & þi face fair.”*

The equivalent passage in *Ancrene Wisse* is as follows:

*Lokið nu hu proprelieþ þe leafi i Canticis, Godes deore spuse, leareð ow bi hire sahe hu þe schule seggen. En dilectus meus loquitur michi: Surge, propera,*
amica mea, et cetera. “Low!” ha seið, “Hercne! Ich ihere mi leof speoken. He cleopeð me, Ich mot gan.” Ant 3e gan ananriht to ower deore leosmon, ant meaneð ow to his earen þe luueliche cleopeð ow to him wið þes wordes: Surge, propra, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni. Ostende mibi fatiem tuam. Sonet uox tua in auribus meis. Þet is, “Aris up, hihe þe heonewart, ant cum to me, mi leofman, mi culure, mi feire, ant mi schene spuse.” Ostende Michi faciem tuam. “Schaw to me þi leoue neb ant ti luufsume leor. Went te from oþre.” Sonet vox tua in auribus meis. “Sei hwa haueð ido þe, hwa haueð ihurt mi deore, sing i mine earen. For-þi þet tu ne wilnest bute to seo mi white, ne speoke bute to me, þi steuene is me swete ant ti white schene.” (Ancrene Wisse I, Part II, ll. 735–748)

But in Eb, the material is quite different:

And þerfore 3if any man wold styþ 3ow to ydel speche forsakeþ þat & heriþ how God spekeþ to Hys spouse in þe Boke of Loue, “En dilectus meus loquitur mibi, ‘surge, propra, amica mea’” (“Loo, my spouse spekiþ to me, ‘Ryse up & arey þee, my dere frende.’”) þes wordes He spekiþ onely to hem þat forsaken alle erþely loue, for 3ef entent to loue Hym, as alle maydens specialiche schuld doo. Þus, loueliche, God spekeþ to hem þat kepen hem fro ydel speche & wordliche, & haue sette alle her comforde in Hym, &ð þerfore, He seiþ þus to hem: “Veni, ostende mibi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis” (“Come to Me, My leue, & schewe to Me þi fayre face, for þi voyce souneþ in Myn eres.”)

Other than using the same quotations, and therefore maintaining the same essential argument without its explanation, Eb bears little resemblance to the equivalent sections in Ea and Ancrene Wisse.

Many other tracts on virginity contribute material to the Treatise. Ea 446–89, for
example, seems to have been constructed from two famous tracts on virginity: Ambrose’s *De Virginitate* (*PL* XVI 279–302b) and Jerome’s *De Perpetua Virginitate Beatae Mariae, Adversus Helvidium* (*PL* XXIII 193–216b).

Other sections derive from less obvious sources: *Ea* 231–40, and *Ea* 243–48 / *Eb* 164–68 are both long quotations from John of Foxton’s *Liber Cosmographiae* (Friedman 186), complete with his error-ridden quotations. Friedman, Foxton’s editor, describes the *Liber Cosmographiae* as “a compendium of popular science in 104 chapters”, and dates its completion on internal evidence to 1408 (i).

Without an overarching source, I can only postulate that this is a compilation, probably produced in England and in English, given the use of vernacular sources and the similarity between passages of *Hali Meiðbad* and *Ancrene Wisse* and the treatise. Also, Foxton’s *Liber*, which supplies several of the passages of Latin quotations, was produced in England and the sections from which the material in the treatise is taken are those which Friedman suggests are of Foxton’s own devising.

Raymo’s claim is fair—that the “central image” of the treatise (that of a lily with six petals, collectively protecting three precious attributes of maidenhood) “is ultimately derived from Canticles 2:2”—although his conclusion that the “immediate source [of the treatise] is St Bernard’s *Sermones in Canticum Canticorum* 48:1–2” is incorrect (Raymo, *Manual* 9:2321 [153]). This section of Bernard’s *Sermones* (*PL* CLXXXIII 1012a–13a) does address Song of Songs 2:2, but is predominantly concerned with discussing the thorns, rather than the lily that is among them. As I have noted above, there are several texts, predominant among which are *Hali Meiðbad* and *Ancrene Wisse*, which have a stronger claim to being called “immediate sources” of this treatise than Bernard’s *Sermo* 48.

The sources of the *Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet* and the existence of these two,
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

distinct versions, suggest that further study of the dissemination of this treatise might be very fruitful. The presence of source material from *Hali Meðbad*, in particular, is tantalising. There are no known manuscripts or derivatives of *Hali Meðbad* after the thirteenth century, and so the story of how that material made its way into this significantly later text might be very interesting indeed.

COMMENTARY ON THE AVE MARIA (C)

The *Commentary on the Ave Maria* (C) exists in five manuscripts: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (CC); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74 (CS); London, Westminster School MS 3 (W); Norwich Castle Museum MS 158.296.4g3 (N); and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 938 (O2). The text is complete in all five manuscripts. It was edited from CC and CS only by F. D. Matthew in his 1880 and revised 1902 EETS editions of *The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*.

Copy MS Selection

CC, the oldest manuscript in the group and the one on which Matthew based his EETS editions, seems to be the manuscript statistically most likely to represent archetypal readings. It rarely disagrees with more than half of the manuscripts. There are only seven instances where CC disagrees with all other readings, and five of those instances are apparent errors or distinctive variants in CC. At lines 18 and 21 there are instances of very
Introduction to Texts and Sources

minor variation; on both occasions all of the other manuscripts have an “and” where CC does not. At line 67 in CC is the word “carnacion”, which appears as “incarnacion” in all of the other manuscripts, while at line 74 CC has “virtuose”, where the other manuscripts all read “vertues.” In these cases, the reading at CC is not necessarily incorrect, but disagrees with the other readings.

The other differences between CC and the other manuscripts are more obviously erroneous readings in CC and preferable readings or, possibly, corrections in the other versions. CC has “worldly” at line 89, and is obviously missing a noun. W, O2 and CS all supply “worldly lords”, and N reworks the structure of that phrase to read “lortis of þe world.” The final significant variation between CC and the other versions is at line 94, where CC reads “hal harlotrie”, which, though it may represent an unrecorded dialectal variation on “al,” may also be an error resulting from the influence of the beginning of “harlotrie.” W, O2 and CS all read “al harlotrie”, and N “harlotrie.”

CS is often definitively separable from the rest of the group, and the types of variation prevalent in this manuscript would require more deliberate scribal interference that the types discussed above. The variations found in CS tend to be addition (five instances) rather than omission (one instance), for example. There are also several instances of alterations in diction: at line 57 CC/W/O2/N read “daunsen” where CS has “pleyen hem”; at line 61 CC/W/O2/N have “doynge” against CS’s “cunning”; and at line 111 “maries ioie” in CC/W/O2/N is “maries blessyng” in CS. The other episode of significant variation is at lines 87–88, where “come & þei (ben) holden false & traitours” in CC/W/O2/N is reworked to read “come to hym & þei to ben holden as false traitours” in CS.

57 Although there is no spelling of “al” attested in the MED which begins with “h”, Jordan records the presence of “h” in initial positions, indicating “a slightly aspirated vowel whose appearance is apparently related with silencing of old h” (248, §293).
MS N also regularly features variations from the other manuscripts, but displays fewer and less deliberate variations than those found in CS. In N, there are three instances of omission to one instance of minor addition. N features, also, two distinct lexical variations: at line 83 (“laste” in CC/W/O2/CS against “ende” in N) and line 99 (where CC/W/O2/CS all have “not worði”, where N has “worði.”)

Both CS and N regularly diverge from putative archetypal readings. At line 112–13, CS and N rearrange the order of the clause while maintaining the content. CC/W/O2 read “marie cristis modir was ful of grace seynt steuene was ful of grace as holy writt seijp”, while CS reads “marie cristus modur was ful of grace as holy writ seijp & seynt steuene also”, and N reads “marie cristis moder was ful of grace as holy writt seijp seynt steuene was ful of grace.” All three statements cover the same material, but in slightly different ways. It is possible that the readings in CS and N are as a result of eyeskip on the first “ful of grace”, corrected by reorganising the clause rather than expunging and replacing the mistake. Also, at line 101, CC/W/O2 read “his scoble”, N has “vse his scoles”, and CS has “vsen scoles.” Despite these few instances of interesting similarity, I have not been able to formulate any pattern which pairs N and CS, either filially or hierarchically, because of the tendency elsewhere in both manuscripts to record idiosyncratic readings.

As in the Rule of the Life of Our Lady B (Rb), W and O2 very rarely disagree with each other, and rarely deviate from the presumed archetypal reading. There is one instance of major variation against the other manuscripts in W/O2 at line 71, where W/O2 read “praysyng” against “herynge” in CC/CS/N. It is specifically because of this reading that N cannot derive from either W or O2 without contamination from another manuscript, despite the shared agreement N/W/O2 against CC/CS elsewhere. As I have discussed in the introduction to the Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R), W and O2 appear to share a common ancestor, which appears in the stemma below as “Z.”
The Text

The *Commentary on the Ave Maria* is a moralising tract on the behaviour of the upper classes, sandwiched between explicatory sections concerning the prayer “Ave Maria.” The first of the explications concerns the content of the prayer, and whether it is acceptable to add the words “Jesus” and “Maria” to the parts of the prayer drawn from the Bible; the second explicatory passage uses passages from the prayer in commendation of the Blessed Virgin.

Between his brief introduction to the text and the text itself, Matthew gives the following summary of the text:

How this invocation is made up, and the lesson from t [sic] [...] The evil of women who are given to vanity [...] Prevalence of frivolity among gentlefolk [...] Gross amusements at Christmas [...] The bad spirit prevalent in courts [...] How God was with Mary and is in men. (Matthew 203)
His focus in this summary seems to be upon the central, moralising sections of \textit{C}, which discuss the dissolute behaviour of the upper classes. He summarises, for example, the second explicatory passage (\textit{C} 104–138; a quarter of the work as a whole) as “How God was with Mary and is in men.” By doing so, he undermines most of the content of this section, and shifts focus onto the brief passage within this section (\textit{C} 117–25) which best suits his description. This approach is in accordance with Matthew’s overall reading of \textit{C}; he believes that it was written by Wyclif himself. The three predominant pieces of evidence that he offers to support this position are that \textit{C}’s “tone and manner are Wyclif’s”, that “the invective against the frivolity of the gentry suits better a man who had lived at court than one of the obscure poor preachers”, and that the “belief of the immanence of God in all created things” was “held firmly” by Wyclif (Matthew 203). Matthew’s ascription of the text to Wyclif seems generally to have been accepted as late as 1939: Eric Colledge, in the second part of his two-part study of \textit{The Recluse}, quotes from the text, referring to it as “Wycliffe’s tract, \textit{The Ave Maria}” (Colledge 139).

\textit{C} does fall neatly into a series of sections, which are essentially those outlined by Matthew, even if his description of these sections seems geared to reinforcing his argument for Wycliffe authorship. These sections are so clearly defined, however, that at times the text seems to be almost modular. There is very little linking between sections, and there are two instances where sections seem actually to interrupt the flow of the text around them, which either suggests interpolation or a convoluted or confusing argument.

The first of these digressive sections is \textit{C} 43–72, a vivid discussion of the evils of the gentry and their amoral behaviour. This passage seems to disrupt the logic of the sections which surround it: the preceding section discusses vanity of the body and how it impedes any impulse towards bedecking the soul in virtues (which would be preferable because it
would please the Holy Trinity); the subsequent section begins “Lord, where is þat man or 
woman þat maketh hym so bisi to make his soule fair in virtuose to Goddis siȝtte as he 
maketh hym bisi aboute atir of body for siȝtte of men?” (C 73–75). Without sources for the 
original exposition or any interpolated material, I cannot prove that lines 43–72 are 
interpolated from another source, but the question asked at line 73 seems to follow perfectly 
from the scenario described in the passage ending at line 42.

The second possibly digressive section is C 117–25, which Matthew seems to 
emphasise in both his introductory statements and, indirectly, in his summary. There is no 
clear logical link between this passage and the passage preceding it. The preceding section is 
a discussion of the relative amounts of fullness of grace to be found in Christ, the Blessed 
Virgin and St Stephen, based around an exposition of the clause “full of grace.” Lines 117– 
25, however, do not explicitly discuss grace, nor do they refer to Christ, the Virgin or St 
Stephen. The passage discusses instead the difference between the way in which God shows 
His divinity to saints and angels, and to people. The passage beginning at line 126 does not 
discuss grace, nor the three figures with which the text associates fullness of grace, nor 
God’s divinity; its connection to the material preceding line 117 is that it reasserts the 
pattern where each clause of the prayer is expounded in turn.

These sections, it should be noted, are not so distinctly out-of-place stylistically as 
to be obviously interpolated; their awkwardness is predominantly related to their 
termination of a more logical development than one in which they participate. Their 
presence, however, makes it possible that the moralising sections and the section on the 
immanence of God in all created beings might have been added to a shorter, more pragmatic 
exposition of the “Ave Maria.”
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

Lollard Tract?

Matthew was not merely convinced that C was a Lollard exposition of the “Ave Maria”; he was sure that this text bore the imprint of Wyclif himself. Apart from the grounds of tone, courtly focus and immanence of God (outlined above) upon which Matthew made his argument for a Wycliffite origin for this text, the focus on and emphasis of the specific wording of scripture and the dismissive treatment of popes and their indulgences for the saying of the “Ave Maria” lie on the borders of Lollard discourse and deserve investigation.

Hudson has suggested certain criteria for determining whether a text may safely be labelled “Lollard” or not. These criteria are: “any text that expresses admiration of Wyclif”; “texts which involve translation, however free, of Wyclif’s Latin works”; and “quotation of Wyclif with approval [... constituting] extensive reliance upon Wyclif, and especially upon Wyclif’s later and more tendentious works” (Hudson, Reformation 20). She also notes that “it seems reasonable to accept as Lollard any texts that set out Wyclif’s views on the Eucharist, of oral confession, and of the papacy”, but she outlines specifically what those views were along with their limitations (Hudson, Reformation 21). Beyond these definitive areas are many texts that seem to suggest Lollard tendencies, but may merely represent radical orthodoxy, as “sympathy with Lollard opinion and practice was evidently not limited to those who would have subscribed to a rejection of transubstantiation and oral confession” (Reformation 23). Hudson recommends, therefore, further “identification and mapping of that ‘grey area’ that exists between clear orthodoxy and outright Lollardy” (Reformation 23).

Matti Peikola has compared the sections of C which suggest possible Lollard tendencies—concerning scriptural wording and indulgences—against another, similar exposition of the “Ave Maria”, widely accepted as a Lollard interpolation into the Lay Folk’s
**Introduction to Texts and Sources**

*Catechism* (Colledge 139; Hudson, “New Look” 257). 58 This exposition follows a narrative outline similar to that found in the first section of C, ending at a point equivalent to C 14, although the arguments of the two works within these comparable sections are, at times, diametrically opposed.

Peikola establishes that, when compared with the Lollard polemic of the second commentary, the supposed Lollard messages in C lose their potency. On the subject of the adding of the names “Maria” and “Jesus” to the biblical quotations that make up the prayer, C reads “þis addynge to is trewe, for þe Gospel techiþ vs þes names & þei stiren men to deuocion” (ll. 13–14). The other commentary states that

> þe þridde part of þis gretyng addiþ to two wordis to þe gospel, þat ben Marie & Jesus, & ben two devoute wordis. But for it is hard men to grounde hem, siþþe Goddis lawe seiþ þat men schulden not upon greet peyne adde to Goddis word (Arnold 112).

Peikola compares this “scriptural reverence, [which was] one of the hallmarks of Wycliffite doctrine” against another Lollard tract which criticises addition to Scripture, *How Men Ought to Obey Prelates*:

> god ... comaundiþ þat no man schal adde to his wordis ne drawe fro hem vp peyne of grete cursynge of god & dampnynge in helle. þat is to seie þat no man adde false sentence ne false glose to holy writt, for þan, as ierom seiþ, he is an heretik (Peikola 283).

The statement in C—which “stands doctrinally in sharp contrast” against the position found

---

58 This second commentary on the Ave Maria was edited by Thomas Arnold in his *Select Works of John Wyclif*, and also by John Alexander Butrym in his 1971 PhD thesis, “An Edition, with Commentary, of the Wycliffite Tracts Contained in MS, Trinity College, Dublin, C.V.6.” All quotations for this text are taken from Arnold’s edition.
in the tract published by Arnold—is verbally similar to part of Nicholas Love's exposition of the “Ave Maria”, which he added to the Pseudo-Bonaventuran account of the Annunciation (Peikola 284):

> And for als miche as þat blessed gretyng of þe angele Gabriel where wiþ we honouren & greten oure lady euery day is grondet in þis gospel as þou hast herde before; þerfore I sal telle þe sumwhat more hereof as me þenkeþ to stire þi deuocion more in seying of þat gretyng, *Aue Maria &c* (Sargent, *Mirror R* 29)

Although C’s emphasis on the grounding of the prayer in the Gospel “certainly in some contexts might be taken as an indication of the Wycliffite scripturalist position” (Peikola 284), it might be noted that similar statements appear in Love’s overtly anti-Lollard adaptation of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, which was composed in the aftermath of Archbishop Arundel’s *Constitutions* (1409) and presented to Arundel himself (Sargent, *Mirror R* xv).

The other supposedly Lollard feature found in C regards its attitude towards the granting of indulgence for saying the names “Maria” and “Jesus” in the course of the prayer. C raises and then quickly drops the subject, saying “Cristene men for deuocioun adden to þes tweie wordis, Marie & Jhesu Crist, & men seyn þat popis graunte moche pardon þerfore. But hou euere it be of pardon...” (C 11–13). Peikola notes the dismissive tone of this passage (288) in comparison with the strident anti-pardon and anti-papal sentiment expressed in the other commentary (287, 290):

> it is seid þat þe pope ʒiveþ greet pardoun to men þat adden þes wordis [Maria and Jesus]. And bi þe same skyle þat men schulden trust to any pardoun men schuld truste to þis pardoun, be it foure score dayes or morre. And as þe pope may ʒive pardoun bi addinge of þes two wordis, so maye he adde ouchere mo, and
INTRODUCTION TO TEXTS AND SOURCES

wiþdrawe, as him likiþ, and so turne Goddis lawe into lawe of Antecrist.

(Arnold 112)

The author of the other commentary goes on to explain that, if the pardon were merely for
the saying of the names “Maria” and “Jesus”, whatever the context, “so myȝte pardoun be
geten, to seie eche day our Ladi sauter, ȝhe, ten þousand þeeris in o þere” (Arnold 113).

Although it is natural to investigate the orthodoxy of any text which suggests
Lollard beliefs—such as scriptural reverence and anti-papal sentiment—Peikola’s study
usefully demonstrates that C’s supposed Lollardy does not run deep.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

The manuscript information listed here is based upon first-hand examination of the manuscripts (where possible; see below), assisted by recourse to catalogues, the IPMEP, NIMEV, the IMEV and its supplement, the IMEP Handlists series and Jolliffe’s Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance. On the whole, I have tried to maintain the titles given to texts in catalogues, while adding any other pertinent information from other sources, in order to avoid confusion.

Full manuscript descriptions, including contents, notes and cross-references, are given for the copy manuscripts. The descriptions of the copy manuscripts include full hand surveys, but only partial dialect surveys if the manuscript was not surveyed by the LALME. Where no linguistic profile existed, I developed a profile on the basis of the forms found within the text(s) edited from the manuscript. Very brief outlines are given for the non-copy manuscripts, with references for further information.

In the manuscript contents lists for the copy-manuscripts, folio references for other manuscripts containing a given text were only given where I could corroborate them myself. The titles of texts that are edited in this study are given in bold.

The manuscripts marked with † are those which I was not able to view in person; I am reliant upon published information and microfilms for the descriptions of these manuscripts.
British Library MS Arundel 286 has 191 + i parchment folios, measuring approximately 207 mm x 130 mm. The Arundel collection’s catalogue dates the manuscript to the fifteenth century (84). The manuscript is bound in a nineteenth-century Arundel collection binding.

The collation of the manuscript is 1–2\textsuperscript{8}, 3\textsuperscript{3} \| 4\textsuperscript{1}, 5\textsuperscript{11}, 6–7\textsuperscript{12}, 8\textsuperscript{10}, 9–10\textsuperscript{12}, 11\textsuperscript{8}, 12\textsuperscript{2}, 13–16\textsuperscript{12}, 17\textsuperscript{1}, 18–19\textsuperscript{12}, 20\textsuperscript{6}, 21\textsuperscript{11}, 22\textsuperscript{2}, i. It has modern pencil foliation throughout. The smaller gatherings and single leaves are usually used to complete a text, apart from the single leaf at f. 20 (4\textsuperscript{1}), at the beginning of item two (the “Militia Christi”). This leaf may originally have been part of quire 5, but has since become detached and now appears to be a separate leaf.

The manuscript appears to have been produced in two initially separate units: ff. 1–19, and ff. 20 to the end. The first item, the “Treatise upon the Passion of Christ” (and its associated short texts) is seemingly independent of the remainder of the manuscript. The scribal hand and initial are both different to those found in other sections of the manuscript. The written area is also larger than that found elsewhere in the manuscript (152 mm x 90 mm). Crucially, also, this first section consists of two quires of eights, then a quire of three to complete the material, rather than using a quire of a more standard length and simply moving on to the next text. There is also an obvious change in the quality of the parchment
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

from f. 20, the single leaf which begins the Militia Christi text at the beginning of the second unit of the manuscript, the parchment becoming thicker from that point onwards.

Many of the quire boundaries intersect with text boundaries and changes in hand in the second part of the manuscript, also:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quires</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1–3</td>
<td>1–19</td>
<td>Item 1</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4–9</td>
<td>20–77</td>
<td>Item 2</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>78–89</td>
<td>Item 2 (to 81(^v)); Item 3</td>
<td>B/C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>90–99</td>
<td>Item 3 (to 92(^v)); Item 4</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12–13</td>
<td>100–111</td>
<td>Item 5</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>112–123</td>
<td>Item 5 (to 115(^r)); Item 6</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>124–135</td>
<td>Item 6 (to 129(^r)); Items 8–15 (to 134(^r)); Item 16</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16–17</td>
<td>136–148</td>
<td>Item 16</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>149–160</td>
<td>Item 17 (to 160(^r)); Item 18</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19–20</td>
<td>161–178</td>
<td>Item 19</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21–22</td>
<td>179–191</td>
<td>Item 20</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verso of the single leaf quire 17, at the end of item 16, is blank. The verso of the last leaf of quire 18, at the end of item 17, was also originally left blank, but has been
filled by a later owner with a picture and prophecy (item 18; see discussion below.) The blank leaves at the ends of texts and coincidence of text and quire boundaries suggest that this second part of the manuscript was also produced as a series of separate booklets (quiresses 4–11, 12–17, 18, 19–20 and 21–22). The return to hand B following the end of hand C’s contribution in quiresses 10 and 11 means that these booklets may always have been intended to form a whole and were merely produced independently, or that the sections must have been coordinated into a whole early in the process of production.

B3 was written by three scribes; two anglicana hands and a single textura hand. The first text (ff. 1r–19v) was written by a different anglicana hand (hand A) than the other two cursive texts (hand C; items three and four, ff. 82r–99v). There is a distinct and consistent difference in the formation of the letters “w” and “v” in particular. All other texts (ff. 20r–81v and 100r to the end; which includes the texts edited below from this manuscript), seem to have been written by the same textura hand (B). The scribal dialect of hand B has been localised in Warwickshire by the LALME (LP 8010, Grid Reference 480 264). Neither of the two cursive hands have been analysed for dialect.

The pages are all ruled in a single column and, where lines are visible, seem to be ruled in pencil or a very light black ink. Prickings are visible in the outer margins of most pages in the second part of the manuscript, but not in the first. The number of lines to a page varies across the manuscript, from 23 lines to 31 lines. The number of lines per page regularly varies within the texts written by Scribe B: The “Militia Christi” text (item two), for example, has between 23 and 26 lines per page; the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet has between 27 and 29 lines per page, and the last two items (the translation of Benjamin Minor and the exposition of the Ten Commandments) both have between 25 and 27 lines per page. The number of lines per page for the texts written by scribe A (30) and scribe C (27) do not
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

vary across their work.

The written space of each text is variable, both within many of the texts and across the manuscript as a whole. As with the number of lines per page, the texts copied by scribes A and C copied within written areas which do not vary in the course of that scribe’s work. The size of the written area used by scribe B, however, varies significantly even within most of the texts copied by scribe B.

Apart from items 3, 4, 5 and 18, the initials are given in red ink and capitals are differentiated by means of red initial stroke. The initial for item 1, however, differs in style from those in the remainder of the manuscript. Items 3 and 4 (two letters attributed to Richard Rolle) have guide letters and space left for initials that did not eventuate, and while the capitals in the text have no initial strokes. The first three initials of item 5, the translation of the *Duodecim utilitates tribulationis*, are given in blue ink.

In the cursive sections of this manuscript, the scribes seem to deploy an unusual form of catchword. The words replicate those which are about to occur at the top of the next page, but they occur, on all but one occasion, on recto pages. Where they do not occur, the beginning of the verso is the beginning of a new section.

This manuscript features a picture of a “man in a close blue dress with a fur cap on his head, and holding a roll of paper in his hand”, surrounded by “some lines intended as prophecy” on f. 160v (Catalogue). The prophecy is written in rhyming couplets, providing a series of symptoms of the coming of the day of doom, when, “the time shall com hat some shall see / that god aboue reuenged will bee” (f. 160v). The picture includes the date 1573, and the catalogue suggests that “around” this date the picture and prophecy were added to a blank page of the manuscript. Unfortunately, though predating the Arundel collection (as Thomas Howard was not born until around 1585) (*Oxford DNB* 28, 439), it does not give
any indication of provenance.

The manuscript bears the initials “E. S.” at the foot of the last page, but there is no further evidence available to identify the owner of the initials. Apart from this inscription, the earliest evidence of the provenance of this manuscript is that it was part of the library of the Howard family, Earls of Arundel, Surrey and Norfolk. A stamp and a bookplate in the front of book provide further evidence of its history. The bookplate shows the coat of arms of the Royal Society. The stamp at the bottom of f. 1\textsuperscript{r} states, “Soc. Reg. Lond., ex dono [sic] HENR. HOWARD Norfolciensis,”\footnote{“ex donc” is probably an error for “ex dono.”} showing that the manuscript entered the library of the Royal Society directly from Henry Howard’s library. In 1831 this manuscript, along with the rest of the Arundel Collection, was given into the keeping of the British Museum.

**CONTENTS**

1. A treatise upon the Passion of Christ. ff. 1\textsuperscript{r}–19\textsuperscript{v}.

   Incipit: A worshipful lady hauyenge a symple spirit
   ful of heuenly desires

2. The Militia Christi: a treatise upon a Christian’s warfare, in which the armour of a knight is moralised and applied to the duties of religion. ff. 20\textsuperscript{r}–81\textsuperscript{v}.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Rubric: Milicia Christi Induite vos armatura dei ut possitis stare aduersus insidias diaboly. ad ephesios. 8°.

Incipit: Þes bę þe wordys of seynt paule þe apostel þat bę þe nedeful to euery crysten man to vnderstande

Jolliffe H.33

Also in London, British Library MS Egerton 842 (ff. 247r–56v) (imperfect).
Ref: Hodgson, Hid Diuinite xii and n.; Revell, Prayers and Meditations 45.

3. An epistle attributed to Rolle. ff. 82r–92r.

Rubric: Here bygynneþ a pistle maad of Richard hampul as somme men supposen but who euer made it ; myche deuout þinge is þerinne

Incipit: TO t. d. his derworþe broþer in cristi his euentworþer in the Lord desiriþ þis þat t. d. do awey now þe elde man [sic] þat is viciouse conversacioun

4. A second epistle, also attributed to Rolle. ff. 92r–99v.

Rubric Here endiþ þe first pistle & here bygynneþ þe ij pistle of þe same autour

Incipit: A priuy worde to me is to þee; þou lord of virtues kyng of kyngis

60 I have not been able to find any further bibliographic information on this dissertation.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS


Rubric: Of þe grete comford þat man schuld haue in tribulacion

Incipit: Da nobis auxiliu de tribulacione Psalmus Þe holy prophete spekeþ in the persoune of mankynde þat is sette in tribulacions & aduersites of þis world

*IPMEP* 143

Jolliffe J.3.(a)

Also found in London, British Library MS Harley 1197 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 423.

Edited by Barratt, *Book of Tribulation*, from Bodley 423.

6. The Life of Soul. ff. 115r–29r.

Rubric: Here bygynneþ a tretis þat is cleput þe lyfe of soule secundum doctores

Incipit: Dere fader as seynt paule seiþ we haue here no cytee þat is dwellynge

*IPMEP* 243

Jolliffe H.4.(a)
Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 210 (ff. 114r–32v); San Marino CA, Huntington Library MS 502 (ff. 35r–60v).


Ref: Doyle, *Survey*, i. 97, n. 20; Revell, *Prayers and Meditations* 43.


Rubric: *Contemplacioun byfore martyns*

Incipit: þat þou schalt inwardly þenke & haue in mynde þou schalt þenke devoutly & inwardly on þe tyme & on þe place þat oure lord & oure saueour ihesu crist was borne inne

8. Contemplation before Prime. f. 130r.

Rubric: *Contemplacioun byfore prime*

Incipit: Byfore prime schalt þou þenke on þe passyon & on þe resurecioun of oure lord ihesu crist


Rubric: *Contemplacioun byfore vnder*
Incipit: Byfore vnder schalt þou þenke on þe maner of passyon þat ihesu crist suffurd at þat time

10. Contemplation before Midday. ff.130v–31r.

Rubric: Contemplacioun byfore mydday

Incipit: Byfore mydday schalt þou þenke þat in sicke tyme oure blessed lord ihesu crist was done on þe cros & honged by twene twey þeues

11. Contemplation before None. ff. 131r–v.

Rubric: Contemplacioun byfore none

Incipit: At none schalt þou þenke on þe passyon & on þe ascensioun


Rubric: Contemplacioun byfore euensonge

Incipit: Byfore euensonge schalt þou þenke how Joseph of aramathie went to pylate of pounce & axed þe body of ihesu

Rubric: Contemplaciooun byfore complyn

Incipit: Byfore complyn schalt þou þenne how Joseph & nycodeme wounden þe body of ihesu in a clene cloþe

14. Things that make a man holy. f. 132v–133r.

Rubric: What þinge makeþ a man holy

Incipit: Twoo þinges maken a man holy þat is knowyng & loue

This item does not appear in the catalogue as an independent text.


Rubric: Comtemplaciooun at nyȝt

Incipit: And at nyȝt also schalt þou þenne how þou hast spendyd al þe day byfore


Rubric: Of Maydnhede

Incipit: Ecce uirgo concipiet & pariet filium Loo seiþ þe holy profete ysay a mayden schal conceyue and bere a child þouȝ þes wordes were seyde by oure lady
Jolliffe G.16.(a) and O.31.(a)

Exists in two versions, both of which are edited below. Version (b) is edited from this manuscript. Version (a) is edited from London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 137r–53r).


17. **Treatise on Ave Maris Stella. ff. 149r–60r.**

Rubric:  *Aue maris stella*

Incipit:  *Amonge alle þe songes þat men vsen in holy chirche in þe worship of oure lady on ympne we vsen þe wheche beginneþ þus*

Edited below.

18. **A coloured drawing representing a man in a close blue dress with a fur cap on his head, and holding a roll of paper in his hand; round this figure are some lines intended as a prophecy, with the date of 1573, about which time they seem to have been written. f. 160v.**

Incipit: A grete clerke þat men clepiþ Richard of seynt victor in a boke þat he makeþ of þe studye of wisdome

*IPMEP 4*

Also in London, British Library MSS Harley 674, Harley 1022 (ff. 74r–80v), Harley 2375, and “the MS represented by Pepwell’s printed edition of 1521”; London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 88v–103r); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 385; Cambridge, University Library MSS Ff.6.33 (ff. 1r–21v), Ii.6.39 and Kk.6.26; Glasgow, University Library Hunterian MS 258; San Marino CA, Huntington Library MS HM 127 (ff. 53r–62v); and Cambridge MA, Harvard University MS Richardson 22 (listed in Hodgson as Boston MA, W. K. Richardson’s Library MS 22).


Printed by H. Pepwell (1521) (STC 20972 part 2); Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* I, 162–72 (from Harley 1022).


“A free and abridged translation of Richard of St Victor’s *De Preparatione Animi ad Contemplationem*” (*IPMEP*).

Incipit: Alle maner of men schuld hold godlys hestis

*IPMEP 49*


Edited from Bodley 789 by Arnold, Select English Works III (1871), 82–92.

Note that Arundel 286 is not mentioned under the entry for *IPMEP 49*; Arundel 268 is. This is an error; the catalogue entry for Arundel 268 does not record this treatise. Note that the entry for *IPMEP 49* records a “compressed version” of the same treatise.

**LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS HARLEY 2339**

*(MS B6)*

British Library MS Harley 2339 comprises ff. i + 125 + iii in parchment. Doyle has dated the hand responsible for copying the manuscript to the “first half or middle of the
fifteenth century” (“Three Estates” 351; see further below). The leaves measure 132 mm x 97 mm. The written area on all leaves measures 75 mm x 50 mm, and is ruled in a single column of 17 lines per page. The ruling is made in light brown or red ink, and is still visible. There are prickings visible in the outer margins only. The manuscript is bound in a modern British Library binding. A note in the back of the manuscript suggests that the manuscript was rebound in 1972.\(^1\)

The collation of the manuscript is i, i\(^7\), 2–10\(^8\), 11\(^7\), 12–14\(^8\), 15\(^7\), 16\(^8\), + iii. The first gathering is missing its first leaf, which, the entry in the Harleian Catalogue suggests, was probably removed because of the illumination (II 658). The manuscript is foliated from the first extant page of the first quire through to the last of the flyleaves.

The text is written throughout in a textura book hand, which Doyle describes as a “good English text-hand of the first half or middle of the fifteenth century’ (“Three Estates” 351). Interestingly, there is a determined change in some scribal behaviour from f. 47\(^v\) onwards, although there is minimal change in the ways that the letters are formed. Prior to f. 47\(^v\), there is little biting of terminal “de” (although there is often biting of instances of initial “de”); the letter “y” is undotted and there are few instances of stroked “i”; the lobe on the letter “d” is made in two movements and is quite open. On f. 47\(^v\) and following, however, not only is there commonly biting of terminal “de”, but also occasional biting of “be” and “oo” as well as initial “de”; the letter “d” is often (though not always) formed more smoothly, with a smaller, curved, single-stroke lobe and an ascender which does not always meet the lobe; the letter “i” is almost always stroked until f. 58\(^f\), after which point the stroke becomes more occasional. The most obvious and consistent change is the appearance of a dotted “y” on f. 47\(^v\), which remains until the end of the manuscript. The

\(^1\) The note is on a ticket pasted into the very back of the book, and says that it was “examined after binding” on “5.6.72.”
formation of the script both prior to and following f. 47\textsuperscript{v} remains basically the same, but the consistent difference in some secondary scribal behaviours is intriguing.

I have analysed the dialect of the Harley 2339 scribe on the basis of the forms found in *Rule of the Life of Our Lady* (R), version A of which is here edited from this manuscript. Many of the forms found in this text are common to many dialects; those with a less disparate pattern of distribution, such as “siche”, “ech” and “ony”, seem to be prevalent in central part of the country, and particularly in the central midlands. On the basis of more localisable forms, such as “heeld” (hold, *pt. sg.*) and “oold” (old, *adj.*), I suggest a Warwickshire dialect for this scribe.

Each prose text has a two-line blue initial with red penwork. There are no initial strokes for other capitals. The capitals are differentiated only by the form of the letter, not by colour. The verse texts have a one- or two-line blue initial with red penwork at the beginning of the text, then one-line blue initials through the rest of the text, usually at the beginning of each couplet or quatrain. The paragraphus marks alternate blue and red throughout the text.

Unfortunately, there is little information on the ownership of this manuscript. Doyle states that it is “of the class of pocketable volumes of instructions and meditations in prose with some didactic and devotional poems, meant for the reading of the literate and pious individual; in this case, probably for a secular priest” (“Three Estates” 351). There are no helpful bookplates, proper ownership inscriptions or information on for whom the book was made. Four names appear in the margins and blank leaves of the manuscript: Sara Canno (or “Camio”, dating approximately to the nineteenth century, f. 38\textsuperscript{r}); “John Foxe” and “John Baker” (f. 98\textsuperscript{v}) in a seventeenth-century hand; and “Tomas Worde” (f. 125\textsuperscript{v}) in a late fifteenth or sixteenth-century hand. Presumably, some of the people who wrote in the
margins of Harley 2339, named and unnamed, might have been owners or family members of owners.

CONTENTS

1. The later part of a prayer to Christ. ff. 1r–2r.

   Incipit (acephalous): þere þi modir / make þou þat þi loye & þi charite

   Catalogue note: “This wants the first leaf, which (without doubt) was torne-out [sic] for the sake of the Illumination.”

2. A prayer in memory of the Passion. ff. 2r–3r.

   Rubric: Þis orisoun þat folowþ is in mynde of ihesu cristis passioun
   Incipit: Deus qui voluisti pro redempcione mundi & c

3. A prayer attributed to St Augustine. ff. 3r–5v.

   Rubric: Seynt Austyn þe doctour made þis orisoun þat folowþ
   Incipit: Domine ihesu xpe qui hunc mundum & c Lord ihesu crist þat comest fro þe bosum of þe fadir into þis world
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

4. O Intemerata, with a rubric in English. ff. 5v–7v.

Rubric: Þis orisoun þat folowiþ schal be seid to oure ladi and to seint Joon þe euangelist

Incipit: O Intemerata & in eternu &c unwemmed & wiþouten ende blessid aloone maide wiþoute peer

Revell 306.

5. Supplications to Jesus. ff. 8r–9v.

Rubric: Here folowiþ a precious orisoun for him þat loueþ þis name ihesu

Incipit: O bone ihesu & c O good ihesu O mekeste ihesu O swettist ihesu O ihesu

Duffy notes that this prayer was “invariably found in printed Sarum Horae, and directly derived from St Anselm’s Meditations” (Altars 236). Wilmart compares this prayer and the last part of Anselm’s second Meditation (PL CLVIII 724c–25b), beginning “Respira jam, o peccator, respira” (Wilmart, Le “Jubilus” dit de Saint Bernard 266–67).
6. The Rule of the Life of Our Lady. ff. 9v–16r.

Rubric: Here bigyne þe rule of oure ladi lijf while sche lyuede here in er þe

Incipit: Aboute þe glorious maiden of whom oure lord ibesu crist took ßlesch &

blood

IPMEP 22

This treatise exists in two distinct versions, both edited below. The version found
in and edited from Harley 2339 (version a), is also in London, British Library Royal
MS 8. C. i (ff. 167r–69v). The other version (version b) is here edited from Oxford,
Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (ff. 262r–65v) and is also in London, British
Library MS Harley 1022 (ff. 64r–65v); Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys
2125; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 41 (fragment) (f. 135v); London,
Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 115r–17v)
Printed by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers I 158–59 (from Bodley 938), and 158–61
(from Harley 1022).

Translation of Chapter 3 of Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditationes Vitae Christi. See
introductory material to the edition of this text for a discussion of Rolle’s suggested
authorship of the translation.

7. The world is contrary to God. ff. 16v–17v.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Rubric: Here þou maist se ðat þe world is contrarie to god
Incipit: Now maist þou weel vndistonde bi swetnesse

Jolliffe F.17

Of items 8 to 17, the cataloguer is “apt to conjecture that these several Paragraphs make but one Tract” (658). Jolliffe concurs, recording that this text “begins a series of short tracts. It has proved to be impossible to separate one from the other with certainty” (Jolliffe 83).

8. How every man may prepare himself for God every day. ff 17r–19r.

Rubric: Here euery ma[n] may lerne to make him re[di to] god euery day
Incipit: Wake þe and preie; for þe witen not þe day ne þe hour


Rubric: þe malice of synners
Incipit: Also crisostum scip þus A þe malice of synneris

10. How to avoid undermining of the house of the soul by the devil and sin. ff. 22r–26r.
Rubric: Here we moun lerne how we schulden wake þe hous of ousre soule fro vndirmynynge of þe feende bi synne; & to be redi whateuere tymwe we ben called for to answere for ousre good deedis and ousre-yuel

Incipit: Soþely þat þing wite Fy_¶æ*íte for if þe husbounde man wiste in what hour Þe þeef were to come

11. Of the office of emperors and kings, and of their ministers. ff. 26r–31r.

Rubric: Of emperour & kingis office and of her ministris

Incipit: Turne þi swerd into his place soþely alle þat schulen take swerd schulen perisch bi swerd

12. Of unjust killing and unjust wrath. ff. 31r–33r.

Rubric: Here þe moun se of uniuist sleinge uniuist wraþhe

Incipit: 3e han herd þat it was seid to olde men bi moises: þou schalt not sle

13. That no man may judge himself to be just. ff. 33r–38r.

Rubric: Here we moun se þat noman schulde deme himsilfl iust

Incipit: Crisostom vpon þis text lest it suffise not seþ þus

Rubric: Of iust weddi & vniust

Incipit: Oon schal be taken The ilke part schal be taken


Rubric: How crist schal appere at domesday

Incipit: Austyn in ðe book of hise serouns

16. How we shall go with our enemy. ff. 41v–47v.

Rubric: Here we mou lerne hou we schulen go with oure enemye & how we schulden ȝeue & leue & how men mou lawfulli be chastisid for synne

Incipit: Who euere constreyneþ þee a þousand pasis go þou wiþ him oþir twyne

17. Tract on virtuous and evil virginity. ff. 47v–49r.

Rubric: Of ȝertues virginitie & of yuel

Incipit: Also crisostom upon matheu seǐþ

Rubric: Here sueþ a profitable mirrour for synful men & wymmen to biholde ynne

Incipit: For that we ben in þe weye of þis failynge lijf

IPMEP 213
Jolliffe F.8

Translation of Pseudo-Augustine, Speculum Peccatoris (PL XL 983–992). The IPMEP notes that this tract has been “ascribed variously to St. Augustine, St. Bernard and Rolle.”

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 22283, Harley 1706, and Harley 4012; Cambridge, University Library MSS Ff.4.45 and Ff.6.55; Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys MS 2125 (ff. 126r–28v); Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Bodley 3, Douce 13, Laud Misc. 23, Laud Misc. 174, Lyell 29, and Tanner 336; Oxford, University College MS 97; Coughton Court, Throckmorton MS; Glasgow, University Library MSS Hunter 496 and Hunter 520; London, Society of Antiquaries 300; Longleat, Marquis of Bath MS 32 (imperfect); Manchester, John Rylands Library MSS English 85 and English 412. Printed by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers II, 436–440, from Oxford, University College 97.

Refs: Allen, Writings 353–54; Chesney 33; Doyle, Survey I, 165–70; Doyle, “Vere Family” 230 & n.
19. Of the three arrows that shall be shot on doomsday. ff. 62v–72v.

Rubric: Here eendiþ þe myrrour of synners & bigýnneþ anoþir tretis of þre arowis þat schulen be schot on domesday to hem þat þere shulen be dampned

Incipit: Whoso wole haue in mynde þe dredful day of doom so þat he may be moued wiþ drede to fle fro synne

*IPMEP 842*

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 10036, Add. 22283, Arundel 197, Harley 1706, Harley 2385, and Harley 2388; Cambridge, University Library MSS Ff.2.38, Ff.5.45, and Ff.6.55; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (ff. 128v–30v); Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 53; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Bodley 3, Douce 13, Laud Misc. 23, Laud Misc. 174, and Tanner 336; Oxford, University MS 97; Coughton Court, Throckmorton MS; Glasgow, University Library MSS Hunter 496, and Hunter 520; Manchester, John Rylands Library MS English 85.

Printed by Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers II*, 446–48 (from Oxford, University MS 97)

20. Treatise on the Three Estates. ff. 72v–78r.
Rubric: Here eendiþ þe tretis of þre arowis And here sueþ anoþir mater how ech man & womman may lerne to loue & serue god ech in his degree takynge ensaumple bi þre foolis

Incipit: Respic volatilia celi [B]iholde 3e þe foulis of heuene for bi hem may men lerne how þei schulden loue god

IPMEP 563
Jolliffe I.5

The IPMEP states that this text is an “extract from Wycliffite epistle sermons for 21 and 22 Trinity circulating separately.” Collected Wycliffite sermon manuscripts are listed as IMPEP 304.

Printed by Doyle, “Three Estates” 351–58.
Ref: Revell, Prayers and Meditations 46.

21. A song of love to Jesus. ff. 78r–81v.

Rubric: Here sueþ þe swetnes of þe loue of Ihesu

Incipit: Ihesu þi swetnesse who myȝte it se þer of to haue a cleer knowynge Al erþeli loue bittur schulde be But þin aloone wiȝoute lesynge

NIMEV 1781
22. The Complaint of God. ff. 81v–100v.

Rubric: Here sueþ þe complaynt of god of euery synful man & womman

Incipit: Oure gracious god ful of pite·whos myȝt & goodnes neu bigan

NIMEV 2714
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Also in London, British Library MS Add. 36983; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 174/95 (Part IV); Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.21; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1; London, Lambeth Palace MSS 306 and 853; Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Eng. 530 (imperfect); San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS HM 144.

Edited by Halliwell-Phillips 87–88 (from Cambridge, University Library Ff.2.38); Borgström 508–25 (from Gonville and Caius 174/95); Furnivall, Political, Religious and Love Poems 199–232 (from Lambeth 306)

Printed by de Worde [c. 1510], STC 20881.3.

23. The three arguments that the devil will put to man at his death. ff. 100v–104v.

Rubric: Here bigynne þe þre argumentis þat þe deuel wil putte to man in his dijnge

Incipit: The firste argument þat he wole make is þis þou hast doon many grete & orrible synnys

Jolliffe K.5

24. A treatise against the opinion that no man has the power to move the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday. ff. 104v–116v.
Rubric: Here bigynneþ a litel tretys aþzens þe opynyoun of sum men þat seyn þat no man haþ power for to chaungþ þe saboth fro þe satirday to þe sonday And here is pryuly proved þe contrarie bi holi writt & doctouris sentence acordynge þerwiþ

Incipit: Sum men doute þis þat no man haþ leue for to chaunge þe ten commaundementis of god

25. The ten commandments. ff. 116r–16v.

Rubric: Here bigynnen þe x commaundementis of god

Incipit: Thou schalt haue o þeg & nomo

NIMEV 3685

Also in London, British Library MSS Harley 1706, Harley 5396 and Sloane 1313; Cambridge, University Library MSS Ee.4.35 and Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 55; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Ashmole 59 (extract) and Latin Liturgical e. 17.

Edited by Maskell, Monumenta III 254 (from Harley 1706).

Note that Ushaw, St Cuthbert’s College MS XVIII D.7.8, which was listed in the IMEV entry, is not listed in the NIMEV.

Rubric: Þese ben þe vij deedly synnes Þat suen
Incipit: Prode is heed of al kyns synne

*NIMEV 2770*

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; Ushaw, St Cuthbert’s College MS 28.

27. The seven contrary virtues. ff. 117v–118v.

Rubric: Þe vij vertues aʒens þe vij deedli synnes
Incipit: Wiþ scharpe þornes Þat weren ful kene

*NIMEV 4200*

Also in London, British Library MSS Sloane 2275 (extracts) and Add. 37049; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61; Warminster, Longleat Marquis of Bath MS 30; San Marino, CA, Huntington MS 142.
28. The seven works of bodily mercy. ff. 118v–19r.

Rubric: Þese ben þe vij werkis of mercy bodli
Incipit: Seint Poul þe apostle þer seiþ

*NIMEV* 3040

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; London, Lambeth Palace MS 491.

29. The seven works of spiritual mercy. ff. 119r–19v.

Rubric: Þes ben þe vij werkis of mercy gostly
Incipit: Teche ech man wiþ charite

*NIMEV* 3262

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; London, Lambeth Palace MS 491.
30. The seven sacraments. ff. 119v–21r.

Rubric: Þese ben þe seuen sacramentis þat suen

Incipit: These ben þe sacramentis seuene

NIMEV 3555

31. The five bodily wits. ff. 121r–21v.

Rubric: Þese ben þi fyve bodily wittis

Incipit: Kepe þi siȝt fro vanytee

NIMEV 1815

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; London, Lambeth Palace MS 491; Ushaw, St Cuthbert’s College MS 28.

32. The five spiritual wits. f. 121v.

Rubric: Þese ben fyue wittis goostly

Incipit: Have mynde on þe blis þat neuere schal blyne
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

NIMEV 1126

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584; London, Lambeth Palace MS 491; Ushaw, St Cuthbert’s College MS 28.
Edited by Bülbuing, Archiv 86 (1891): 388.

33. Grace prior to a meal. ff. 121v–122r.
Rubric: Gracis tofore mete
Incipit: In fedynge þou make us resonable

NIMEV 255

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 70.

34. Grace following a meal. f. 122v.
Rubric: Gracis aftir mete
Incipit: Ihesu þat diedist on þe rode

NIMEV 1758
35. Grace prior to supper. f. 122v.

Rubric: Gracis afore soper

Incipit: Crist þat breed brak at þe soper þere he sat

*NIMEV 620*

Also in Cambridge, Newnham College MS 4; Hereford, Cathedral MS O. 4. 14; Dublin, Trinity College MS 70; Wells-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, Holkham Hall MS 229.

36. Grace following supper. f. 122v.

Rubric: Gracis aftir soper

Incipit: Lord wiþ þis sustynaunce

*NIMEV 1983*

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 70.
Lambeth Palace MS 546 comprises 81 parchment folios measuring 150 mm x 110 mm. This is a composite manuscript, made up of two originally separate volumes (hereafter described as “booklets”) bound together. The Lambeth catalogue dates the first booklet slightly later than the second and the manuscript as a whole to the fifteenth century (James, Lambeth 750). The IMEP handlist entry for L, however, dates the manuscript as a whole to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth centuries (Pickering and O’Mara 51).

The manuscript has a sixteenth-century binding of “stamped leather over boards (rebacked): one clasp missing. On the front cover is a panel with a central tree stem and six figures of animals (in pairs): deer couchant, ass feeding; owl and pelican in piety; dragon and centaur with a branch or ragged staff. Floral border. On the second cover a panel of conventional foliage: in the border an inscription in capitals, the words separated by fleurs-de-lys at the corners and by roses elsewhere: AVE MARIA GRA/CIA PLEN/NA DOMINVS TE/CVM. T (knot) I (or h)” (James, Lambeth 750). The binding is reproduced in Hobson (plate 3c).

The written space, ruling and number of lines per page are largely consistent within each of the two booklets. The first 55 folios are ruled in a single column in red ink with fourteen lines per page and a written area of 94 mm x 62 mm. F. 56 (the last folio of the first booklet) is ruled for 19 lines in a single column, in pencil. From f. 57 to the end of the manuscript the leaves are ruled in a single column in black ink with seventeen lines per page and a written area measuring 110 mm x 74 mm.
The collation of the first booklet of the manuscript is 1–78 + 81, and of the second is 9–118. The manuscript has been foliated in pencil. The foliation missed out the actual f. 8 and foliated f. 9 as f. 8; a mistake which has been corrected, also in pencil, though the correction only affects ff. 8 and 8/9. Because of this consideration, I retained the foliation as it was originally given, while designating the folio that was missed f. “8*.” My foliation runs, therefore, 7, 8*, 8, 9, 10 etc.

There is some variation in initials and modes of capitalisation in the first booklet. Ff. 1–55 have blue initials, apart from ff. 52v–53r, where the first “O” of the invocation is red with decorative black marks, while the other two “Os” are also red, but with "ihesus" written inside the “O”. Within this section, ff. 1–33 have red initial strokes, ff. 34–38 have yellow shadowing of capitals, and ff. 38v–55v have no shadowing or initial strokes. F. 56 has red initials and initial strokes. The second booklet, ff. 57 to the end, is consistent throughout—it has space left for initials that were not added and yellow shadowing for capitals.

Lambeth Palace MS 546 is written in a number of identifiable hands, all but one of which occur in the first booklet. The name “Master John Warde” occurs after the Fifteen Sorrows devotion (ff. 7v–20v), and the same hand probably also wrote ff. 1r–7v and 21r–23v. His is a textura book hand with a very elaborate “y”, incorporating a pronounced right-hand flick and a dot with a tail. Throughout John Warde’s contributions, several of the ascenders of letters in the top line of text extend into the upper margin and are decorated with flags or banners. Having considered the forms that appear in P and S, it would appear that Warde’s dialect is from the central midlands, and probably from Leicestershire. The forms of the words “mother” (mother) with medial “th” rather than “d”, and “awne” (own, adj.) with initial “a” rather than “o” are indicative of a Leicestershire dialect, rather than a

---

62 For the sake of clarity, I have made the numbering of quires continuous across both booklets.
Warwickshire one, for example.

An inscription reading “Robart Davemport Your pore bedeman” follows The Golden Litany (ff. 29v–51r) and Latin prayers and text immediately after it (ff. 51v–52r). Davenport’s hand lies in the borderlands between anglicana formata and bastard anglicana. While he uses a “d” with a straight ascender and a straight-sided, two-compartment “a”, he deploys a “caliper” letter “g”, cursive “w” and smooth, rounded “o”, “e”, and “b.” Like Warde, his ascenders in the top line of text are often elaborate and project into the upper margin.

O’Mara has argued that another section of the manuscript (ff. 53v–55r), called the “Lambeth Devotion”, seems to have been copied by an unnamed nun. The colophon to the devotion on f. 55r asks the owner of the book to pray for mercy for the scribe, her “wreched syst er” (O’Mara, “Female Scribe” 396–98). I would argue that the preceding section (ff. 52v–53r) was also written by the same hand; although the two sections appear initially quite different, the letterforms are uniform across both sections. There is a marked lack of fluidity in the Latin passage on f. 53r followed by a change in the width of the nib, which disrupts the evident similarity between the letters in this section and the sections written in English. This is a secretary hand, specifically in the form of its “g”, “a” and short “s”, with simplified ascenders on “l”, “b”, “d”, and “h”, and a short descender on “y” with a right-hand curve. Its most distinctive feature is “w”, which begins with a downward vertical stroke without an approach stroke.

William Darker, a Carthusian of Sheen, copied most of the second booklet (ff. 57r–77v) (Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 8; Doyle, “Book Production” 14). He also copied the entirety of Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33 (C2; see also the description of C2), and a number of other manuscripts. For a full list of Darker’s manuscripts and information on his dialect, see the description for C2 below (page 172).
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

There are at least three other hands operating in L. The first (A) is a textura bookhand, responsible for copying ff. 27r–28r. It features a “g” with a distinctively broad, square-sided lobe and curved flicks on the tops of the ascenders for “l” and “b.” The letter “d” is distinctly cursive in its appearance, with an ascender so curved that it is like an additional lobe. A second unidentified hand (B) copied the end of the first booklet, ff. 56r–v. It is a secretary hand, bordering on bastard secretary, and can be differentiated from the secretary of the preceding hand by its curved, left-hand approach stroke on “w”, and the straight descender on “y.” It has straight, simplified ascenders on “d” and “h”, and has a horizontal stroke rather than a hook on the top of the long “s.” The third unidentified hand (C) is responsible for the final, textura section of the manuscript, ff. 78r–80v. It features a squared hook on the ascenders of “h”, “b” and “l”, and a looped ascender on “d”, similar to that found in hand A. I suggest that hand C may also be responsible for copying the few paragraphs between the end of Darker’s material on 77v and the beginning of the textura material. Between the end of Darker’s text and the textura material beginning on 78r, the scribe seems to be struggling to maintain a cursive script, and repeatedly uses textura letterforms.

There is little specific evidence of ownership of L, although Doyle states that it was made “for a nun or nuns of Syon in several sections by several hands, some of those male friends” (Doyle, “Ruusbroec” 161). Erler describes the manuscript as “an album amicorum” because of the variety of hands in which it is written (“Devotional Literature” 510). William Darker wrote a number of manuscripts for members of the community at Syon. O’Mara notes the inscription “Sister EW” (intertwined initials) on f. 56r in a sixteenth-century hand. She notes that there is a possible candidate for "Sister EW" in a Syon nun, “Sister Elizabeth Woodford, who was Senior Sister on 31 August 1518 and who died on 5 March 1523” (O’Mara, “Female Scribe” 397–98).
CONTENTS

1. **Fifteen Steads devotion. ff. 1r–7r.**

   Incipit: It is to be notyde that the virgyn mary mother of god

   Edited by Schwamb 22–34.

   Ref: Raymo: *Manual 7*: 2368 [228].

2. **Fifteen Sorrows devotion. ff. 7v–20v.**

   Rubric: The xv Sorowes of oure lady

   Incipit: O Glorious mother of god whos excellencye no mowth of man may party3tly expresse

   The IMEP handlist entry notes that “the fourth sorrow does not occur” (*IMEP* 13, 49). This is incorrect; the fourth sorrow occurs in the manuscript, but not on the microfilm. Because of the misnumbering of ff. 8–9 (see above), one leaf (the second f. 9) appears not to have been photographed.
3. The Sayings of Saint Albert on the Sacrament of the Altar—instructions for
receiving the Eucharist attributed to Albertus Magnus, one of two English
translations of the English text. ff. 21r–23v.

Incipit: Seynt albert the bysschoppe sayth theyse wordes ffolowyng Furste when
3e receyue our lorde in forme of brede 3e receyue v partes

*IPMEP* 571

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 517.

Lambeth 546 is erroneously listed under the entry for the other translation, *IPMEP*
572 (found in London, British Library MSS Harley 665, and Harley 1706; Oxford,
Bodleian Library MS Douce 322; and Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 3. 21).
Both translations are edited by Doyle, “Ruusbroec” 153–71. The *IPMEP* 571
translation is edited from Bodl MS Laud Misc. 517, and the *IPMEP* 572 version is
edited from British Library MS Harley 665.

4. An exemplum concerning the Pater Noster, in which a Pope is saved by the prayers
of his chaplain. ff. 23v–27r.

Rubric: Here folowith a good narracion And fulle prophetable and nescessary to
every sick man in the oure of his passyng out of this present lyffe to be saide
Incipit: A sertayne pope\textsuperscript{63} of rome lyeng sore sick at the mercy of god prayde his chapleyne

5. Latin prayers. ff. 27\textsuperscript{v}–28\textsuperscript{r}.

Incipit: Cum uenisset beatus andreas ad locum

6. The Golden Litany of the Holy Magdalen. This item acts as an introduction to item 7. ff. 29\textsuperscript{f}–34\textsuperscript{f}.

Rubric: Here folowith a fayre miracle or shewyng of the golden letany of the lyfe and passion of oure lorde ihesu crist

Incipit: Ther was an holy woman namyd mawdlene of good and lawdable lyf

Edited by Axon 123–37.

7. An English translation of \textit{Die Goldene Litanei} by Magdalena Beutler of Freiburg. ff. 34\textsuperscript{f}–51\textsuperscript{v}.

\textsuperscript{63} The word “pope” has been scraped away.
Manuscript Descriptions

Rubric: Here begynneth [sic] in þe honour of god þe goolden letanye of þe lyf and passion of oure lorde ihesu criste in the same maner and forme that he self hath Shewede to the helthe and saluacion of all crysten peple

Incipit: Lorde haue mercy on vs Crist haue mercy on vs lorde haue mercy on vs ande graunt vs strength of soule inwarde and outwarde þat we may serue the to the pleasure of þi wylle

IPMEP 442.

Also in London, British Library MS Arundel 285; and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 42.

Edited by Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1st ed. (1846), vol. 2, 244–54; and 2nd ed. (1882), vol. 3, 263–74, from this MS; Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose 205–12, from Arundel 285 (lacking the preface); and Axon from Douce 42 (see item 6 above).

Printed by R Copeland 1531 (STC 15707); J Skot [1536?] (STC 15707.5).


IPMEP notes that the work is frequently found in early printed Horae and Primers.


Incipit: Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat Deus da veuis [sic] graciam
9. Three prayers of invocations to the Virgin Mary, or a single three-part prayer.
Precedes a collect in Latin. ff. 52v–53r.

Incipit: O swete blessyd lady as thow art most my3ty next god yn heuyn & yn erthe I besech the to be present & defend me from the power of my gostly enymy

[Latin collect]

Incipit: Domine ihesu criste rogo the [sic] te per amorem illius gaudii

The English prayers are also in London, British Library MS Harley 494 (ff. 105v–06r), where the English passages are separated by Latin passages.

Edited by Barratt, Anne Bulkeley 256–57.


Incipit: If thou wylt be good and holy / Thes viii rules kepe thou truly

NIMEV 1435
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Edited by Allen, *Writings*, pp. 343–44.


11. English rubric preceding prayers in Latin, defaced to remove references to popes and indulgence. ff. 56r–v.

Rubric: The holy fader [pope] John the xiith made this prayer folowyng and hath graunted x thousand dais of pardon to them that saith it in reverence of the holy vernakle that is at rome also [pope] eugeny hath graunted vj ml yeris of pardou to the same Oracio

Incipit: Salue facies omnipotentis / In trono dei sedentis


Rubric: [H]ere foloweth a deuoute prayer to oure lorde iheru cryst with a meditacion to be to be [sic] sayde before the receuyynge of the holy sacramente with inwarde deuocou of desire with meke drede and feruoure of loue

Incipit: [O] Benigne Jhesu jat woldist suffre so many greuous peynes and dethe for loue of mankynde

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 30; Warminster, Longleat MS 29.

Edited by Ogilvie-Thomson, “Longleat 29” 1009–16 (from Longleat 29).
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

IMEP handlist 13 notes that the “Lambeth text is a greatly expanded version of the text preserved in the two other MSS” (50).


Rubric: Tofor the receyuyng of oure lorde thus thynke or saye

Incipit: [A]lle myghty god moste mercifull haue mercy vpon me þat am wrecched and vnkynde and synful


Rubric: This that foloweth seye or thynke soon after the commmunynge

Incipit: [A] welcome my gracious creator welcome my victorious redemere welcome my benigne sauyour

15. A meditation after receiving Communion. ff. 71v–78r.

Rubric: A meditacoun with mentalle prayer and Inwarde thankynge to god prostrate on the grounde

Incipit: O my dere swete lorde howe blessidful had I ben sommtyme if I myȝt a receyued in to my mouth oon drope of thy precious blode
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS


Rubric: A deuoute prayer to be saide to þe fader of heuen to obteyn a goode ende of our life

Incipit: In manus in extinguisbilis [sic]

17. English rubric preceding Latin prayer. ff. 78v–79r.

Rubric: A prayer to our sauour Jhesu for a goode ende

Incipit: [D]omine Jhesu criste hanc confessionem concede mibi famule tue habere in hora exitus mei

18. English rubric preceding Latin prayer. f. 79v.

Rubric: A prayer to our Blessid lady for a gode ende

Incipit: [O] domina mea sancta maria me in tuam benedictam fidem

Rubric: Another prayer to our lady for the same

Incipit: Saluto te sancta virgo maria domina celorum et regina

LONDON, WESTMINSTER SCHOOL MS 3

(MS W)

Westminster School MS 3 comprises 232 parchment folios, measuring 196 mm x 135 mm. Hope Emily Allen dated the manuscript to 1420 (Writings 358). Later scholars have used the date of the hand of the first of the three scribes to determine a terminus post quem for this manuscript. Phyllis Hodgson suggests that the earliest hand in the manuscript might be dated to the early to middle part of the fifteenth century (Hid Divinite xvi), and Doyle considers that the hand of the first scribe might be as early as 1400 (Survey II, 26; cited in Moss, “Merchant’s Tales” 156.)

The binding is of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It is brown leather over boards, pressed with a diagonal trellis-pattern, with the central four resulting diamonds on each cover containing a decorative stamp. One of the original clasps remains, although the fastening plates and other clasp have been replaced. The binding significantly postdates most of the manuscript, which, in combination with “scuff” damage to the front covers of some quires and the regularity with which the end of a text coincides with the end of a quire

64 This stamp is Oldham I (3), “used first by the Cambridge in the 1480s and continued in use until 1519 or a little later.” (Ker, Manuscripts I 424)
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

(see further below), suggests that sections of this manuscript originally circulated independently. There are four unruled parchment flyleaves, three at the beginning and one at the end, which are contemporary with the binding.

The distribution of scribal activity and coincidence of text and quire boundaries combine to suggest that W was produced in a series of separate booklets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quires</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1–23</td>
<td>1–180</td>
<td>Items 1–15</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24–26</td>
<td>181–204</td>
<td>Item 16; Item 17 (material added to originally blank leaf)</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27–30</td>
<td>205–31</td>
<td>Items 18–19; Item 20 (material added to originally blank leaf)</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The collation of the manuscript is iii, 1–19\(^8\), 20\(^10\), 21–22\(^8\), 23\(^2\), 24–29\(^8\), 30\(^4\), i. Quires 28 and 29 have been misbound, with 28 following 29. Hanna argues convincingly that this collation supports a theory of booklet production, in that some quires (20, 23 and 30) deviate from the normal length to facilitate completion of a text. He notes, also, that several of the quires have blank leaves at the end, or shorter texts added, seemingly in order to fill the remaining space in a quire, rather than moving on to the next long text (Hanna, Pursuing History 35–37). The manuscript has been foliated throughout in a modern hand.

The manuscript is copied in three hands, the dialects of two of which have been localised in the LALME. Hand A is early-fifteenth-century anglicana, and responsible for copying most of the manuscript (ff. 1\(^r\)–180\(^r\), including the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet (Eb), the Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R) and the Commentary on the Ave Maria (C)).

---

65 See Hanna, Pursuing History 35–36, for a tabular representation of this information given in greater detail.
LALME locates the scribal dialect in the Soke of Peterborough (LP 763, Grid reference 514 309). Hands B and C are very similar textura hands. Hand C (ff. 205r to end) has a dialect localised by the LALME to Lincolnshire (LP 927, Grid reference 521 328). Hand B, responsible for the copying of the translation of the Speculum Ecclesiae only, has not been analysed.

The layout of the manuscript falls into four broadly cohesive sections. Section A, ff. 1 to 136, has ruled space of 125 mm x 85 mm and 24 lines per page. Section B, from ff. 137 to 162, has a written area of 150 mm x 90 mm, with 32 lines per page. The last page of this text has eight extra lines added in order to finish the text without adding to the quire or beginning the next quire. Section C, ff. 163 to 180, returns to the format of section A. The written area of section D, from 181 to the end, is 165 mm x 100 mm, with around 27 lines per page.

These sections are generally reflected in the modes of decoration and capitalisation also. Section A has a number of different forms of decoration, and these forms of decoration are scattered across the section. Items 1, 3 and 4 have blue initials. Items 2, 5, 6, 10 and 11 have slightly larger capitals than those found in the body of the text at the beginning of the text with a red initial stroke. Items 7, 8 and 12 have the larger capitals with no stroke at the beginning of the text, and the capital at the beginning of item 9 is barely differentiated at all from the capitals in the remainder of the text. In section B there are no initials; both texts begin with slightly larger capitals and no further decoration. Section C, a single text, has an impressive nine-line initial in blue ink. Section D has large blue initials for the beginning of the texts and blue initials for the beginning of each section within the texts.

Amanda Moss discusses the early history of Westminster School 3, using the ownership inscription “Amen per Ricard [sic] Cloos, the wiche is owner of this bouke anno
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

1472” as a starting point. She investigates two men of this name, both drapers resident in London in the late fifteenth-century, and suggests that the older of the two was the more likely to have owned this manuscript (Moss, “Merchant’s Tales” 159–60). She also notes, however, that as the first section of the manuscript has been dated to the early part of the fifteenth-century, neither man could have commissioned it (160). Ker states that the manuscript was “a gift [to Westminster School] from Busby, like MS 1” (Manuscripts I: 424). Richard Busby (1606–95) had attended Westminster School, and was headmaster of the school for most of the second half of the seventeenth century (Oxford DNB IX: 77–78).

There is no information on the provenance of the manuscript prior to Cloos’ ownership, nor between his ownership and Busby’s.

CONTENTS

1. An exposition of the Lord’s Prayer, erroneously ascribed to Richard Rolle. ff. 1r–67v.

Rubric: Here bigynneþ þe pater noster of Richard Ermyte

Incipit: TO his dere sistir in god goddis honde mayden & his spouse

IPMEP 150

Jolliffe M.3.(b) and O.9.(b)
Also in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.1.29; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74 (ff. 143r–66v); Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.40; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 104; and Durham, Cathedral Chapter Library MS A iv 22. Edited from this MS by F. G. A. M. Aarts, *Pe Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte: A Late Middle English Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967.


The Bodleian copy is listed in Jolliffe as a variant (M.3.(a)), but Aarts’ edition suggests that the Bodleian version (“L”) forms a textual group with the Westminster (W), Sidney Sussex (S) and Trinity (T) MSS, with the Cambridge University Library MS (C) being a copy of a “revised version” (xxv), and the Durham MS (D) constituting a “conflation of the two textual traditions” (xxvi).

2. **Commentary on the Ave Maria.** ff. 68r–72r.

Incipit: Heyl be þow Marie ful of grace þe lord is wiþ þee

*IPMEP* 276.

Edited below from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (pp. 175–79). Also in Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.296.4g3 (ff. 75r–78v); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74 (ff. 189v–91v), and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (ff. 35v–39v).
Edited (from Corpus 296, compared with Sidney Sussex MS only) by Matthew, *English Works* 203–08.


Not to be confused with another, similar, but Wycliffite exposition of the Ave Maria (*IPMEP* 455), edited by J.A. Butrym, Rutgers PhD Dissertation (1971). Matti Peikola argues convincingly that the *IPMEP* 455 text is a Wycliffite exposition, but that *IPMEP* 276, despite often being categorised as a Lollard exposition, is predominantly orthodox in its theology (*English Studies* 81:4 (2000): 273–92). See the introduction to this text for further information.

3. A commentary on the Commandments. ff. 73r–88r.

*Incipit:* Alle maner of men schulde holde goddis biddyngis

*IPMEP* 48

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 22283, Harley 218, Harley 2346 and Royal 17. A. xxvi; Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 246; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 524; Oxford University MS 97; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 3390; Princeton NJ, Princeton University Deposit MS 1459; San Marino CA, Huntington Library MS HM 744.

Ker seems to suggest that the copy contained in Royal 17. A. xxvi and “the tract printed by T. Arnold, Select English Works of Wyclif iii (1871)” are not the same as the others in this group. The IPMEP, however, lists them together and suggests comparison with IPMEP 49 and IPMEP 650. Hanna notes that the Westminster School text is the “so-called ‘orthodox commentary’ on the Decalogue” (Pursuing History 35); a comment that seems to derive from the IPMEP entry. IPMEP 49 is the “Wycliffite” commentary; there is no comment in the record for IPMEP 650 as to its orthodoxy or heterodoxy.


Incipit: A greet clerk þat men calliþ Richard of Seynt Victore

IPMEP 4

For further information, see the entry for MS B3, item 19 (p. 107)

“A free and abridged translation of Richard of St Victor’s De Preparatione Animi ad Contemplationem” (IPMEP).

The blank space left on f. 80v for the diagram (Hodgson, Hid Diuinite 15) has not been filled.

Rubric: How men schulden be pacient in tribulacioun & euer triste in goddis helpe & neuer forsake truȝe noȝter for liȝf ne for deeȝ

Incipit: Pe lord is my lyȝte or he þat ȝyȝe me liȝt

Jolliffe J.8

Jolliffe erroneously lists this item as running from 103v–105r.

6. Treatise on the visiting of the sick and preparing for death. ff. 105v–12r.

Rubric: How men þat beþ in heele schulde visite sekemen

Incipit: My dere sone or douȝte in god

IPMEP 460.

Jolliffe L.5.(b) and N.9.(b)

This text exists in three versions. The Westminster text belongs to version B as classified by the IPMEP.

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 32320, Harley 2398 and Royal 17. A. xxvi; Cambridge, University Library MSS Dd.1.17 and Nn.4.12; Oxford, Bodleian
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

MSS Bodley 938 (ff. 236r–43r) and Laud Misc. 210; Dublin, Trinity College MS 432 (D.4.18); London, Lambeth Palace MS 432, Oxford, University College MSS 4 and 97.
Edited by Littlehales, English Fragments 6–8 from British Library Add 32320; and from CUL Dd.1.17 by Krochalis and Peters, Piers Plowman 195–202.
Printed from Oxford, University College MS 97 by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers II, 449–53.

7. The Charter of Heaven (an extract from Pore Caitif, circulating as separate text). ff. 112r–15r.

Rubric: Þe chartir of heuene
Incipit: Eueryche wysman þat cleymeþ his heritage

IPMEP 166
Jolliffe B

As separate text, also in London, British Library MSS Harley 1706 and Harley 4012; Cambridge, University Library MSS Ff.6.34 and Li.6.40; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Douce 322 (imperfect) and English Th.c.50 (fragment); Cambridge MA, Harvard University MS English 701; Manchester, John Rylands Library MS English 85.
Edited from CUL Ff.6.34 by Spalding, Middle English Charters of Christ 100–02.
Printed by R Lant [1542] (STC 19187).
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

For a full list of manuscripts of the *Pore Caitif*, see Jolliffe B.

8. **The Rule of Our Lady’s Life. ff. 115r–17v.**

Incipit: Abowte þe glorious mayden

*IPMEP 22.*

This treatise exists in two distinct versions, both edited below: (a) Edited from London, British Library MSS Harley 2339 (ff. 9v–16r), with variants from Royal 8. C. i (ff. 167r–69v); (b) Edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (ff. 262r–65v), with variants from this MS, London, British Library MS Harley 1022 (ff. 64r–65v); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 41 (fragment) (f. 135v); and Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (ff. 82v–83v).

Printed by Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* I 158–59 (from Bodley 938), and 158–61 (from Harley 1022).

Translation of Chapter 3 of Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. See introductory material to the edition of this text for a discussion of Rolle’s suggested authorship of the translation.

9. **Treatise on the teaching of the commandments. ff. 117v–19v.**
Rubric: How lordis and housboundemen schulden teche goddis comaundementis & þe gospel to her suggetis & answere for hem to god on domesday

Incipit: Almyȝti god in trinite comaundiþ generaly

Jolliffe I.1

Also in Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.3; and Edinburgh, University Library MS 93.

10. An exposition of Diliges Dominum. ff. 119v–21r.

Incipit: Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuorum [sic]. Þou schalt loue þi lord god of al þin herte

IPMEP 155
Jolliffe G.26

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 2385; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Douce 246 and Laud Misc. 210 (ending imperfect); and Oxford, University College MS 97.

Printed from Oxford, University College MS 97 by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers II, 454–55.
11. Treatise on marriage. ff. 121r–32v.

Rubric: Here bigynneþ a tretis of weddid men & wymmen & of her children also

Incipit: Oure lorde god almyȝty spekiþ in his lawe

*IPMEP 521.*

Also in London, British Library MSS Harley 2398 and Add. 24202; Cambridge, University Library MSS Dd.12.39 and Li.6.55; Cambridge, Corpus Christ College MS 296 (pp. 224–35); and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (ff. 62r–73v; included in the course of the *Pore Caitif*).

Printed from Corpus 296 by Arnold, *Select English Works* III, 188–201.


Rubric: A schort reule of lyf for eche man in general & for preestis in special hou
eche schal be saued in his degre

Incipit: First when þou risest or fully wakest

*IPMEP 203*
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Laud Misc. 174, Bodley 9, Bodley 938 (ff. 10v–13r) and Eng. Th.f.39; London British Library MS Harley 2398; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (pp. 157–60).

Edited from Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 174 by Arnold, Select English Works III, 204–08.

Refs: Hanna, Pursuing History 58.

13. **Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet. ff. 137r–53r.**

Rubric: Here bigynneþ a noble tretys of maydenhode

Incipit: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium Þese wordis weren seide by oure lady goddis modir

Jolliffe G.16.(b) and O.31.(b)

This text exists in two versions, both edited below: (a) this manuscript, and (b) in London, British Library MS Arundel 286 (ff. 134v–48r). See also Jolliffe G.16.(a)/O.31.(a).

Refs: Hodgson, Hid Diuinite, xii & n.

14. **Treatise on holy living and chastity in particular; the concluding tract from Pore Caitif. ff. 153r–62v.**
Incipit: I write to þee þis tretys in þese fyue schort chapitres in token of þe fyue most scharpe stones

Jolliffe B (extract)

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938, (ff. 196r–209r), under the heading 'A myrour of chastite', as the last part of Pore Caitif.

For a full list of manuscripts in which the Pore Caitif appears, either in full or in part, see Jolliffe B.

15. Treatise on the ten commandments. ff. 163r–80r.

Rubric: Þe comaundementis of god

Incipit: It is writen in þe gospel of mathew þe xix chapitre þat a man axid oure lord


Rubric: Here bigynneþ þe sermoun of seynt Edmound of pounteneye þat is clepid þe myrour of seynt edmound

Incipit: In þe name of oure swete lord ihesu crist here bigynnen þe materes

NB: Hanna refers to this as “one of the translations of St Edmund Rich’s Speculum Ecclesie (Wells IV: 6 in supplement 3; IPMEP 706, 799, 800)” (Pursuing History 36), and it is different from those versions of the Speculum Ecclesiae printed by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers I, 219, 240.
Ref: Wilshere, Mirour de Seinte Eglyse.

For a full list of the manuscripts in which translations from both Latin and Anglo-Norman of Edmund of Abingdon’s Speculum Ecclesiae, see IPMEP 202, 706, 799 and 800; Raymo, Manual 7:2509 [36]. See also NIMEV 974 and 1512 for a list of verse translations of this tract. This text also exists in an extracted form in a number of other manuscripts, including MS C2 (items 4 and 5, described below).


Incipit: Seuene gostly werkis of mercy ben þese
18. Rolle’s *Form of Living*; an epistle written to the recluse Margaret Kirkeby (c. 1348–49). ff. 205r–25r.

Incipit: In ilk a synfulman and womman þat is boundon

*IPMEP* 351

For a full list of manuscripts in which this text appears, see the *IPMEP* entry.

Edited from CUL MS Dd.5.64 by Allen, *English Writings* 85–119.

Printed from CUL MS Dd.5.64 and Bodleian MS Rawlinson C 285 by Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* I, 3–49.

For a verse version of this text, see *NIMEV* 1442. A Latin version can be found in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 140/80 and London, British Library MS Harley 106.

19. Rolle’s *Ego Dormio*; an epistle written to an unknown woman (c. 1343–48). ff. 225r–31r.

Incipit: Þow þat lyst loue helde þi eeren

*IPMEP* 160
Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 22283, Add. 37790 and Arundel 507; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Bradfer-Lawrence Deposit MS 10; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (ff. 99r–102r) (imperfect); Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.5.64; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS English Poetry A. 1 and Rawlinson A. 389; Dublin, Trinity College MS 155; Warminster, Longleat Marquis of Bath MS 29; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 3390; and Tokyo, Takamiya MS 66.


Printed from CUL MS Dd.5.64, Bodleian MS Rawlinson A. 389 and British Library MS Arundel 507 by Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* I, 49–61.


Incipit: Fayr laydis I pray yow tillme [sic]

*NIMEV* 754.5


---

66 This a parallel edition of the English text (from CUL Dd.5.64) and the Latin (from Gonville and Caius 140/80).
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Note that the NIMEV records the incipit for this verse as “Fayr laydis I pray yow tell me”; Wilson (“tillme”, 328) and Ker (“till me”, Manuscripts I, 424) disagree.

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS ADDITIONAL 6686 (MS C1)\(^{67}\)

Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6686 comprises ii + 183 + ii parchment folios with gilded edges, measuring 272 mm x 202 mm.\(^{68}\) Sargent dates the manuscript to the first quarter of the fifteenth century (Mirror C lxxiv). It is bound in a nineteenth-century, brown leather binding with five cords, measuring 290 mm x 216 mm. The binding has a gold floral/acanthus border pressed around the edges of both the front and back covers, and on both the inside and the outside of the covers.

The format of the manuscript, in terms of its written space, number of lines per page and layout, varies across the manuscript. Pages 1–234 (quires 1–15), containing Love’s Myrrour and the “Treatise on the Eucharist”, have a ruled space of 206 mm x 133 mm in two columns of 36 lines,\(^{69}\) each 62 mm across.\(^{70}\) The format of the next section (pp. 235–361, quires 16–23), containing the material between the Contemplations of the Dread and

\(^{67}\) Because of the lack of a catalogue description for this manuscript, I was given access to J. Ringrose’s unpublished notes, for which I am very grateful, both to the Library and to Ms Ringrose herself.

\(^{68}\) The only exception is the last leaf of the manuscript (paginated as 363–64), which measures 260 mm x 178 mm.

\(^{69}\) Inexplicably, Sargent records that there are 22 lines per page in this section (Mirror (Critical) lxxiv).

\(^{70}\) NB: The numbers 194–95 are repeated in the pagination (see below), which is why 118 leaves appear only to represent 234 pages.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

"Love of God" and Hilton’s *Scale*, is in a larger format, with 40–41 lines per page within a written space of 218 mm x 142 mm, divided into two columns measuring 65 mm across. The last item, *The Lay Folks’ Catechism*, is written in one column, in a written space of 254 mm x 178 mm (p. 362) and 220 mm x 172 mm (pp. 362–64), ruled for 48 (p. 362) or 41 (pp. 363–64) lines on each page.

The collation of the manuscript is i², 1–14⁸, 15⁶, 16–17⁸, 18⁴, 19–22⁸, 23¹², 24¹, ii². The manuscript has been paginated in the upper outer corner in ink, in a nineteenth-century hand. The same hand is probably responsible for the table of contents written on the recto of the first flyleaf. The person who paginated the manuscript has made an error, repeating the numbers 194 and 195. The paginating hand has also put a quire number in the middle of the lower margin of the first leaf of each quire, and has marked the first leaf after the stitching in each quire with a “+.” There are also very faint quire signatures contemporary with the production of the manuscript evident in the outer, lower corner of some leaves: d[3], e3, e4, f[3], f[4], g1, g2, g3, g4, h3, h4 and j1.

The decoration of C1 varies, although the level to which each text has been decorated is consistent within each of the sections of the manuscript as set out above. The texts of the *Myrrour* and the “Treatise on the Eucharist” have both been beautifully decorated with borders on pp. 1, 4, 158, and 190 (which has spaces left for armorial shields in the lower margin which did not eventuate), and partial borders on pp. 64, 97 and 216.

---

71 The way in which Sargent’s collation is recorded (*Mirror (Critical)* lxiv) differs in two major respects from mine and that found in J Ringrose’s notes, although the difference is explicable. Sargent records two paper flyleaves, one on each end of the manuscript, by which he must mean the endpapers that Ringrose and I both exclude from our collations. Sargent also records the last gathering of the manuscript proper as a gathering of 13, whereas Ringrose and I both record a gathering of twelve and an added single leaf. This added single leaf is significantly smaller than the preceding 12 leaves, which suggests that it did not originally belong to the preceding gathering.

72 There is no quire number on the first leaf of the first quire, which has a decorative border.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

There are large, illuminated initials on pp. 1, 4 and 216, and the beginning sections within these first two texts are marked with smaller illuminated initials. The *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* and the *Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin* (J) both have large marginal initials and use blue ink for initials in the *Contemplations* and red and blue inks for paragraphus marks in the *Vision*. The three poems (pp. 270–71) have red ink for their rubrics and spaces left for initials which did not eventuate. The “Kings of England Since William the Conqueror”, a verse text, is written as prose paragraphs; it has slightly larger-than-usual capitals for the beginning of each stanza and ordinary majuscule letters for the beginning of each “line.” Hilton’s *Scale* (pp. 275–361) has a blue, two-line initial for the opening of the text on p. 278 (pp. 275–78 is a table of contents), and blue or red two-line initials for the opening of each chapter. The text also features red initial strokes and touches to the ascenders in the top line of each column. The *Lay Folks’ Catechism* has a two-line red initial for the opening of the text, one-line in-text initials for the opening of each section within the text, and red initial strokes and paragraphus marks. There is also a monogram in the centre of the lower margin on every page in this section, which Sargent identifies as reading “‘s’ and ‘b’ or ‘h’” (*Mirror C* lxxiv), and the number “20.”

Sargent notes at the outset of his manuscript description that C1 is “a composite volume”, and later within the same paragraph that “[w]ear on the first page of the *Scale* would indicate that this section [pp. 275–364] once stood alone” (*Mirror C* lxxiv). The format of the manuscript (which seems to be consistent within consecutive groups of quires: 1–15, 16–18 and 19–23), the regularity of the type of decoration within each section and the presence of blank leaves at the end of the second group of quires all seem to suggest that this manuscript was initially produced in three parts:
Manuscript Descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quires</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Scribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1–15</td>
<td>1–234</td>
<td>Items 1–2</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16–18</td>
<td>235–274</td>
<td>Items 3–9</td>
<td>B, C, D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19–24</td>
<td>275–364</td>
<td>Items 10–11 (Item 11 copied onto blank leaf at end of quire 23, then completed on single leaf quire 24)</td>
<td>E, F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is unclear how much time elapsed between the production of these sections and their collection into a single manuscript.

C1 was copied in a total of six hands, all of which have been discussed by the LALME and all of which Sargent describes as “anglicana, of the early fifteenth century” (Mirror C lxxiv). The first hand (A), responsible for copying all of the Myrour and the “Treatise on the Eucharist”, is anglicana formata. It has the characteristic individual, vertical strokes and spacing of a textura book hand, and retains textura “w” and “d”, but the underlying script is cursive. The “o” and “e” are curved rather than angular; there are hooks on the ascenders of “b”, “h”, “k”, and “l”; the scribe tends to use the two-lobed anglicana “a”, but the secretary single-lobed “a” appears sporadically as the section progresses; there is occasional use of secretary short “s” terminally and wide-spread use of long “s” in initial positions. According to the LALME, the dialect of this scribe is similar to that found in Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6578 (LP 9340, Grid reference 453 234, Northamptonshire).

Hand B, responsible for the copying of the Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, the prayer to the guardian angel and all but the final paragraph of the Vision of St John (J), writes in an anglicana script with textura elements rather than a fully-formed anglicana
formata. For the Middle English material, the scribe uses textura “s”, straight-sided “a” and biting, but has hooks on “b”, “h”, “l”, “k”, “w”, and “v”, and a distinctive right-hand hook on the top of the ascender of “d”, all of which give the text overall a cursive appearance. In the Latin prayer to a guardian angel, the scribe adapts the script, simplifying the ascenders on “d”, “b” and “l”, squaring the hook on “f”, and removing the hooks on “w” and “v”; the cumulative effect of these changes is to formalise the script and cause it to resemble a textura book hand. The LALME localises the dialect of this scribe in Lincolnshire (LP 508, Grid reference 506 362).

The third hand (C), writes in a very small format anglicana, with two-lobed anglicana “a”, looped ascenders on “d”, hooks on the limbs of “w”, and a pronounced right-hand hook on the descenders of “y” and “þ” (which are not differentiated). Hand C is responsible for copying the last paragraph of the Vision and the three poems which follow it. The LALME states that this section is “too short to assess with certainty” (LALME I, 66).

Hand D, which copied only the “Kings of England” text, features predominantly anglicana letterforms, but is composed of short, broken strokes, which gives it the impression of being a textura script. The LALME labels its dialect “indeterminate” (LALME I, 66).

Hand E, responsible for copying Hilton’s Scale, uses anglicana, with a right-hand looped ascender on “d”, right-hand hook on “y” and “þ” (which are undifferentiated), and a right-hand flick on the descender on “þ”. There is a left-hand approach stroke on “v” and a right-hand approach stroke on “w.” The ascenders of letters in the top line of text often project into the upper margin and are decorated. The scribe uses a more formalised, squarer version of the same basic script for Latin quotations. The LALME localises the dialect of this scribe generally to Nottinghamshire, but notes that it has “an odd, suspiciously regular
and artificial language” (*LALME* I, 66).

The last hand in the manuscript writes a small, even anglicana, featuring a looped ascender on “d”, hooked “w”, hooks on the tops of ascenders for “b”, “h”, “k”, and “l”, and a right-hand approach stroke on “v.” “y”/“þ” has a straight descender, but “3” has a right-hand flick on its descender. The *LALME* calls this “a good text [with] probably N[orth] Nott[inghamshire] language” (*LALME* I, 66).

There is little evidence of ownership within the manuscript. The names “Dan Adam” (p. 36, dating to approximately the late fifteenth century) and “Thomas Myrlay” (p. 274, dating to the sixteenth century) appear, but without any contextualising statements about ownership. Sargent states that, of the empty shields at the foot of p. 190, the one “on the right […] seems to have been scored in drypoint with a saltire (and chief?), the latter charged with a mullet”, and suggests that these arms “may correspond to the arms of the Bruce family: Or a saltire and chief gules, the last charged with a mullet, argent” (*Mirror* C lxxiv–lxxv). More is known of the history of the manuscript from the middle of the nineteenth century. It was sold at Sotheby’s (Lot 773) on 5 February 1851. *Notes and Queries* 66 (February 1, 1851) announced the sale:

Messrs. Sotheby and Co. will sell, on Monday and Tuesday next, a very valuable and important Collection of Classical and Historical Books, from the Library of a Collector; and on Wednesday and two following Days, an important portion of the valuable Library of the Right Hon. C. W. Williams Wynn, including First and Second Folio Shakespeare, Caxton’s Golden Legend, and some valuable MSS., including one of the works of Robert Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole, &c (94).

A prominent inscription at the foot of p. 235 of C1 attributes authorship of the
Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God to “Roberto Roole heremite de hampolle.” C1 passed through the ownership of Lord Ashburnham (Lot 174 in his sale at Sotheby’s, 1 May 1899) and A. W. Young, who gave the manuscript to the Library in 1933 (Ringrose).

CONTENTS


Rubric: Speculum vite christi. At þe byginyng þe proheme of þe boke þat is cleped þe mirroure of þe blessede lif of Jhesu Criste. Þe ferst part for þe moneday

Incipit: A deuoute meditacion of þe grete counseile in heuen for þe restoryng of man & his sauacion

IPMEP 553

Edited by Powell, Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ; Hogg and Powell, Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ; Sargent, Mirror C; and Mirror R.

Printed by William Caxton, ?1486 (STC 3259), and ?1490 (STC 3260); Wynkyn de Worde, 1494 (STC 3261), 1517 (STC 3264), n.d. (STC 3265), and 1525 (STC 3266), 1530 (STC 3267).


For a full list of manuscripts in which the Mirror appears, see IPMEP 553.

Rubric: A shote tretes of þe hiest and most worði sacrament of cristes blessed body and þe merveiles þereof. Memoriam fecit mirabilium

Incipit: Þees wordes of Dauid in þe sautere


Rubric: Þis short pistyll þat folowes es devyded in sere partys and in sere maters and euer ilk mater by hym selfe es titeld as þis kalender shewes

Incipit: In þe begynnyng and endynge of alle gude werkes wyrschep & thoght be to alle myghty god

*IPMEP* 362
Jolliffe H.15

Also in London, British Library MSS Royal 17. A. xxv, Arundel 197, Harley 1706, Harley 2409, and Sloane 1859; Cambridge, University Library MS li.6.40; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Ashmole 1286 and Bodley 423; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.42 [376]; Durham, University Library MS Cosin V.iv.6; Maidstone, Museum MS 6; San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS 127; New York,
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Pierpont Morgan MS 861; Philadelphia PA, University of Pennsylvania MSS Eng. 2 and Eng. 8.
Edited from Maidstone MS 6, with reference to all manuscripts, by Connolly, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God.*
Printed by Wynkyn de Worde 1506 (STC 21259) and ?1519 (STC 21260); and from STC 21259 by Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers II,* 72–105.
Refs: Allen, *Writings* 357; Bühler, “Middle English Texts of Morgan MS 861” 687; Doyle, *Survey I,* 47; Doyle, “Vere Family” 231; White, “Continuing Traditions” 969.


Incipit:  Angele qui meus es custos pietate superna

*IPMep 40* (Latin)

Also in Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43 (ff. 96v–97v).

Latin version of *IPMep 40,* which is found in London, British Library MS Harley 2445; Nijmegen, Universiteit MS 194; San Marino, Huntington Library MS 147.
The Middle English version has been printed by Wynkyn de Worde 1506 (STC 21259) and ?1519 (STC 21260); W. Maskell, *Monumenta Rituallia Ecclesiae Anglicanae,* 1st ed. (1846) II, 270; and 2nd ed. (1882) III, 291–92 (from Harley 2445); and Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers II,* 105 (from STC 21259).
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

The *IPMEP* entry for this item does not mention that this version is in Latin; it is listed, without comment, among the Middle English versions of the text.

5. The Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin. pp. 269–70.

*Incipit:* I fynde and rede be holy mennes wryteynge þat after oure ladys assumpcioun saynt John þe evangelist greтелy desired to se þat blysfull lady

*IPMEP* 323

Exists in three distinct versions, all of which are edited below: (a) Edited from this MS, with variants from London, British Library Add. MS 37787 (ff. 161r–62v); Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (ff. 60v–61r); Glasgow, University Library MS V. 6. 22 (ff. ivv–v); and San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS 127 (ff. 33r–33v); (b) Edited from Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43 (ff. 82v–85r); with variants from Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.11 (fragment) (f. 136r) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 175 (fragment) (ff. 131v–32r); and (c) Edited from New Haven, CT, Yale University Library MS Beinecke 317 (ff. 50v–51r).

Printed by Baugh, *Worcestershire Miscellany* (from BL Additional 37787.)


The *IPMEP* entry for this text lists the Huntington manuscript as MS HM 147; this is an error.

Rubric: Carta redempcionis humane

Incipit: Witt all þat now bene here / And aftir sall be boþe leue & dere

NIMEV4184

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 5465, Add. 24343, Add. 37049, Add. 60577, Add. Charter 5960, Harley 116, Harley 237, Harley 3775, Harley 6848, Sloane 620, Sloane 3292, Stowe 620 and Stowe 1055; Cambridge University Library MS li.6.44; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Ashmole 61, Ashmole 189 and Dodsworth 147; Cambridge, Caius College MS 230; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1036; Cambridge, St John’s College MS 37; Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS Lat. 176; Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Houghton Library MS Richardson 22; and a manuscript previously owned by “J. W. Dod, present location unknown” (NIMEV).


Refs: Förster, Anglia 42 195–96; Fehr, Archiv 106 69–70

Rubric: *Littera atornatoria ad liberandum inde seisinam.*

Incipit: *[T]o all cristen be it knawene / That þe seed of grace in erthe is sawne

*IMEV 3745*

*IMEV 3745* appears in *NIMEV* as part of 4184, not as a separate entry. In the *IMEV* entry, C1 appears as “Ashburnham 140”; it is the only manuscript listed.


Rubric: *Magna Carta libertatis & remissionis generalis.*

Incipit: *[I]hesu of naæareth þe kyng of jewes / To all þat er boþ ying & olde

*IMEV 1740*

As with item 7 above, *IMEV 1740* appears in *NIMEV* as part of 4184, not as a separate entry. In the *IMEV* entry, C1 appears as “Ashburnham 140”; it is the only manuscript listed.

**Manuscript Descriptions**

Incipit:  This myghti Wylliam duke of normandy As bukis old make mencion

*NIMEV 3632*

Ringrose notes that this text “corresponds to Stanzas 16–30 of the longer text” printed in McCracken, *Minor Poems of John Lydgate II*, 710–16.

For a full list of manuscripts in which this text appears, see *NIMEV 3632*.


Rubric:  Capitulum i How þe inward hauyng of man schuld be lyke to þe uttere

Incipit:  Gostly syster in Ihesu Crist I preye þe at in þe kallynge

*IPMEP 255*

Printed by Wynkyn de Worde 1494 (STC 14042, part 1), 1525 (STC 14044, part 1) and 1533 (STC 14045, part 1); J. Notary 1507 (STC 14043, part 1); G. D. 1653 (Wing H 3881).

For a full list of manuscripts in which the *Scale* occurs, see *IPMEP 255*. Note, however, that the reference to London, Westminster School MS 3 is erroneous.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Neither Ker, nor Hanna, nor Aarts, nor Moss, nor I have found Hilton’s *Scale* in this MS.


Incipit: Þere fallen to þe fayth fourtene pointes of whilk seven fallen to godes godhed

*IPMEP 71*

*NIMEV 406c*


For a full list of the manuscripts in which the *Lay Folks’ Catechism* occurs, and for disambiguation of exactly what each copy contains, see Anne Hudson, “A New Look at the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*”, *Viator* 16 (1985): 243–58.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Ff.6.33

(MS C2)

Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33 is a late-fifteenth- or early-sixteenth-century manuscript, comprising ff. ii + 142 + ii in parchment with paper flyleaves. It is bound in an eighteenth-century binding of brown leather over boards, with three cords and pressed borders on both the front and back covers. The binding measures 166 mm x 126 mm x 40 mm.

The collation of the manuscript is ii, 1–17⁸, 18⁶, ii. There is a partial watermark at the bottom bound margin on the first of the flyleaves at the end of the manuscript, but there is not enough visible to identify it accurately. The pages measure 160 mm x 118 mm, have a written space of 106 mm x 75 mm, and have been foliated throughout in pencil in a modern hand. There are nineteen lines on each page, which have been ruled in ink to prickings that are evident on many pages. Many of the medieval quire signatures remain, and those that do not have probably been removed during binding.

The manuscript is decorated with illuminated initials at the openings of certain texts. The translation of Benjamin Minor (f. 1r), the Birgittine rule (f. 38v), the “Wiles of Pharoh” (f. 68r), the treatise against temptations (f. 98v) and the Scala Claustrialium (f. 115r) all have illuminated initials, while the other texts have blue initials with red penwork. Red is used for underlining, Latin quotations, rubrics and running titles where present.

The manuscript is generally very well preserved, but has several areas of intentional damage where the manuscript has been defaced because of its content. A rubric concerning indulgences is scratched and smudged out on f. 26r, and references to the pope on ff. 107r
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

and 114v and the text “a message from our Saviour to the pope” (ff. 114r–15r) have been partially obliterated. The damage to all of these areas is not total; despite the damage to f. 26r, for example, the information regarding the amount of pardon which would be granted and for what behaviour remains. The person who “amended” this material seems to have been selective, but whether their intention was to retain as much of the text as they could or not must remain speculation.

C2 is copied by a single scribe: William Darker, a Carthusian monk of Sheen Charterhouse. Darker was a prolific scribe with a distinctive “fere-textura” hand, which is illustrated in Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, plate 8b. The LALME has analysed Darker’s dialect, and localised it in Middlesex (LP 6460, Grid reference 515 177). Darker is also responsible for copying most of the second booklet of London, Lambeth Palace 546 (MS L; see the description of that manuscript for further information); London, British Library MSS Additional 22121, and Cotton Caligula A ii (ff. 204r–06v); Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 221; Glasgow, University Library MS Hunterian T 6 18; and Oxford; Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 38 (Parkes, Cursive Book Hands 8).

In the entry for the Doctor of the Church (D) devotion in Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys MS 2125 (CM), the editors of the Pepys catalogue note that Doyle discovered D in C2, and states that C2 was written “for the nuns of Syon, c. 1500” (60), but do not state exactly from where this information was obtained. Doyle does indicate, in his article on “Book Production by Monastic Orders in England”, that Darker’s hand can be found “in a number of manuscripts for Sheen and the neighboring Birgittine nuns of Syon Abbey” (“Book Production” 14). The inclusion in C2 of the Rule of Saint Saviour (ff. 38v–67r) supports the suggestion of a Birgittine audience (Hutchison 216). C2 came into the possession of the University Library in the middle of the seventeenth century, from the
collection of Richard Holdsworth. Inside the back cover there is a small printed ticket which reads “University Library Cambridge. From the library of Richard Holdsworth, D. D., Master of Emmanuel College. 1664”, and inside the front a note in pencil “Holdsworth 149 G.” When Holdsworth died in 1649, his “huge” (10,000 book) library was gifted to the University; the gift resulted in legal proceedings between the University and Emmanuel College. The University won, and Holdsworth’s books “remained in the Cambridge University Library, but not, as the bishops’ judgement required, ‘distinguished from other books there by the name of Dr Holdsworth’s Library’” (Oxford DNB XXVII, 630).

CONTENTS


Rubric: Here beginneth the boke of the xii patriarkys
Incipit: A greke clerk that men calle Richard of seynt victour in a boke

IPMEP 4

For bibliographical information on this text, see the entry for MS B3, item 19 (p. 107).

2. Noteworthy statements of Doctors of the Church on prayer. ff. 21v–26r.
Rubric: Here folowith notable saynges of holy doctours on the vertue of holy prayere

Incipit: Holy prayer seyth seynt Austen is the helpe of a holy sowle

Jolliffe M.6

Refs: Raymo, Manual 7: 2582 [247]; note that Raymo’s reference (to Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.5.40, ff. 21\textsuperscript{b}–26\textsuperscript{b}) is incorrect.

3. A list of indulgences for saying the name “Jesus Christ” at the end of the Ave Maria (rubric effaced). ff. 26\textsuperscript{r}–26\textsuperscript{v}.

Incipit: Whoso seyth in the ende Aue Maria Jhesu Christ

Also in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.1.14.

4. An exposition of the Pater Noster from the Latin version of the Speculum Ecclesiae (the Mirror of St Edmund). ff. 26\textsuperscript{v}–31\textsuperscript{v}.

Rubric: Here folowith a breve expocrisicion of the Pater Noster & it ys conteyned in the xxvii chapitour of a boke þat it callyd Speculum Spiritualium the myrroure of spirituall persone

Incipit: This holy prayer Pater Noster ys provyd
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

See MS W, item 16 (p. 153–54) for further information about the *Speculum Ecclesiae*.

Note that the *IPMEP* does not list this manuscript among any of its translations of the *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Both Raymo (*Manual 7*:2509 [36]) and Jones (147) note that this item is a unique translation, which Raymo designates prose version K. Connolly does not include the rubric in her folio numbering for her *IMEP* handlist 19 entry.

5. Another brief exposition of the Pater Noster, also from the *Speculum Ecclesiae* (the *Mirror of St Edmund*). ff. 31v–32v.

Rubric: Here folowith a more breve exposicioun of the Pater Noster

Incipit: When the disciples of chryste were with hym in the mownt of tabour

As with the preceding item, *IPMEP* does not list this manuscript among its translations of the *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Raymo notes that this item is also a unique translation from the Latin version of the *Speculum*, and designates it prose version D. The macaronic index entry to item 5 (“A49”) in *IMEP* handlist 19 suggests that Jones refers to this tract as well as the preceding one, but the foliation given in Jones’ article precludes this suggestion (Jones 147).

For further bibliographical information, see MS W, item 16 (as above).
6. The Creed, divided according to the parts composed by the twelve apostles. ff. 32v–33r.

Incipit: The xii apostels made the Credo. Petyr begon & seyd

For a full list of the manuscripts in which this text appears in its various versions, see Raymo, Manual 7:2511–12 [40]. Connolly notes that the record of the foliation for Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.14.26 is incorrect (IMEP handlist 19, 359 [A27])

7. A Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin. ff. 33–37r.

Rubric: Of iii requests of Oure Lady made to hyr sonn, Jhesu

Incipit: A deuoute doctour of the Chirch, in a holy contemplacioun made for the encrees of grace & devocioun to Qwene Isabel of Frawns

Edited below from this MS. Also in Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys MS 2125 (ff. 144–145r).

8. Treatise on the nine virtues. ff. 37v–38r.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Rubric: Thes be the IX vertues that oure lord Jhesu cryst answerd a sely creature
hat was lyvyng in flessh & blode in the yere of oure lord m° ccc°xlv.

Incipit: Gyfe to a pore man a peny in thy lyfe

IPMEP 256
Jolliffe I.12.(j)

Also in London, British Library MS Lansdowne 762 (Jolliffe I.12.(g)). Jolliffe lists a
manuscript in private ownership with a similar rubric to that in C2 (except that it is
dated 1445), which was twice sold at Sotheby’s (Lot 146 on 10/12/62; Lot 237 on
6/7/64).

Printed by Wright and Halliwell, Reliquiae Antiquae I, 245–46 (from Lansdowne
762).


Rubric: Howe the spowse of cryst seynt Byrgitte hadde heuenly reuelacions

Incipit: In the lordshype of the kynge of Norweye which ys northward

IPMEP 236 lists two manuscripts which include the “Additions” to the Rule of St
Saviour. Those manuscripts are London, British Library MS Arundel 146; and
London, St Paul’s Cathedral MS 5 (now London, Guildhall MS 25524). Arundel
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

146 contains only the additions, whereas St Paul’s Cathedral 5 has both the “Additions” (ff. 1r–55v) and the “Reule of our sauyour” (ff. 75r–84r).

Edited by Hogg, Rewell of Seynt Sauioure 1–81.

10. The five wiles of the Pharaoh. ff. 67v–88r.

Rubric: Here begynnyth a prolog of a ful notable tretys þat tellyth of the fyve wyles þat kyng pharao did to the children of israel to kepe them in his londe by which is wyttly vndirstonde the wyles of the fende of helle

Incipit: The first wyle is that kyng pharao grauntyd to goddis peple

Jolliffe K.7.(a)

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 35298, Egerton 876, Harley 1197, Harley 2388 and Harley 4775; Cambridge, University Library MS Gg.6.26; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Douce 15 and Douce 372; London, Lambeth Palace MS 72; New Haven, CT, Beinecke MS Marston 243.

Edited from Douce 372 and Lambeth Palace 72 by Hamer, Gilte Legende II 1015–36.

11. The Rule of St Augustine. ff. 88r–98v.

Rubric: The rewle of seynt Austyn the first chapitre

Incipit: Moste dere bretheren to fore alle thingys love ȝe god
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Also in London, St Paul’s Cathedral MS 5 (now London, Guildhall MS 25524). See also item 9 above.

Translation of St Augustine’s *Regula ad servos Dei* (PL XXXII 1377–84).

Not the same translation as IPMEP 268 (Richard Whitford’s translation of the Augustinian Rule for the nuns of Syon), for which the entry lists no manuscripts. Wynkyn de Worde printed Whitford’s translation several times and in two editions: STC 922.3, parts 1 and 2; STC 922.4, parts 1 and 2. STC 25417 (parts 1 and 2) and STC 25419 (parts 1 and 2) became 922.3 and 922.4 when the STC reclassified them under St Augustine’s name, rather than Whitford’s.

12. A treatise of the direction of a man’s life. ff. 98r–114r.

Rubric: Here begynnyth a litell short tretys of the direccioun of a mannyes lyfe and it conteyneth vii chaptres necessary to euer y man to vndirstonde that will be the seruaunt of god

Incipit: Every man & woman that by grace of god

Jolliffe K.4

Also in Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.7.47 (1375).
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

The running title is “a tretys agayns temptacion.”

13. A message from Jesus “To the Pope”, partially obliterated. ff. 114r–115r.

Rubric: To the pope (damaged)

Incipit: The sone of god spekith vn to the spouse who that hath a cleowe of threed in which

Hodgson identified this text as being an extract “from St Brigit’s Revelations, concerning the confirmation of her Rule” (*Hid Diuinite* xv n.).

14. Ladder of four rungs. ff 115r–38r.

Rubric: Here begynneth a ladder of foure ronges by the which men mowe wele clyme to heven.

Incipit: As I was occupied on a day in bodyly traueyle

*IPMEP* 76

Jolliffe M.1 and O.2

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 1706; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 322.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Printed from this MS by Hodgson, *Hid Diuinite* 100–17. Latin text in *PL XL* 997–1004, and in Colledge and Walsh, *Guiges III le Chartreux*.


The running title is, “The laddyr of cloysteris.” It is a translation of the *Scala Claustralium*, or *Scala Paradisi*, attributed to Abbot Guerricus and Guigo Carthusiensis.

15. An epistle of St Machary. ff. 138r–42v.

Rubric: Here begynneth a pistyle of seynt Machary

Incipit: Iffe a man begynne first to knowe hymself why he is made

Jolliffe H.12 and O.22.(a)

Refs: Colledge and Bazire, *Chastising of God’s Children* 7, n. 3.

Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43 is a fifteenth-century manuscript bound in a modern binding of brown leather over boards, with five cords and no decoration. The manuscript could not have been compiled earlier than the early-fifteenth century, because one of its texts (item 15) mentions the Battle of Shrewsbury, which took place in 1403. It measures 126 mm x 98 mm. There is a note inside the front cover, which may refer to the date on which it was bound: “W. H. Smith & Son, London, November, 1958.”

This manuscript was originally two manuscripts. At f. 146, there begins a section containing added prayers and medicinal recipes. There is a distinct change in the colour and thickness of the leaves and the layout of the pages changes; before f. 146 the pages are ruled identically, but after f. 146 the only ruling is for ff. 147r–50v (see below). The pages are parchment—apart from two modern paper flyleaves at the beginning—and measure 120 mm x 80 mm throughout. The collation for the manuscript is ii, ii, 3, 1–3, 4, 5–7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15–18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

There are two sets of foliation in the manuscript. One is in the upper outer corner, and begins on the second of the parchment flyleaves. This set of foliation is incorrect, repeating “128.” The other set of foliation is found on the lower outer corner of the leaves on which it appears, starting on the first leaf of the manuscript proper. This foliation might

---

73 Note, also, that the material from the beginning of quire 21 seems to have been bound in upside down. This must have occurred prior to the manuscript’s being foliated, as all foliation continues as it has done throughout, although the quire numbering begins again at 1 on f. 146r.

74 The catalogue records that both "34 [&] 128" are used twice, but 34 only appears once.
be correct, but it is also only sporadically given. Because the initial set of foliation is large, prominent and appears on every leaf, I have chosen to continue to use it; to use the other would cause confusion.

A modern hand, in pencil, has given a quire number to the first leaf of every quire and a “+” on the first leaf of the second half of every quire, in the lower, outer corner. On some leaves in the first half of some quires there are also medieval quire signatures. Where they appear, they are given as 1a, 2a etc, rather than a1, a2 etc. The medieval quire signatures, modern quire numbering and additional foliation cause the lower, outer corners of some leaves to be heavily populated with information. The lower corner of f. 19r, for example, reads “3 17 1c” (modern quire number, additional foliation, medieval quire signature).

The pages are laid out uniformly until f. 145v. Each leaf has a written space of 74 mm x 52 mm, and is ruled for 21 lines in a single column in dark brown ink. The initials, for which there is space left and guide letters provided, did not eventuate. Red ink is used for rubrics, underlining and initial strokes until f. 19, but after this point, rubrics are given in a larger version of the hand copying the text. Items 8, 9 (the Vision of St John (J)) and 36, however, are mainly written in red ink, with only the prayers at the end of each item given in black. After f. 145v, there is only evidence of ruling in the course of item 52. There is a line up the left-hand margin and 16 faint lines across the page. The text of item 52 is then copied directly over the lines, rather than sitting above them. The rest of the material in this part of the manuscript—the prayers on f. 146r and the medical recipes in the back—is given without particular regard to appearance.

The manuscript is written in a number of hands, most of which are anglicana. Hand A (ff. 1r–30v) is one such anglicana hand, with a smooth, rounded appearance. The hooks
and curves on “b”, “h”, “k”, “l”, and long “s” are all smooth and broad, and the scribe uses a looped “w” and a looped ascender on “d.” The lower edge of the lobe of “d” is flattened, and the lobe is small in comparison with the size of “e” and “o”, for example. The descenders on “y” and “ʒ” are short and essentially vertical, with a pronounced right-hand hook.

Hand B (ff. 30v–33v) is a similarly rounded anglicana hand, but several letters are consistently formed differently to those in the preceding hand. The ascender on “d” is straight, short, almost vertical, and attached to a large lobe, the upper end of which does not always meet the ascender. The hooks and curve on “b”, “h”, “k”, “l”, and long “s” are all almost straight, and the descender on “y” is long and curves to the left before hooking to the right.

Hand C (ff. 33v–39r) is bastard secretary; it has an angular appearance and is evenly proportioned. This hand features a looped ascender on “d”, with occasional use of an ascender that curves towards the left, then hooks sharply to the right at the top. Minuscule “a” is the single-lobed secretary throughout, but the scribe does not use secretary-form “g.” The letter “x” looks like a reversed “z”, with the lower limb extended below the line and hooked to the right. Towards the end of this hand, the scribe begins to extend the tops of majuscule letters into the upper margin and to decorate them.

Hand D (ff. 39r–80v) is an untidy bastard anglicana, which becomes smoother and more even as it progresses. The two-lobed anglicana “a” is used, and is very tall; in “ad”, for example, the “a” and “d” are the same height. This hand features, also, “d” with a looped ascender and large lobe, and very large, sweeping hooks and curves on ascenders for “b”, “h”, “k”, “l”, and long “s.” This scribe uses a hooked “w” and “y” with a short descender drawn to the left and a right-hand hook.

Ff. 80v–97r are copied by Hand E, another anglicana hand. It is in this section that
the Vision of St John (J) occurs, the B version of which is edited from this manuscript. This hand habitually uses a straight-sided “w”, with occasional use of a hooked “w”; the main form of “a” is the two-lobed anglicana form, but the secretary, single-lobed “a” sometimes appears. The hooks on the ascenders for “b”, “h”, “k” and “l”, and the curve on long “s”, are all moderately proportioned in comparison with the hands described above. The descenders on both “y” and “ʒ” have a pronounced left-hand direction, then curve, rather than hook, back towards the right. This scribe has a tendency to embellish the top line, selectively drawing the ascenders of some letters into the upper margin and decorating them. The linguistic profile which I developed for this scribe from the forms found in Jb seems to suggest a south-eastern dialect, probably from Essex. The forms which seemed particularly to suggest an Essex origin for this text include “boþe” (both), “þouʒ” (though) and “yuel-” (evil-).

Hand F (ff. 97v–98r) is an anglicana formata hand, with many pen raises. It uses a straight-sided “w”, the ascender on “d” is straight and the lobe angular. Many of the “o”s have the diamond-shaped appearance of textura “o.” The main cursive features of this hand are the two-lobed anglicana “a”, the curved limb on “h”, the curved hooks on ascenders and on long “s”, and the curved descender on “y.”

The final scribal hand (G, ff. 98v–143r) is another anglicana hand. Like hand E, it uses looped “d”, and straight-sided “w” and anglicana “a” with occasional deployment of secretary “a”, but the hooks and curves on ascenders and on long “s” are broader, but quite flat. The lower sections of “y”, “ʒ” and the abbreviation for “rum” all have right-hand flicks; “ʒ” is distinctive, however, because its lower curve is not fully formed.

There are two hands in the last part of the manuscript which add material. The first (Hand H, ff. 146r, 157v–154r; see item 53 below for further information) is a sprawling
sixteenth-century secretary hand. The other (Hand I, ff. 147r–50v) is another sixteenth-century secretary hand, but it is very carefully formed and evenly-proportioned. Where Hand H appears to be the everyday hand of someone accustomed to writing, Hand I is a scribal hand, betraying few inconsistencies in the form or proportions of the letters.

There are no ownership inscriptions, nor other indications of provenance. Because most of the material in C4 has not been edited, the manuscript has received very little attention.

**CONTENTS**

Connolly (*IMEP* Handlist 19) notes that items 1–10 constitute part of a basic devotional manual. For information on such manuals, see Raymo, *Manual* 7:2495–501 [24].

1. Tract on the Ten Commandments ff. 3r–11r.

Rubric: [H]ere bygynnen þe ten commaundementys of almyȝty God, wyche he comaundid us to kepe up on peyne of euerlastynge dampronacioun.

Incipit: Þe fyrst commaundement of almyȝty god is þys þe lord god spake alle þese wordys

*IPMEP 49* (without prologue)
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS


For a list of manuscripts in which this text appears, see the IPMEP entry; other versions are indexed at IPMEP 48 and 650.

2. Tract on the seven deadly sins: an extract from the *Speculum Ecclesiae*. ff. 9v–11v.

Rubric: Here enden þe ten comandementes & begynne þe seuen dedly synnis

Incipit: Pryde enuy wraþ slouþ couetyse glotonye and lecherye

Jolliffe F.19

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS A.4.22 (ff. 183r–85v) and London, Society of Antiquaries MS 300 (ff. 106v–107v).


For further bibliographical information on the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, see the entry for MS W, item 16 (p. 153–54) above.
3. The bodily works of mercy. ff. 11v–12r.

Rubric: Here beginne þe seuen werkis of bodely mercy
Incipit: Fede þe hongry & not þo þat han no nede

Refs: Lagorio and Sargent, Manual 9:3460–2 [72]

Another extract from Edmund of Abingdon’s Speculum Ecclesiae. See item 2 above and entry for MS W, item 16 (p. 153–54) for bibliographical information.

4. The seven works of spiritual mercy. ff. 12r.

Rubric: [H]ere begynnen þe seuen werkis of gostely mercy
Incipit: Teche þou gladly þe good þat þu canst


Rubric: [...] þe seuen gyftis of þe holy gost.
Incipit: [W]ysdom þat is be gostely wys
6. The seven blessed virtues. ff. 12r–13r.

Rubric: Here bygynnyn þe seuen blissed virtuis þat cristis spouse þat is mannes soule shulde be honoured Whit

Incipit: Temperaunce or mesure þat is mesure so þy sylf

7. The five bodily wits. ff. 13r–14r.

Rubric: [H]ere begynnyn þe fyue bodely wittis

Incipit: Herynge þat is here þu gladly þe lawe of god

8. The five spiritual wits. ff. 14r.

Rubric: Here begynnen þe fyue gostely wittis

Incipit: Wylle mynde vndirstondinge

9. The fifteen conditions of charity. ff. 14r–15r.

Rubric: Here begynneþ þe fyftene condiucionis of cherite
Manuscript Descriptions

Incipit: Yf þou speke with tongys

Jolliffe G.4.(e)

Also in London, British Library MSS Harley 2343 and Lansdowne 388; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Bodley 938 (ff. 56r–58r; part of the Pore Caitif), Laud Misc. 210, and Rawlinson C 209; Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.1.29 (1053); Oxford, New College MS 67; Oxford, Trinity College MS E.86; St. Albans, Cathedral MS; New York, Columbia University Library MS Plimpton 258.

Refs: Raymo, Manual 7:2518 [58].

Note that there are usually sixteen conditions, not fifteen.

10. Gospel reading for All Hallows’ Day. ff. 15r–16r.

Rubric: [T]hys is þe gospell of Allehalowen Day

Incipit: [A]nd Jhesu sciinge þe peple went vp in to an hil

11. An extract from the Myrrour of Seynt Edmonde (Speculum Ecclesiae) on the Pater Noster. ff. 16r–18r.

Rubric: [S]eynt Edmunde techeþ vs here a schorte exposicioun of oure pater noster
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Incipit: [J]hesu shalt vndyrstonde þat þo þat comme bifoer þat is to sey

IPMEP 800 (extract)

Refs: Robbins, Le Merure de Seinte Eglise; Raymo, Manual 7:2509 [36].

For futher bibliographical information about the Speculum Ecclesiae, see item 2 above, and the entry for MS W, item 16 (p. 153–54).

12. Directions to a person “in dedly synne.” ff. 19r–33v.

Incipit: yf þu be in dedly synne or in anguysshe go to þe chyrche

Also in London, British Library MS Royal 17. C. 18; Swaffham, Parish Church of SS Peter and Paul, Horae; Ushaw, St Cuthbert’s College MS 10.

13. Supposed selection from Anselm’s Oraciones sive Meditationes, although only the first of these is actually from S. Anselm’s Orationes. ff. 33v–78v.

Rubric: Oracciones siue meditaciones ab Anselmo Archiepisco po Cantuariense

Incipit: [D]omine Jhesu christe redempcio mea misericordia mea Salus mea
14. The Stabat Mater, with rubric attributing it to St Bernard. ff. 78r–80v.

Rubric: Seynt bernarde made þis oryson sewyng of þe compassyon

Incipit: [S]tabat mater dolorosa

15. A legend of a squire, mortally wounded in battle, who appeared after his death to his sister, and whose sins were forgiven him because of her prayers for his soul. ff. 80r–82v.

Incipit: [A] Reuelacioun þat was schewid to a religyous woman of þe Norþe of hampulle The wheche had a broþer a squyre of ʒoorschsyr, the wheche squyer was woundyd to þe deþ at the batyll of Scrowysbery


Incipit: [I]N þe book of Seynt John þe holy apostle is wrete þat after þe tyme

IPMEP 323
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Exists in three distinct versions, all edited below: (a) London, British Library Add. MS 37787 (ff. 161r–62v); Cambridge, University Library MSS Add. 6686 (pp. 269–70), and Hh.1.11 (fragment) (f. 136v); Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (ff. 60v–61r); Glasgow, University Library MS V. 6. 22 (ff. ivv–v); and San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS 127 (ff. 33r–33v); (b) this MS, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 175 (fragment) (ff. 131v–32r); and (c) New Haven, CT, Yale University Library MS Beinecke 317 (ff. 50v–51v).

Ref: Duffy, Stripping of the Altars 261–62.

17. A prayer to the Trinity. ff. 86r–v.

Rubric: Oracio valde bona

Incipit: [P]ater fili et spiritus sancti [sic] tres persone / Deus unus ordinans cuncta ratione


Rubric: Oracio valde bona

Incipit: [N]oli me relinquare Paule desolatum / Cum saulus existeras elasti [sic] peccatum
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

19. A prayer to God. ff. 87r–88v.

Rubric:  [S]i aliquis sit iratus contra te Si vis concordari cum eo

Incipit:  [O][?] dilectissime deus sanctissime atque amantissime pater

20. The names of the Blessed Virgin. ff. 88r–v.

Rubric:  Hec sunt nomina beate marie et quicumque omni die sabato

Incipit:  [O] Domina O virgo O virga O flos

21. A hymn to St Katherine, followed by a prayer to God invoking St Katherine.

f. 89r–v.

Incipit:  Gaude virgo katerina

22. Metrical prayer to Christ. f. 89v.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Rubric: Oracio bona de iheu christi
Incipit: [J]hesu cristi of na3arep / That for vs alle suffriddist de

NIMEV 1687

Also in Wells, Cathedral Library MS 2.
Printed by Robbins, “Popular Prayers” 338; Brown, Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century 95 (from this MS); Gray, “Five Wounds” 128.

23 Metrical prayer to the Virgin Mary. ff. 89v–90v.

Rubric: Oracio de sancta maria sequens
Incipit: [H]eyle be þou ladye so bry3t / Gabriel þat seyde so ry3t

NIMEV 1027


24. Metrical prayer to Jesus. ff. 90v–91v.

Rubric: Alia oracio bona de iheu
Incipit: [S]wete iheu cristi to þe / Culpable wrecche y 3eld me
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

NIMEV 3233


25. Metrical prayer to the Virgin Mary. ff. 91v–92r.

Rubric: Oracio bona de sancta maria sequens

Incipit: Swete lapy seynt marye / Fulle of alle curtesye

NIMEV 3241

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 37787, and Harley 210; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS English Poetry a. 1 (Vernon MS); Edinburgh, University Library MS 114.

Note that the IMEV lists also “a MS in the Quaritch Sale Catalogue 1931, item 82”, and the NIMEV “L. Witten, Catalogue (1983), no. 22 (34 lines)”; it is unclear whether both references are to the same manuscript.

Printed from the Vernon MS by Horstmann, Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, I, 20–21 (ll. 45–66 of “A Confession to Jesus Christ”); and Patterson, Middle English
**Manuscript Descriptions**


Rubric: Oracio bona de Jhesu

Incipit: [I]hesu lorde þat madyst me / And with þy blyssfull e blood hast bouȝt

*NIMEV* 1727

Also in London, British Library MSS Arundel 285, Cotton Vespasian A. xxv (extract), Harley Charters 58. C. 14; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum McClean 40–1950 (previously Thompson 83, the “Talbot Hours”); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College 80; Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.19; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Ashmole 751, Barlow 33, Latin Misc. C. 66 (previously Capesthorne), and Rawlinson Liturgical E. 3; Oxford, Merton College MS 204; London, Lambeth Palace MSS 559 (imperfect) and 853 (imperfect); Warminster, Longleat Marquis of Bath MS 30; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 514; New York, Columbia University Library MS Plimpton 80; New Haven, CT, Yale University Library MS 163 (previously Wagstaffe 9); San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS HM 142; Tokyo, Takamiya MS 17.

Printed by Harford 221–44 (from Barlow 33); Gray, *Selection* 51–53 (from Merton College 204); Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* 98–100 (from Harley Charters 58. C. 14); Robbins, “Poems of Humphrey Newton” 275–76 (from
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS


27. Metrical prayer to the Virgin Mary. ff. 93⁴–94⁵.

Rubric: Oracio bona de sancta maria sequens

Incipit: [M]arye modyr well ye / Marye mayde þou be / Marye mayden þou þenke on me

NIMEV 2119

A prayer to the Blessed Virgin from the Speculum Christiani, circulating separately.

For a full list of manuscripts and editions, see the NIMEV entry.


Rubric: Oracio de nomine Jhesu

Incipit: [O] Gode ihesu O swete ihesu O þe sone of marye fulle of mercy and pyte


Rubric: Oracio deuota de trinitate
Incipit: [O] beata & benedicta et gloria trinitas


Rubric: Oracio de vexilla sancte crucis

Incipit: [D]omine ihesu christe per vexillum sancte crucis te adoro te deprecor

31. Prayer to a guardian angel. ff. 96v–97v.

Rubric: Oracio ad proprium angelum

Incipit: [A]ngele qui meus es custos pietate superna

IPMEP 40 (Latin)

Also in Cambridge, University Library Additional 6686 (pp. 268–69).

Latin version of IPMEP 40. For further information on this text, see the entry for MS C1, item 4 (p. 165).

32. Prayer to the name of Jesus. ff. 97v–98r.

Rubric: Oracio de nomine ihesu deuotissima
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Incipit: [O] Gloryouse ihesu O swete ihesu O alþer swettyst ihesu O mekest ihesu

33. Prayer to the Virgin Mary. ff. 98r–98v.

Rubric: Oracio devoteissima de beata maria

Incipit: [O] Quene of heuen O mary ful of pite and of mercy haue mercy on me

34. Metrical prayer to a guardian angel. ff. 98v–99v.

Rubric: Oracio ad proprium angelum

Incipit: I Praye þe spirit þat angell arte / To whom y am be take

NIMEV 1341

Printed by Brown, Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century 202–04.

35. Metrical prayer to the Trinity. ff. 99v–100r.

Rubric: Oracio devotea de trinitate valde bona

Incipit: [A]lymysty god fadyr of heuen / Ffor cristys loue þat dyed on rode

NIMEV 241

200
Second occurrence; see item 12 above.

36. A legend of a female recluse who wished to know the exact number of Christ’s wounds. Prayers and meditations in Latin and English, prose and verse, on the Seven words of our Lord on the Cross, follow. ff. 100r–115v.

Incipit: [F]emina solitaria et reclusa numerum vulnerum christi scire cupiens

*IPMep 17* (Latin version)


37. The legend of St Bernard and the Devil, followed by prayers and hymns, with promises of indulgences for their use. ff. 116r–121v.

Incipit: Inuenitur in libro Bernardi quod diabolus dixit
38. A prayer to St John the Baptist in verse, with other prayers to him and to all saints in prose. ff. 121r–127r.

Rubric: Oracio deuota de Sancto Johanne baptista
Incipit: [O] Johannes gloriosissime


Rubric: Canticum gloriose genetricis domini
Incipit: [T]e matrem dei laudamus / Te mariam virginem confitemur

40. A prayer to the Blessed Virgin. ff. 128v–129r.75

Rubric: Oracio deuoto [sic] de sancta maria
Incipit: Ave mundi spes maria

41. Tract on the Passion attributed to St Bernard, with prayers. ff. 129v–31r.

75 Because the folio number 128 appears twice, this item fills five pages, not three.
Rubric: Si quis dixerit cotidie istam passionem sequentem sancti Bernardi diuina expiracione factam & constitutam superabit omnes malignos spiritus et eorum temptaciones.

Incipit: [P]assio domini nostri Jhesu

42. A series of letters which Pope Leo wrote to Charles the Great, by means of which whoever has them “super se scripta” need not fear sword, enemy, &c, followed by the Confession, Confiteor tibi pater celi et terre. ff. 131v–33v.

Incipit: [D]ominus leo papa Rome has litteras scripsit karolo magno Regi

43. A prayer to St Christopher. ff. 133v–34r.

Rubric: Oracio bona de sancto christoforo

Incipit: [M]artir christofore pro saluatoris honore

44. A prayer to the Trinity. ff. 134v–37r.

Rubric: Oracio deuotissima de trinitate
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Incipit: *Domine deus omnipotens qui es trinus et unus qui es semper in omnibus & eras ante omnia*

45. A prayer to St Barbara in verse. ff. 137v–38r.

Rubric: *Oratio deuota de sancta Barbara*
Incipit: *Ave virgo saluatoris / Deo laudem dans honoris*

46. A prayer to God. f. 138v.

Incipit: *Mitissime deus misericordie & [?] indulgencie qui mortem non desideras peccatorum sed vitam*

47. A prayer to (God and) all saints. ff. 138v–39r.

Rubric: *Oratio deuota de omnibus sanctis*
Incipit: *[Omnipotens] & misericors deus qui *christo filio tuo vt mundum saluaret*

48. A prayer to the Virgin Mary. ff. 139r–40r.

Rubric: *Oratio deuota de sancta maria*
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Incipit: O mater marie domina mea clementissima virgo maria

49. Another prayer to the Virgin Mary. ff. 140r–v.

Rubric: Alia oracio deuota de sancta maria
Incipit: Ave maria gratia plena quia ex plenitudine gracie tue mundo salus aduenit

50. A prayer to the Trinity. ff. 141r–43r.

Rubric: Oracio valde deuota
Incipit: O Deus omnium dulcedo cordium & animarum fons pietatis

51. Added material: Prayers to the Holy Cross and to Jesus. f. 146r.

Incipit: O glorious crosse that with holy blode of chryst Jh

52. Added material: A letter from Pope Leo to Charles the Great and prayers in Latin.
ff. 147r–50v.

Rubric: Hec est epistola domini salvatoris quam leo papa trasmisitt [sic]
Incipit:  dum portaverit secum in die

See also item 42 (a series of letters which Pope Leo wrote to Charles the Great), described above.


This section is upside down, and therefore begins at the foot of f. 157v and ends at the head of f. 154r. Much of the text is very difficult to make out, but records a series of medical recipes. See IMEP Handlist 19, item 19, for further information.
CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 296

(MS CC)

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (CC) is dated in the collection’s catalogue to the fourteenth century (James, Corpus IV 74). It contains three dated, Latin references added to p. 288. One concerns Wyclif (dated 1377) and two concern events during the reign of Richard II. The first of these events occurred at Westminster in January 1379 (which may be the date on which item 31 was presented at Parliament), while the other was the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381.

CC is bound in a modern binding measuring 275 mm x 212 mm x 40 mm. The remnant of a pastedown has been incorporated into the binding, but is impossible to read as it has been pasted written side down to the inside of the first of the modern paper flyleaves. The text is Latin, and written in a single column, but is difficult to say more with certainty, given its current condition.

The manuscript is parchment, with one quire of three old paper flyleaves, and two quires of modern paper flyleaves have been added to the outside during binding. The collation of the manuscript is ii (modern paper), iii (older paper), 1–178, 1810, 194, ii (modern paper). There is a partial watermark in the inner margin of the second leaf of the set of older paper flyleaves; that which remains resembles a capital letter B similar to, but not the same as, Briquet 7984 (Pavia, 1447). The pages measure 268 mm x 190 mm. Each page has a written area of 195 mm x 130 mm, ruled in two columns 60 mm wide, with a 10 mm space between them. The columns are ruled for 40 lines of text until p. 291, from which point there are about 38 lines per page.
There is a significant amount of water damage to the manuscript; page 1 has been rendered largely unreadable. The damage has caused the parchment to wrinkle; this damage can be seen throughout the manuscript, but the first page is particularly badly affected. The last page is also “weathered”, but is not as thoroughly damaged as the first.

CC is paginated throughout in red pencil, on the upper, outer corners of recto pages only. There is an error in the pagination between pp. 211 and 213, where a leaf was missed. Another hand has attempted to rectify the problem, resulting in pagination for this section which runs “211, 212, 212a, 213a, 213.” Medieval quire signatures are visible on the lower, outer corners of rectos for the first half of each quire. Most of the signatures are given in black ink, but the last three quire signatures (s, t and t) are made in pencil.

The decoration in CC is largely consistent across the manuscript. There are two-, three- or four-line initials in blue ink with red penwork for the beginning of each section. Blue ink is also used for paragraphus marks. Red ink is used for references, paragraphe, the long Latin section on pp. 106–07 and most rubrics. The rubric to item 20, “hou religious men shoulde kepe certayne articles” (p. 185), has been added by a later hand in black ink.

Hanna notes that there seem to be two hands at work in CC. Both are anglicana hands, and appear to be very similar. The first (A) is responsible for copying all but item 31. This hand features compressed, angular hooks on ascenders of “b”, “h”, “l” and “k”, and the habitual use of the straight-sided “w” throughout. A second hand (B) takes over at p. 288, copying the last item. This hand has broad hooks on ascenders of “b” “h” “l” and “k”, and uses a hooked “w.” In all other respects, the two hands are very similar in their habits and formation. I disagree with the extremity of Hanna’s assertion that “the concluding pages of quire s and all those of quire t […] look markedly different from all earlier sections of the volume” (Hanna, Pursuing History 50). The hand is slightly different, and the format of the
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Page might appear slightly more expansive, as there are fewer lines to the page. It is easy to miss the difference between 38 and 40 lines without counting them, however, and the wrinkled appearance of many of the pages means that it is difficult instantly to recognise small changes in format.

The dialect of hand A, the scribe responsible for copying the Commentary on the Ave Maria (C), appears to be from the central Midlands, possibly specifically Northamptonshire. The LALME provides a description of the language of the manuscript as a whole, rather than that of either of the hands, and gives no linguistic profile. It suggests that the language of CC is “apparently of Ely, but not completely homogenous” (LALME I, 63). The confusing linguistic evidence may be due to the influence of the Lollard texts found in CC. Samuels has described the effect of Lollard copying practices on dialect, resulting in a central Midlands “literary language”, best represented by the dialects of Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire (Samuels, “Some Applications” 85).

Hanna provides a detailed discussion of the codicological evidence he finds concerning the mode of production of CC (Pursuing History 48–59). The origin of Hanna’s discussion lies in the transposition of the concluding sections of the tract On Feigned Contemplative Life and the Petition to the King and Parliament (see items 17 and 31). In order to investigate the reason lying behind this error, he compares the material in CC with the manuscript with which it shares an exemplar for much of its material: Dublin, Trinity College MS 244. The shared material includes the tract On Feigned Contemplative

76 Like Matthew and Arnold, or possibly following them, the LALME seems to assume a single hand; as I noted above, the overall appearance of both hands is very similar.
77 Although the orthodoxy of the Commentary itself has been confirmed, CC contains many other, more certainly Lollard writings. See further the introduction to the Commentary on the Ave Maria.
78 I summarise the broad outline of Hanna’s argument here, because it is pertinent to the physical composition of the manuscript and its means of production. The importance of his findings is most relevant to items 16 and 30, as the transposition of text does not affect the material outside of those two tracts.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Life and the Petition, but in Trinity 244 the material is not disordered. Having considered the physical composition of CC, its change of scribe, the difference in the number of leaves in the last two quires (10 and 4) in comparison with the preceding 17 quires of consistent 8s, the number of leaves that each of the tracts was likely to take up in the exemplar and whether On Feigned Contemplative Life or the Petition would have begun with the beginning of a booklet in the exemplar (all in comparison with Trinity 244), Hanna is able to suggest a course of events which could have led to the transposition of material in items 16 and 31. His explanation suggests that the error in CC was due to a misarranged exemplar constructed of independent booklets, and he concludes therefore that CC was probably copied by means of fascicular production.

On the verso of the third of the older flyleaves is a note in an early-seventeenth century hand: “In this booke be gathered together all the sharpe treatises concernynge the erroures and defaults which John Wickliff did fynde in his tyme specially in the clergie and religiouse and in other estates of the worlde.” The catalogue entry states that the note was “given by Nasmith” (James, Corpus IV 74). The hand appears too early to be attributable to Nasmith (who published his catalogue in 1777); this hand appears to be of the early seventeenth century, which would make it contemporary with Thomas James’ edition of the Petition to the King and Parliament (STC 25589, part 1; 1608). The attitude expressed toward Wyclif—that he was a man ahead of his time who was unjustly persecuted for his beliefs—is also in keeping with James’ attitude in the dedication to his edition (ff. 2r–4r).

There is no evidence of early ownership preserved in CC; there are no names scribbled in the margins or flyleaves or ownership inscriptions. The catalogue does not list the date and means by which it entered Parker’s collection. Later writings are primarily interested in the content, and specifically in its Lollardy. This focus is not surprising
because, as the catalogue notes, “the volume is a leading authority for many of the Wycliffite tracts, and was extensively used by F. D. Matthew [...] and by T. Arnold” (James, *Corpus IV 74*).

CONTENTS


   Rubric: Attendite a fermento phariseorum quod est ypocrisis Lucae 12°.

   Capitulum primum.

   Incipit: [Badly damaged: *IPMEP* incipit reads “Crist comandip to his disciplis and to alle cristene men to vndirstonde and flee þe sowrdow of pharisees þe wiche is ypocrise.”]

   *IPMEP* 94

   Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.

   Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 2–27.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Rubric:  Hou men owen obesche to prelatis drede curs and kepe law Capitulum primum.

Incipit:  Prelatis sclaudren pore prestis øere cristen men

IPMEP 549

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 29–38.


Rubric:  Þis his þe reule of seynt fraunseis capitulum primum
Incipit:  Þe reule and þe lyuynge of frere menours is þis to kepe þe holy gospel of oure lord

IPMEP 698

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 647; Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 40–45.


Rubric:  & here bigynneþ þe testament of seynt franceis capitulum primum
Incipit:   In þe name of þe fadir & sone & þe holy gost Amen houré lord haþ souen
to me fraunseis to bigynne

*IPMEP 522*

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 647; Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 45–51.

5. Objections against the Franciscans for not observing this testament. pp. 36–39.

Incipit:   But here þe menours seyn þat þe pope dischargib hem of þis testament

The *IPMEP* lists this as the commentary on *IPMEP 522* (item 4).

6. Fifty heresies and errors of the friars, tentatively attributed in the *IPMEP* to John

Rubric:   Capitulum primum

Incipit:   Frist freris seyn þat here religion founden of synful men is more parfit

*IPMEP 187*

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 647.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS


Printed by T. James (J. Barnes 1608; STC 25589, part 2).


Rubric: Here it telleþ of prelatis capitulum primum
Incipit: Þat prelatis leuen prechynge of þe gospel & ben gostly

IPMEP 656

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 55–107.

8. The mirror of the Antichrist. pp. 103–06.

Rubric: Hou anticriste and his clerkis feren trewe prestis fro prechynge of cristis gospel bifoure it diseitis
Incipit: First þei seyn þat prechynge of þe gospel makiþ discencion and enemyte

IPMEP 200

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 109–13.

Rubric: Þis is of clerkis possessioneris Capitulum primum
Incipit: Clerkis possessioneris fordon presthod knyȝthod & comineris for þei taken þe ordre

*IPMEP* 133

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.


Rubric: Hou þe office of curatis is ordeyned of God
Incipit: In dei nomine Amen. For þe office of curatis is ordeyned of god & fewe don it wele

*IPMEP* 216

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 143–63.

Rubric: Þis is for þe ordre of presthod Capitulum primum
Incipit: For þe ordre of presthod is ordeyned of god in boþe in þe olde lawe & þe newe

*IPMEP 217*

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 166–79.


Rubric: Hou men schullen fynde prestis
Incipit: Þenkiþ ze wisly ze men þat fynden prestis þat ze don þis

*IPMEP 726*

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Arnold, *Select English Works* III, 202–08.

Rubric: Hou preiere of good men helpiþ moche and preiere of synful men displesiþ God and harmeþ hemself and oþere men Capitulum primum

Incipit: Oure lord ihesu crist techiþ vs to preie euere more for alle nedful þingis boþe to body & soule

IPMEP 524

Also in London, British Library Add. MS 37677; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 540; Dublin, Trinity College MSS 244 and 246 (two copies).
Edited from this MS by Arnold, Select English Works III, 219–29.
Ref: Hanna, Pursuing History 58.


Rubric: Octo in quibus seducuntur simplices christiani

Incipit: Þere ben eiȝte þingis bi whiche symple Cristene men ben disceyved þat ben ðes eiȝte holy chirche lawe religion obedience cursynege

IPMEP 710
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Also in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 540; Dublin, Trinity College MSS 244 and 246.

Edited from this MS by Arnold, _Select English Works_ III, 447–53.

Ref: Hanna, _Pursuing History_ 58.


Rubric: A short reule of lif for eche man in general & for prestis & lordis & laboreris in special hou eche schal be sauyd in his degree

Incipit: Frist whanne þou risest or fully wakest þenk on þe goodnesse of þi god

IPHME 203

For further bibliographical information on this text, see the entry for MS W, item 12 (p. 151–52).


Rubric: Þre þingis distroïen þis world false confessoures false men of lawe & false merchauntis

Incipit: False confessouris ben cause of alle þe synne þat regneþ among clerkis

218
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

IPMEP 170

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (f. 50r–56r; included in the course of the *Pore Caitif*).
Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 181–86.

17. Of Feigned Contemplative Life, section one (pp. 165–70); and the Petition to the King and Parliament, section two (pp. 170–72).

Rubric: Of feyned contemplatif lif of song of þe ordynal of Salisbury & of bodely almes and worldly bysynesse of prestis hou bi þes foure þe fend lettij hem fro prechynge of þe gospel.

Incipit: Frist whanne trewe men techen bi goddis lawe

IPMEP 204 and IPMEP 542

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 188–96; Sisam 119–28.

For the other sections of both of these texts, see item 31.
The bibliographical information here pertains to IPMEP 204; for information on IPMEP 542, see item 31

Rubric: Þis his þe pater noster
Incipit: Oure fadir þat art in heuenes halwid be þi name

*IPMEP* 516

Also in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74.

Note that this is not the same treatise on the Pater Noster as is found in Bodley 938 or Westminster School 3 (*IPMEP* 150).


Rubric: Þis is the aue maria
Incipit: Heil be þou marie ful of grace þe lord is wiþ þe blissed be þou among wymmen

*IPMEP* 276

Edited below from this manuscript. Also in London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 68r–72r), Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74 (ff. 189v–91r), Oxford, Bodleian
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Library MS Bodley 938 (ff. 35v–39v); and Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.296.4g3 (ff. 75r–78v).

Edited from this MS (compared with Sidney Sussex MS only) by Matthew, *English Works* 204–08.

For further information, see the entry to MS W, item 2 (p. 144–45).


Rubric:  Hou sathanas & his children turnen werkis of mercy up so doun & disceyuen men þereinne & in here fyue wittis Capitulum primum

Incipit:  Frist crist comaundíþ men of power to fede hungry pore men

*IPMEP* 182

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.


MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Rubric: Hou religious men shoulde kepe certayne articles

Incipit: Cristene men preien mekely & deuoutly to almytty god hat he graunte his grace

IPMEP 130

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 220–25.

22. Of servants and lords, and how each shall keep to his station. pp. 190–203.

Rubric: Of seruauntis & lordis hou eche schal kepe his degree

Incipit: First seruauntis schullen trewely & gladly serve to here lordis or maistris

IPMEP 193

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 227–43.

23. Why poor priests have no benefice. pp 203–09.

Rubric: Whi pore prestis han none benefice

The rubric to this text has been added by a early-seventeenth-century hand.

Rubric: Hou anticrost and his clerkis traueilen to destroie holy writt & to make cristene men unstable in þe feiþ & to sette here ground in deuelis of helle Capitulum primum

Incipit: As houre lord iheu crist ordeynede to make his gospel sadly knowne & meyntened

IPMEP 77

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.
Edited from this MS by Matthew, English Works 209–13.
25. How Satan and his priests and his false religious plan by three heresies to destroy all good living and to maintain all manner of sin. pp. 213–21.

Rubric: Hou sathanas & his prestis & his feyned religious casten bi þre cursed heresies to destroie alle good lyuynge & meyntenynge alle manere of synne

Capitulum primum

Incipit: As almyȝtty god in trinyte ordeyneþ men to come to þe blisse of heuene

*IPMEP* 72

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244.

Edited from this MS by Matthew, *English Works* 264–74.

26. For three reasons lords should constrain their churls to live in meekness. pp. 221–23.

Rubric: Ffor þre skillis lordis schulden constreyne cerlis to lyve in mekenesse wilful pouert & discrete penaunce & gostly traueile Capitulum primum.

Incipit: Opyn techynge & goddis lawe oild [sic] & newe opyn ensaumple of crîstis lif

*IPMEP* 511

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244; San Marino, Huntington Library MS 503.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Edited from this MS by Arnold, *Select English Works* III, 213–18.


Rubric: Of weddid men & wifis & of here children also *Capitulum primum*

Incipit: Oure lord god almyȝtty spekiþ in his lawe of tweie matrimoynys or wedlokis

*IPM EP* 521

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 24202 and Harley 2398; Cambridge, University Library MSS Dd.12.39 and Ii.6.55; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (f. 62r–73v); included in the course of the *Pore Caitif*; London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 121r–32v).

Edited from this MS by Arnold, *Select English Works* III, 188–201.


Incipit: [Pe] first general poynyt of pore prestis þat prechen in engeland is þis

*IPMEP* 669
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS


Rubric: *Augustinus Arguat nescis*

*Incipit:* Þe holy doctour seynt austyn spekyng in þe persone of crist vn to synful man

*IPMEP 97*


30. The “Great Sentence of Curse” expounded. pp. 239–88

Rubric: *Here bigynneth þe grete sentence of curs expounded Capitulum primum*

*Incipit:* Frist alle heretikis aȝenst þe feiþ of holy writt ben cursed solemnely foure tymes in þe yer

*IPMEP 175*


The “Great Sentence of Curse” itself and its various versions are recorded as *IPMEP* 122.
31. Petition to the king and parliament, section 1 (pp. 288–97); and Of Feigned Contemplative Life, section 2 (pp. 297–98).

Incipit: Plese it to oure most noble and more worhi king Richard

*IPMEP* 542 and *IPMEP* 204

Also in Dublin, Trinity College MS 244. Latin version in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. XIX, cod. XXXIII.


Printed by T. James (J. Barnes, 1608; STC 25589, part 1).


For the other sections of both of these texts, see item 17.

**OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS BODLEY 938**

*(MS O2)*

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 938 (O2) is dated in the Summary Catalogue of the Bodleian Library (SC 3054) to the first half of the fifteenth century. Its binding is brown
leather over boards, with three cords and very faint pressed decorations on the covers, and
dates approximately from the early seventeenth century. The binding measures 185 mm x
135 mm x 58 mm.

The manuscript is parchment, and measures 178 mm x 125 mm, with comparatively
modern paper flyleaves added outside the earlier parchment flyleaves. The collation for O2 is
ii (paper), iv (parchment), 1–35⁸, iv (parchment), ii (paper). The manuscript has been
foliated in ink and in a modern hand; the foliation only reaches 278, despite there being 280
leaves, because the numbers 3 and 47 are each used twice. There are quire signatures in the
bottom margin of many pages, although some of them have been partially lost to trimming.
These quire signatures run throughout the manuscript. There is also another, earlier set of
quire numbering in the bottom margin, beginning at quire four (f. 32r). This numbering
begins at “2”, and appears on each of the first four leaves of quires thereafter. This
numbering suggests that the material from the beginning of the preceding quire—the
beginning of the treatise on the Pater Noster (f.24)—at some time was bound without the
preceding material.

The manuscript has been written and decorated uniformly throughout. The written
space on all pages is 135 mm x 83 mm, in a single column of 26 lines per page. Little
evidence of ruling and no evidence of prickings remain. Other forms of presentation are also
uniform; the initials are all similar in their style and colour, although they do vary in their
size. The smallest initial for the opening of a text occupies two lines; the largest are six-line
marginal initials. Most texts have been given a running title in the upper margin.

The manuscript is written in a single anglicana hand with some secretary features.
The most striking features are the large hooked “w”, and the long, horizontal hook on long
“s”, (noticeably missing in “se”). The same scribe uses a more formal script for rubrics,
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

headings and Latin quotations. This script has a straight-sided “w”, a straight ascender on “d”, and no hooks on the ascenders of other letters. According to the linguistic profile I developed from the forms found in the Rule of the Life of Our Lady (R), the B version of which is edited from this manuscript, I suggest a central Midlands dialect, probably from Warwickshire or Northamptonshire, for this text. As in CC (see above), I suspect that the difficulty with accurately placing the scribal dialect in O2 is due to the influence of the “Lollard” dialect.\footnote{Again, I do not suggest that the Rule is a Lollard text, but it is found in a manuscript with many Lollard texts, and all of these texts are copied by a single scribe.} Most of the forms found in O2 are very common spellings, and probably reflect the use of a standardised central Midlands “literary language” in manuscripts containing Lollard writings, regardless of their actual place of origin (Samuels, “Some Applications” 85).

There are numerous areas of erasure throughout the manuscript. Because of the material that has been damaged, it is clear that these erasures occurred at a time at which certain beliefs fell out of favour. Although the erased areas are mostly illegible, some of the passages seem to refer to purgatory (ff. 151r, 159v, 171r, 180v and 239v), while others are in sections concerning the Creed (f. 48v), the sin of envy (f. 83r), the Eucharist (f. 269r) and the ordination of priests (f. 269v).

There is only one set of names in the manuscript which might provide evidence pertaining to the manuscript’s early history. On f. 279v—scribbled out, with a “would-be” cipher version written above—is the inscription “Per me Geo[.]ge Page fili[.]m de Rica[.]di Page”, in a hand dated to the fifteenth century (Summary Catalogue). I have not been able to find any further information on either George or Richard Page. The catalogue records that O2 was gifted to the Library in 1605 by William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter. William Cotton was a distant cousin of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, antiquarian (Oxford DNB XIII,
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

634).

CONTENTS

1. A short exposition on the Creed, Ten Commandments, seven sins, seven works of mercy, seven gifts of the Holy Ghost etc. ff. 1r–10r.

Rubric: Thees ben þe wordis of god in þe olde lawe

Incipit: Almiȝty god in trinite comaundij generaly to his peple

Last section (“Foure þingis ben nedeful to euery man & woman to reule hem by” ff. 10r–v) is listed as Jolliffe I.9, and can also be found in London, British Library MSS Harley 4012, Harley 2343, and Royal 17. A. xxvi; Edinburgh, University Library 93; Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Library MS Plimpton 258.

2. Rule of behaviour. ff. 10v–13r.

Rubric: A short reule of lif for each man in general, and for prestis & lordis & laboreis in special

Incipit: First when þou risist or fulli wakist þenk on þe goodnes of god

IPMEP 203
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

For further bibliographical information on this text, please see the entry for MS W, item 12 (p. 151-52).

3. Some proverbs of Solomon. ff. 13r–16r.

Rubric: Here bigynnen summe prowerbis of Salamon with oþere auctoritees of notable materes of holi writt.
Incipit: Drede god my sone & þe kyng & be þou not mengid with bacbiters


Rubric: Here bigynnen þe commaundementis of god schortly declarid
Incipit: Þou schalt worship no false goddis þe secound is Þou schalt not take goddis name in ydel


Incipit: Zacharie þe prophete saiȝ a book fleyng in þe eir þat was twenty cubitis of lenghe and ten of brede

Rubric:  Thees wordis god seïp in þe 26 chapitre of Leuitici

Incipit:  Iff þe walken in myn heestis & kepǐþ my comaundemant3 & fulfille hem


Incipit:  Siþ þe pater noster is þe best praier þat is for in it mot alle oþere praiers be closid

IPMEP 604

Also in London, British Library MS Harley 2398 (ff. 166v–73v); Cambridge, University Library MS Nn.4.2; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.38 (extract); Manchester, John Rylands Library MSS English 85 and English 90; Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.926.4g.3 (ff. 64v–75v); Princeton, NJ, Robert H. Taylor MS.

Edited from Harley 2398 by Arnold, Select English Works III, 98–110.

Has the running title “¶ Pater Noster” (or noster, etc) throughout.


Incipit:  Heyl marie ful of grace þe lord is with þee
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

IPM EP 276

Edited below from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (pp. 175–79). Also
in Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.926.4g3 (ff. 75r–78v); Cambridge, Sidney
Sussex College MS 74 (ff. 189v–91r); and London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff.
68r–72v).

Edited (from Corpus 296, compared with Sidney Sussex MS only) by Matthew,
English Works 203–08.

For further information, see the entry to MS W, item 2 (p. 144–45).

Has the running title “Aue Maria” throughout.

9. The Pore Caitif in fourteen parts (Creed, Decalogue, Pater Noster, Counsel of
Christ, Patience, Temptation, Charter of Heaven, Horse or Armour of Heaven,
Love (or name) of Jesus, Very Meekness, Effect of Will, Active and Contemplative
Life, and the Mirror of Chastity) without a prologue. ff. 39r–208v.

Rubric: Here begynneth þe Crede þat is þe begynning of þe pore caytyf & be cause
þat þe materes of þe forseyd book pore caytiif stondyn not here in ordere y haue
markyd þe materes by numbr[ing or] nam & so forþ

Incipit: The ground of al goodnes is stidfast feiþ eïher bileue for þer þoroʒ grace
and mercy is purchasid of god

233
Jolliffe B

For a full list of manuscripts in which the *Pore Caitif* appears, either in full or in part, see Jolliffe B.

This section as a whole has running titles throughout, which change according to the subject matter.

10. The Form of Living. ff. 209r–36r.

Rubric: Here bigynneþ a tretyse which is clepid þe pricke of loue after Richard Hampol heremyte techynge of iii degrees of loue

Incipit: In ilk a synful man or woman þat is bounden in dedly synne are þre wrecchidnessis þe whiche bryngeþ hem to þe deep of helle

*IPMEP* 351

For further bibliographical information, see the entry for MS W, item 18 (p. 155).

Edited from CUL MS Dd 5 64 by Allen, *English Writings*, 85–119.

Printed from CUL MS Dd 5 64 and Bodleian MS Rawlinson C 285 by Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* I, 3–49.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

For a verse version of this text, see NIMEV 1442. A Latin version can be found in London, British Library MS Harley 106 and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 140/80.

Has the running title “Prik of Loue” throughout.


Rubric: Þis tretys techiþ hou men þat ben in heele schulde visite seeke men

Incipit: My dere son or dou3ter in god it semeþ þat þou hiȝest þee fast in þe wey fro þis lif to godward

IPMEP 460 (version b)
Jolliffe L.5.(b) and N.9.(b)

Also in London, British Library MSS Add. 32320, Harley 211, Harley 2398, and Royal 17. A. xxvi; Cambridge, University Library MSS Dd.1.17 and Nn.4.12; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 210; Oxford, University MSS 4 and 97; Dublin, Trinity College MS 432; London, Lambeth Palace MS 432; London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 105r–112v)

Printed by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers II, 449–53 (from Oxford University MS 97); Littlehales, English Fragments 6–8 (ending imperfectly) from British Library
Add 32320; and from Cambridge, University Library Dd.1.17 by Krochalis and Peters, *Piers Plowman* 195–202.

Has running title “visiting” (v) “of seeke men” (r) throughout.

12. A declaration of the five inward wits. ff. 243\(v\)– 46\(r\).

Rubric: A short declaration of worching of the fiue wittes of a mannis soule

Incipit: All þe myystis of a mannnes soule ben noumbred in fiue

Jolliffe D.1

Also in Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.6.26 (ff. 28\(r\)–31\(r\))

13. A declaration of the five bodily wits. ff. 246\(v\)–47\(r\).

Rubric: Þe fiue wittis of þe flesch ben þees

Incipit: Seyng veynly hering folily

14. A declaration of the seven deadly sins. ff. 247\(r\)–47\(v\).

Rubric: Þees ben þe seuene deedly synnes
Incipit: Pride of whom comeþ veynglory Bosting

15. The remedies of the seven deadly sins. ff. 247r–48v.

Rubric: Þe remedies aȝens þees synnes aforseid
Incipit: Now take we hede what remedy god haþ ordeyned vs aȝens þees forseid myschefis


Rubric: Here bigynneþ a tretys of tribulacion
Incipit: Seynt poule teching vs to be wilfully pacient seiþ iþis wise

Jolliffe J.13

Also in Cambridge, University Library MSS Ii.6.40 (ff. 76v–95r) and Nn.4.12 (ff. 40r–56v).
Refs: Doyle, Survey ii 25.

Has the running title “Of tribu—” (v) “lacion” (r) throughout.

Rubric: Here bigynneþ þe reule of þe liif of oure lady

Incipit: Aboute þe glorious maiden of whom oure lord ihreu crist took flesch and blood

IPMEP 22

This treatise exists in two distinct versions, both edited below. The version found in and edited from this manuscript (version b) is also in London, British Library MS Harley 1022 (ff. 64r–65r); Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (ff. 82r–83r); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 41 (fragment) (f. 135v); London, Westminster School MS 3 (ff. 115r–17v). Version a, here edited from London, British Library MS Harley 2339 (ff. 9v–16v), is also in British Library Royal MS 8. C. i (ff. 167r–69v).

Printed by Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers I 158–59 (from this MS), and 158–61 (from Harley 1022)

Translation of Chapter 3 of Pseudo-Bonaventura, Meditationes Vitae Christi. See introduction to the edition of this text for a discussion of Rolle’s suggested authorship of the translation

Has the running title “¶Þe reule” (v) and “¶of oure lady” (r)

18. Of Widowhood. ff. 265r–67r.
Rubric:  Here men may se hou widewis schulde liue virtuously and fle delcis of þis wrecchid worlde

Incipit: Wydewis schulden knowe her cleping and liue virtuousli lik þerto in holi & deuoute preires


Rubric: Thees ben þe vii sacramentis of holy chirche bi virtu of whiche alle manere of synnes ben forþiuen & þei token her virtue of þe glorious passion of oure lord ihesu crist

Incipit: Briþeren & frendis þe schulen vndirstonde þat þer ben vii sacramentis visid in þe chirche

Running title: “Seuen” (v) “Sacramentis” (r) throughout

20. The Athanasian Creed, with a gloss. ff. 270⁰–78⁰.

Rubric: Here bigynneþ Quicunque Vult wiþ þe glose

Incipit: Quicunque vult saluus esse ante omnia opus est
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

NEW HAVEN, CT, BÉNECKE MS 317

(MS NH)\(^{81}\)

Dated in Shailor’s catalogue to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, NH is a paper manuscript of ff. iii + 56 + ii, measuring 215 mm x 145 mm (123). It is bound in a nineteenth-century binding of blind-tooled brown leather. Shailor notes that the binding is “too tight to permit accurate collation”, but that centres of quires lie between ff. 14 and 15, and between ff. 34 and 35. She also notes that the formatting of the text is variable across the manuscript: ff. 1–4 have a written space of 170 mm x 84 mm and ff. 5–21 have written space of 172 mm x 125 mm. Ff. 1\(^r\)–4\(^v\) have 42–44 lines per page, while ff. 5\(^r\)–21\(^v\) have 42–46 lines per page. From f. 22, the “format varies considerably” (Shailor 123). Shailor also records the presence of a watermark, which she describes as an “unidentified bull’s head, smaller in size, buried in gutter” (123).

NH seems to have been written in two, similar secretary hands. The first (A), responsible for copying ff. 1\(^r\)–4\(^v\), uses a “d” with a straight ascender, a simple, straight-limbed “v” and “w” with left-hand approach strokes, a long, straight limb on “h” which is swept to the left below the line, and a “y” with a long, straight descender, also swept to the left. More often than not, there is no hook at all on “b”, “h” and “l.” The second hand (B) takes over on f. 5\(^r\). This hand uses similar letterforms occasionally, but its preference seems to be for an alternative. B uses, for example, the simple “d” and “w” forms found in hand A,

---

\(^{81}\) Because I was unable to view this manuscript in person, I am entirely indebted to the catalogue for information regarding its physical description, and limited in the amount of information I can offer here. I have, however, been able to complete a hand survey and to check much of the information by means of microfilm.
but more commonly uses a “d” with a looped ascender and a looped “w.” In certain sections of the text, the descender of “y” is straight and swept to the left, as in hand A, but for the most part, hand B uses a vertical “y” with a descender hooked to the right. Hand B also uses hooked ascenders on “b”, “h”, and “l” consistently, rather than occasionally. It is hand B that copies the *Vision of St John* (J), the C version of which is found only in this manuscript. The linguistic profile I developed based upon the forms found within the *Vision* suggest a Surrey dialect for this scribe, particularly in the use of “yeff” (if) and “hyre” (her). The only notable exceptions to the forms found within this text are “whoes” (whose; this spelling is not listed as occurring in Surrey, but is a spelling recorded for nearby Buckinghamshire) and “strenghte” (strengthen, v; the same spelling does occur for strength as a noun in Surrey manuscripts). A dialect localised in Surrey would also make sense in terms of the manuscript’s possible connections to Sheen Charterhouse or Syon Abbey.

Shailor records a significant amount of information on NH’s provenance. She suggests that it may have been copied at the Charterhouse at Sheen, or at Syon Abbey, because, according the rubric attached to the text in NH, the Life of St Jerome was composed by Simon Winter at Syon. There are dated notes on f. 3r (dated 1539) and f. 19v (dated 1530). NH belonged to the collection of Richard Towneley (and has his armorial bookplate inside the front cover, which is dated 1702), to Sir Thomas Phillips, and to Professor Charlton Lewis (Yale 1886). It was “given to Yale in 1964 by Charlton M. Lewis, Jr., Grace Lewis Case, and Penelope Lewis Rainey, in memory of their father, Professor Charlton M Lewis” (Shailor 123).

Shailor has provided ample notes on the content of the manuscript, many of which I have quoted in the course of this description.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

CONTENTS

1. De Modo psallendi. f. 1r.
   Rubric: De modo psallendi
   Incipit: Dum Domino psalli [?] psallendo tu tria serues
   Refs: Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter no 4128 (Beginning “Cum Domino...”)

2. Gaudet epar spodio mace cor cerebrum quoque musco. f. 1r.
   Incipit: Gaudet epar spodio mace cor cerebrum quoque musco
   Refs: Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter no 101906.

3. The thirty-four virtues of the Mass. ff. 1v–3v.
   Rubric: The [m]eedes and graces of þe masse beholde
   Incipit: The first vertue is ful good / That day þou shal not lakke þi foode

NIMEV 3426.55
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Note that it is the *NIMEV* entry gives the incipit as “The meedes and graces...” The reading in Shailor’s catalogue is “needes.”

“The thirty-four virtues of the mass, numbered with Roman numerals in the margin; each virtue presented in a stanza of 4 lines, with the entire work preceded by 16 lines of prefatory material and followed by 16 + 14 lines. According to G. Keiser the text is similar to *IMEV* 3573.”

4. Prose commentary on the preceding article. ff. 3r–4v.

Rubric: Yette moreovire ynto the confirmacyon of thise vertues aforeseid

Incipit: hit is redde yn the first book of holy scripture

“Prose commentary on art. 3, with paraphrases in English and some quotations in Latin of material taken from the Bible and Church Fathers.”

5. Symon Wynter’s Life of St Jerome. ff. 5r–21v.

Rubric: Here bygynnyth the prologe ynto þe lyf of Seynt Jerom drawen yn to englysh

Incipit: Rith noble and worthi lady and my ful reuerend and dere gostly doughtire

*IPMEP* 567
“Symon Wynter, amplification of the Life of St. Jerome, drawn from the Legenda Aurea and from the apocryphal correspondence between Sts. Cyril and Augustine, and supplemented with Revelations of St. Birgitta. The scribe in this manuscript has also added material concerning the story of St. Jerome and the lion taken from the Legenda Aurea (ff. 20r–21r). In the upper margin of f. 5r has also been added by a contemporary hand the name of the author, Symon Wynter; in the lower margin, by another hand: ‘This book to hym þat lovith god and þe helth of his owen soule is bettyre þan eny erthly tresoure. And so wolle he say þat redyth or heryth hit. ffor with out þe knowlych of þe matere þat is wryten in þis booke, no man may fle evyll and do wele. the which is don for love or drede. or payne or ioye. vt patebit.’ This passage was then struck out and the statement added: ‘Beware of fals englysshe.’”

Also in Cambridge, St John’s College MS 250; London, Lambeth Palace MSS 72 and 432.

Edited from Lambeth Palace 432 by Horstmann, “Prosalegenden” 328–60.

Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, STC 14508 (?1499).

Ref: Keiser, “Patronage and Piety.”


Rubric:   Iste est qui ante deum magnas virtutes operatus est

Incipit:   Oremus. Deus qui nobis per beatum Jeronimum confessorem

sacerdotemque
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

Edited by Horstmann, “Prosalegenden” 360.


Incipit: As a gret clerk shewyth in his bokys Of all þe creaturys þat god made yn heuyn and yn erthe

*IPMEP* 71

*NIMEV* 406a

“*Lay Folk’s Catechism*, continued in art. 10; see A. Hudson, ‘A New Look at the Lay Folks’ Catechism’, *Viator* 16 (1985): 243–58; Beinecke MS 317 is listed in group B: ‘Manuscripts which have a significantly reworked text.’ A sign toward the end of the text refers the reader to a note in lower margin: ‘Of þise vii þynges before rehersyd for a more playn declaracyoun of hem to euery mannys vndirstondynge þe which euery crysten man is bownde to lerne and kunne to his powere vpoun þe payn of dampnacyoun loke yn þe viii† lef after þis [art. 10] at such a sygne.’ Added beneath by another hand: ‘de istis vide in Speculo beati Edmundi archiepiscopi.’”

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

For a full list of the manuscripts in which the *Lay Folks’ Catechism* occurs, and for disambiguation of exactly what each copy contains, see Hudson, “A New Look.”

8. The Virtues of the Mass. ff. 22r–27v.

Rubric: Here folowyth þe medys and grace þat is getyn vnto theym þat devoutly heryth þe masse

Incipit: That blyssyd childe yn bedlem born

*NIMEV* 3268


Note that the Summary Catalogue number given for the Bodleian MS in the *IMEV* entry (29837) is incorrect. The correct Summary Catalogue number (29387) is given in the *NIMEV*.


Incipit: Ferthirmore yn confirmacyoun of þe medys and merytes of theym þat devoutly here theire masse Seynt bernarde sayeth
“A further prose commentary on the Mass. The final portion of the text, beginning on f. 29v (Thyse be þe tokenys of a vycyows preste...) has been crossed out.’


Rubric: Attendite popule meus legem meum etc. Good men and women as a gret clerke tellyth yn his bokes etc. vbi supra.

Incipit: Now good men and women as gret clerkes shewen and techen be here bokes

“The conclusion of the *Lay Folks’ Catechism* begun at art. 7, including texts on the 14 Articles of the Creed, 10 Commandments, 7 Sacraments, 7 Gifts of the Holy Ghost, 7 Deadly Sins, 7 Principal Virtues, 7 Deeds of Mercy.”

See item 7 above, for bibliographical information.

11. Brief exposition of weakness, ignorance and presumption as sins against the Father, Son and Holy Ghost respectively, and their resolution through penance. f. 34r.

Rubric: Hec in constitutionibus prouincialibus. capitulum Ignorancia sacerdotum

Incipit: Every synfull man & woman yn þis worlde þat [offendyth] þeire lorde god
The rubric suggests that this is a chapter of Archbishop Pecham’s Constitutions, called the *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*. One of the several translations of the Constitutions is the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*, which precedes this text. I have not been able to ascertain whether this section derives from the Constitutions.

12. Form of Confession. ff. 34r–35r.

Rubric:  
I have gretly displesyd god and all þe seyntes of heuyn I wot wele

Incipit:  
Here folowyth a fourme of a generall confessyoun þat every cristen man and woman is bounde to kunne and knowe


Incipit:  
Grando nix et aqua tria sunt res tamen vna / Sic in personis trinus deus est tamen vnus

“Unidentified verses, followed by notes, in outline format, on the Mass (in Lat.)”

14. Alphabetical index to Gregory’s *Dialogues*. ff. 36r–42r.

Rubric:  
Incipit tabula super 4 libros dialogorum beati gregorii pape

Incipit:  
Abire. Nisi ego abiero paraclitus non veniet ad vos
“Alphabetical subject index to Gregory’s Dialogi; all references are by book and chapter numbers and the letters a–d.”

15. Form of confession. ff. 42v–50v.

Rubric: Confessio generalis ac specialis. Exhortati[m] [?].

Incipit: Miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum sana me P6pto. Beholde how þe seek soule of mankynde sore woundyd knawyng his freelte dystreth and peryll cryeth to oure moste mercyful lorde

“For similar forms of confession see P. S. Jolliffe, ed., A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Toronto, 1974) pp. 69–73. This confession appears to be an expanded version of one found in Beinecke MS 163, ff. 179r–183v.”

Neither NH nor the form that Shailor notes is to be found in Beinecke 163 are listed in Jolliffe.

16. Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin. ff. 50r–51r.

Rubric: These beene þe sorowes of oure blissed lady and þe rewardes for worshippynge of hem as heere foloweth

Incipit: Seynt John þe euangelyste after þe assumpcyoun of oure lady bysily preyde
 Exists in three distinct versions, all of which are edited below: (a) Edited from Cambridge, University Library MS Add. 6686 (pp. 269–70), with variants from London, British Library Add. MS 37787 (ff. 161r–62v); Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (ff. 60r–61v); Glasgow, University Library MS V.6.22 (ff. ivv–v); and San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS 127 (ff. 33r–33v); (b) Edited from Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43 (ff. 82v–85r); with variants from Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.11 (fragment) (f. 136r) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poet. 175 (fragment) (ff. 131v–32v); and (c) Edited from and extant only in this MS.

Ref: Duffy, Stripping of the Altars 261–62.

17. Latin Notes. ff. 51r–56v.

Incipit: Deo Gracias. Penitens veniens ad confessionem stando vt genuflecto humiliter dicat. Benedicite. Respondeat benigne confessor. dominus exaudiat nos et det nobis suam graciam

“Many Latin notes, in several hands, tightly squeezed together, including sections labelled Augustinus in confessionibus; de ascensione; de temptacione. Ff. 53–55 are mutilated; f. 56 is torn in half with the upper portion missing. On 54v appears ‘Aue maria mayden ymmaculate / Eram plena et hymylyte / dominus tecum both erthely and late / ...ventris tui Jhesus on vs have mercy’; and some proverbs, in Middle
NON-COPY MANUSCRIPTS

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ADDITIONAL 11748 (B1)

Rule of Our Lady’s Life (Version B), Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin
[Latin] (Version A)

Dated to the fifteenth century, B1 is bound in blue British Library binding of leather over boards with limited gold decoration and five cords, measuring 204 mm x 147 mm x 35 mm. This is a parchment manuscript with four modern paper flyleaves added, two to each end of the MS. Collation: ii, i, 1–12, 13–14, 15–18, ii. The parchment flyleaf and quires 1 and 13–15 measure 186 mm x 130 mm; quires 2–12 measure 193 mm x 130 mm. The manuscript is foliated in pencil throughout, but also has quire signatures running throughout most of the first item (ff. 3–138). The written area, hand, ink and number of lines per page vary throughout the manuscript.

Ker notes that the manuscript was once owned by William Caraunt (ca. 1396–1476) of Somerset (Medieval Libraries 177), and a note on f. 2 states that it was “Purchased of H. Bohn, 26 Sept 1840.”

For further information about this manuscript, see IMEP Handlist 5, 39–41.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ADDITIONAL 37787 (B2)

Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (Version A)

This manuscript has been dated by Baugh to the late fourteenth century, after 1386
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

(Worcestershire Miscellany 13), and is bound in red leather over boards with five cords, measuring 190 mm x 144 mm x 65 mm. The binding is disintegrating.

Baugh notes in her edition that the manuscript “has been badly mutilated; leaves have been lost at various places, leaving a number of texts in fragmentary condition. What remains, however, is in a fair state of preservation” (Worcestershire Miscellany 13). The collation for this manuscript is i (parchment—conjugate with a pastedown), 1\(^8\), 2\(^7\), 3\(^3\), 4–5\(^8\), 6\(^12\), 7\(^4\), 8\(^6\), 9\(^4\), 10\(^3\), 11\(^5\), 12\(^8\), 13\(^5\), 14\(^4\), 15\(^5\), 16\(^7\), 17–18\(^8\), 19\(^6\), 20\(^7\), 21–25\(^8\), 26\(^7\), 27\(^8\), 28\(^4\), i (paper).\(^82\) Quire 3 was originally eight leaves, the first five of which are missing with some text lost, and the last of the original eight leaves of quire 20 has been cut out, removing a prayer to St Thomas. The removal of leaves in quires 2, 3, 7–11, 13–16, 19, and 26–27 has not resulted in loss of text. The pages measure 188 mm x 135 mm, with a written area measuring 127 mm x 93 mm, ruled in a single column and having approximately 20 lines per page.

Ker notes that this manuscript was once part of the library of the Cistercian Abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Bordesley, Worcestershire (Medieval Libraries 11). Baugh discusses the Worcestershire provenance of the manuscript at length, as well as its ownership up to the middle of the sixteenth century (Worcestershire Miscellany 15–17).

For further information about this manuscript, see Nita Scudder Baugh, A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400: Edited from British Museum Ms Add. 37,787 (Philadelphia: [np], 1956).

---

\(^{82}\) I am grateful to Dr Greg Waite for collating this manuscript for me, following the loss of my own collation notes as a result of a computer error.
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS HARLEY 1022 (B4)

Rule of the Life of Our Lady (Version B)

This manuscript, which Horstmann dates to 1420–30 (Yorkshire Writers I, 157), is bound in brown Harleian collection binding of leather over pressed boards with five cords, measuring 216 mm x 157 mm x 35 mm. This is a manuscript of paper and parchment leaves, measuring approximately 215 mm x 155 mm.

The collation for this manuscript is difficult, both because of the mixed nature of many quires and because of the single leaves, which have been added by means of binder’s tags. Mixed quires have been described individually, while un-mixed quires have been described in groups (designated by semicolons): iv, i; 1 4 2 1 3–4 6 (parchment); 5 8 (1 and 8 parchment, 2–7 paper), 6 10 (1 and 10 parchment, 2–9 paper), 7 12 (1, 6, 7 and 12 parchment, 2–5, 8–11 paper); 8 1 9 1 (parchment); 10 14 (1–6, 9–14 paper, 7–8 parchment); 11 1, 12 6, 13 5 (paper); 14–16 8 (parchment), iv. Most of the paper stock used seems to come from a single source, with a watermark of a bow similar to Briquet 799 (Fabriano 1333). Like the collation, the written space, lines per page, hand, ink and decoration are all highly variable across the manuscript.

Several names appear in the manuscript: “Thomas Clerkson” (f. 15v), “Robert Godefraith” (f. 16v), and “Mychyæl Froste” and “John Perkyne” (f. 97v), but there is no further information available about the manuscript’s early history.

For further information on this manuscript, see Hanna, Rolle xxx–xxxiii.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ROYAL 8. C. i (B6)

Rule of the Life of Our Lady (Version A)

B6 is dated in the catalogue of the Royal manuscripts to the fifteenth century (I 228), and measures 226 mm x 155mm. It is bound in a blue Royal collection binding. This manuscript is paper, apart from two of the flyleaves (quires ii and iii), and the last, single-leaf quire of the MS (quire 18). The last quire of flyleaves is of modern paper. Collation: ii, i, 1–3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, i, i, ii. The parchment flyleaves, the catalogue notes, are “from the commune sanctorum of a Breviary, with space left for music, in a hand of the 14th cent[ury]” (I 228). The pages measure 217 mm x 144 mm, and the written area is 180 mm x 105 mm, which is ruled in one column. The manuscript is written in at least two cursive book hands. The catalogue also records a sixteenth-century ownership inscription (“Codex Hugonis Haverel”) on f. 38 (I 228).

Further information on this manuscript can be found in Owst, Preaching in Medieval England 24, 111, 117, 122, 191, 290, and 326; Baugh, English Text of the Ancrene Riwle.

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Hh.1.11 (C3)

Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (Version A, extract)

Dated by Barratt to the early to the middle of the fifteenth century (Writings 72), C3 is bound in a modern binding of cardboard front and back, with brown leather along the spine and seven cords. The collation of this manuscript is: 1, 2, 3–6, 7, 8, 9–12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, i. Several gatherings have had pages excised, seemingly because they were not required. The manuscript is mainly parchment, apart from ff. 100–27, which
are paper. There are clear partial watermarks on ff. 102, 104, 113 and 114, “a fleur-de-lys in the apices of an M-shaped crown”, which O’Mara notes is “similar to numbers 715–22 (dating from 1447–c. 1508) in Piccard [Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart XIII: Wasserzeichen Lilie (1983)], 129” (O’Mara, Study and Edition 143–44). The pages measure 205 mm x 150 mm. O’Mara argues compellingly that this manuscript was constructed from a series of booklets written independently of one another and then bound together (Study and Edition 157–61), but, because she is uncertain about the amount of time which elapsed between creation of the booklets and their collation into a single manuscript, and about the initial intentions of the scribes, she prefers to “see it as a composite manuscript that may contain some booklets, without being more specific as to which ones they are” (Study and Edition 161). The physical appearance of the text—written space, number of lines per page, ink, hand—varies booklet by booklet across the manuscript. O’Mara identifies a total of eight main hands and nine minor hands (Study and Edition 142–46). Although most of the manuscript’s provenance is unclear, O’Mara records that the manuscript was acquired by Cambridge University Library from the collection of Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel College (d. 1649) (Study and Edition 147).83

For further information about this manuscript see particularly O’Mara, Study and Edition; and McNamer, Two Middle English Translations.

---

83 See the description to MS C2, which also came from Dr Holdsworth’s library.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

CAMBRIDGE, MAGDALENE COLLEGE PEPYS MS 2125 (CM)

_Rule of the Life of Our Lady (Version B); A Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin; Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin [Latin] (Version B)_

The catalogue of the Pepys collection dates sections of this manuscript to the late fourteenth/early fifteenth and to the early fifteenth century, although it is not clear which sections belong to which period of production (54). CM is bound in white leather over boards, with six cords, and measures 290 mm x 210 mm x 55 mm. The collation of the manuscript is: i, 1–2\textsuperscript{12}, 3\textsuperscript{14}, 4\textsuperscript{1}, 5\textsuperscript{9}, 6\textsuperscript{8}, 7\textsuperscript{10}, 8–10\textsuperscript{12}, 11\textsuperscript{8}, 12\textsuperscript{12}, 13\textsuperscript{15}, i. Both sets of flyleaves and ff. 1–38 are parchment; ff. 39–145 are paper. The pages measure 284 mm x 195 mm. The catalogue identifies five scribes, and suggests a West Midlands dialect and origin. It also suggests that “judging by the contents, [CM] was compiled by or for a male recluse” (61).

For further information see Hanna, _Rolle_ xlv–xlvi; and Bremmer, _Fyve Wyttes_.

---

CAMBRIDGE, ST JOHN’S COLLEGE MS 208 (CJ)

_Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (Version A)_

CJ has been dated to the first half of the fifteenth century (James, _St John’s_ 238), and is bound in brown leather over boards with eight cords, blindstamped, with evidence of two fastenings (now missing). The binding measures 294 mm x 213 mm x 35 mm. The manuscript is parchment throughout, and its collation is: ii, 1\textsuperscript{8}–6\textsuperscript{8}, 7\textsuperscript{7}, 8\textsuperscript{6}, ii. It is foliated in

---

\textsuperscript{84} Because of the limited time I had to work with this manuscript and the predominant importance of transcribing and checking the two texts that appear in it, I was restricted in the amount of codicological investigation I was able to undertake. I was not able, for example, to locate and identify any watermarks on the paper leaves.
pencil in a modern hand in the upper outer corners with very faint traces of original quire signatures on the lower outer corners of some leaves. The pages measure 285 mm x 203 mm, and the written area 175 mm x 125 mm (although lines are usually 55–85mm long), and is ruled in a single column in brown ink in 28 lines to the page, with prickings visible down the outer margin of most leaves. CJ was previously known as MS H 5.

The catalogue notes that it was owned by the Bremschet (Bramshott) family of the Isle of Wight, and has many of their birth records written into the flyleaves.

For further information, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts* 263–66.

CAMBRIDGE, SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE MS 74 (CS)

*Commentary on the Ave Maria*

Provisionally dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Hudson, *English Wycliffite Sermons* I 70), this manuscript is bound in light brown leather over boards, blind-stamped frame with fleur-de-lis in the corners on both front and back boards, and has five cords. This is a parchment manuscript, with pages measuring 270 mm x 175 mm.

The collation of this manuscript is very difficult. The pages are badly damaged in parts, and many of the original leaves have been lost between foliation and binding. Hudson’s collation, which she describes as “tentative where so marked” is as follows:

ii paper stubs, ii paper flyleaves (making a quire of 4), i paper flyleaf with half an older flyleaf stuck over; 1^{8} lacks 1–2, 4, 8, 2^{6} lacks 1, 3^{12} lacks 1–2, 9–12, 4^{16} lacks 1, 3–5, 5^{12} lacks 3 and 9, 6^{12} lacks 1–2, 11–12, 7^{8} lacks 5 and 7, 8^{10} lacks
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

2, 4–8, [1 leaf lost], 9–12
13, 14
15
16
17
18–19
14
20
lacks 7, 15
8, 16
6
12
8
14
14
14
14
lacks 14, 21
8, 22
6; ii paper flyleaves and ii paper stubs (conjoint).

Hudson’s collation falls two folios short of the total number of leaves. I collated similarly, except for Hudson’s gathering 15, which is probably a gathering of 10 with the first leaf excised, and gathering 19, which I suggest is a gathering of 16 with a leaf missing somewhere in the second half of the gathering. I could not see the remains of the excised leaf in the second half of the gathering, but this is the area from which the leaf would have had to have been removed, because of the stitching between ff. 174 and 175.

The manuscript retains its early foliation, which is badly affected by the missing leaves. The written space, number of lines per page, hands and ink vary across the manuscript, despite James’ assertion in the catalogue that the written frame is 192 mm x 135 mm (James, Sidney Sussex 52–53; also cited in Hudson, English Wycliffite Sermons I 70).

CS was owned by Dr Samuel Ward, Master of Emmanuel College, in the mid-seventeenth century, and given to Sidney Sussex College in 1643, according to a note at the foot of f. 3r. It was previously known as MS 74 ∆ 4 12

For further information see Anne Hudson, English Wycliffite Sermons I 70–72.

GLASGOW, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY HUNTERIAN MS 472 (G)

Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (Version A)

The Hunterian catalogue dates this manuscript to the late fourteenth century and the binding to the late eighteenth, describing the binding as “[m]illboards (replacing

85 Hudson, English Wycliffite Sermons I 70.
original oak boards), covered calf, gilt-tooled edges and panelled back, blind-tooled sides, red edges” (392–93). No binding dimensions are supplied. G is a parchment manuscript with paper flyleaves, measuring 190 mm x 133 mm, and ruled in single columns of 22 lines. The collation is: ii, iii, 1⁵, 2–11⁸, 12⁵, ii.

The names “John Morris”, “Thomas Sparow”, “Edward Mann” and “George Fferez” (possibly George Ferrers, poet and politician) occur in sixteenth-century hands in this manuscript.

G was previously known as MS V.6.22.

NORWICH, CASTLE MUSEUM MS 158.296.4g3 (N)

Commentary on the Ave Maria

N was written in the mid fifteenth century, bound in contemporary light pink leather (which may have been white, originally) over boards. The remnants of a pin for a fastening are still visible near the edge of the front cover. The collation of the manuscript is: i, 1–15⁸, i, all parchment, measuring 168 mm x 118 mm. It has written space of 115 mm x 90 mm, ruled in a single column of 26 lines per page. The manuscript is written in one hand throughout, which Ker describes as a "poor hybrida" (Manuscripts 522). Ker also notes that this manuscript was “a stray [...] from the great collection of Sir Robert Cotton”, and notes the name “W. F. Pattison 1818” (Manuscripts 522). According to unpublished notes on the manuscript held at the Museum, the manuscript stayed in the Pattison family until the mid-twentieth century; it was donated to the Museum by a family member, Mrs J. Perowne, in 1961.
MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

For further information on this manuscript, please see Ker, Manuscripts 521–22.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS ASHMOLE 41 (01)

Rule of the Life of Our Lady (Version B, fragment)

The fact that there are two Summary Catalogue entries for this manuscript (SC 6921 and 8099) reflects that it is, in fact, two manuscripts bound together. The first section (containing a single text, the Prick of Conscience) is dated to the fourteenth century; the remaining section of the MS belongs to the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth century. The manuscript as a whole is bound in brown leather over boards with an understated, frame-like, pressed decoration on the front and back covers, and has four cords. The binding measures 275 mm x 195 mm x 50 mm. This is a parchment manuscript, with paper flyleaves. In the first section, the pages measure 265 mm x 173 mm, while in the second, the page measurements are 248 mm x 170 mm, except for the last text, where the pages range 254–258 mm x 170–176 mm. Collation: v (paper), ii (parchment), 17, 25, 3–168, 1710 || 185, 196, 208, 217, v (paper). Because of the composite nature of this manuscript, lines per page, hand, ink and decoration vary across the MS. The foliation is consistent, however, and made in pencil in a modern hand.

The only internal indication of the provenance of this manuscript is a rhyme on f. 131r, which names Antony Alderle as owner of the book. Other names appear also: “William Hedge” (f. 131v), “Thom[as] Knelle” (f. 133r) and “Henry Scales” (f 136r).

See also P. S. Jolliffe, “Middle English Translations” 259–273.
OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS RAWLINSON POETRY 175 (03)

*Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (Version B, fragment)*

O3 is dated in the Summary Catalogue (SC 14667) to the middle of the fourteenth century and is bound in brown leather over boards with a plain pressed border and five cords. The binding measures 279 mm x 205 mm x 40 mm. The pages are parchment, and measure 185 mm x 270 mm. The written space is 200 mm x 148mm in two columns, with 12 mm gap between columns and 44 lines per page. The collation of the manuscript is: 1–10, 11, 12, 13. Quires 11 and 13 (which are now, at least, single leaves) seem to have been bound to quire 12, although it is very hard to be sure because of tightness of binding and damage to the parchment. The manuscript is foliated throughout in a modern hand and in pencil.

A number of names appear on the last leaf. On 133r there is an ownership inscription from “Christofer Fauelle” dated 1630. Other names that appear include “Johan Helme” (f. 133v); “Wylliam As[]re”, “Rabart Ne[]lson” and “Thomas Frairchel” in a single inscription on f. 133v, and three times (as though practising) “Thomas Peyrson”, also on f. 133v.

SAN MARINO CA, HUNTINGTON LIBRARY MS 127 (SM)†

*Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin (Version A)*

The guide to manuscripts in the Huntington Library notes that this manuscript is
dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century and bound in the nineteenth, in “English polished brown calf, ruled in blind”, but does not give binding dimensions (Huntington Guide I 160). The manuscript was produced in parchment with added modern paper flyleaves, one added to each end of the manuscript. The pages measure 265 mm x 190 mm, with a written space of 180 mm x 122 mm and 32–33 lines per page. The collation of SM is i, ii, 11, 2–88, 95, i. There are quire signatures visible in lower, outer corners in red ink.

There are three sixteenth-century ownership inscriptions, by “Jhon Wylyamson”, “John Whytte” and “Thomas Wilbraham.” The manuscript passed by means of inheritance from Edward, first Baron Herbert of Cherbury to George Herbert, fourth Earl of Powis, in whose 1923 sale it was bought by A. S. W. Rosenbach.

For a limited amount of further information, see De Ricci, I 53; and IMEP Handlist 1, 12–13.
EDITORIAL PROCEDURE
EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

Texts

The texts as they appear here are presented conservatively: I have limited my emendations to sections where the copy-manuscript reading causes syntactical difficulties. Wherever this occurs, the original reading and any available alternative readings are preserved in the textual variants. Where I have had to supply the missing material myself, I have provided an explanatory note, also. I have included any obvious scribal emendation of the text, such as skipped words entered in the margins: these scribal insertions are marked by enclosing them within "\="/.

The texts have been provided with modern punctuation and capitalisation. Particularly difficult passages syntactically are discussed in the notes. I have separated or combined words according to their modern equivalent ("aman" becomes "a man"; "þer fore" becomes "þerfore.") Capitalisation has been standardised. Nouns referring to God or any one of His three persons have been capitalised, as have Crucifixion, Passion, Ascension and so on, where the noun refers to the specific event. When a noun refers only indirectly to one of the persons of the tripartite Deity, it is not capitalised: "the Son" refers directly to Christ, for example, whereas "her son" is an indirect reference to Christ. I have also capitalised the titles of St Mary, but not other nouns (such as "mother", for example) which refer to her. Pronouns referring to God the Father are capitalised, but not those referring to God the Son or God the Holy Spirit. I have expanded abbreviations; the expansion is represented as italicised text.
EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

Textual Variants

Textual variants appear at the bottom of each page and record lexical and substantial syntactical variation only; orthographic, morphological and minor syntactical variations (such as transposition of words that does not affect meaning) are, in general, not recorded. Where there is a lexical or significant syntactical variation in one manuscript, however, all other forms of variation are recorded as well. I have also recorded attempts to expunge material (by dotting or crossing out) in the textual variants.

Parallel Texts

Because three of the texts—the Rule of Our Lady’s Life (R), the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet (E) and the Vision of St John (J)—exist in versions that differ substantially from one another, they have been presented in parallel. Equivalent passages, where possible, appear opposite each other on facing pages. This practice occasionally results in several pages of empty space within the version which has no equivalent passage, but this empty space is, in itself, designed to be informative. Where direct parallelism is not possible, in circumstances where the equivalent material appears in a different order, cross-references are given in the notes. The line numbering is continuous for each version of each text, and is independent of the numbering of other versions of the text. Empty lines are not numbered.

Notes

Notes are given by reference to the first line of the relevant material only, with an italicised quotation to show the extent of the material to which the note refers. Inclusive numbering of these sections was not feasible, given that several of the texts exist in two or
EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

three versions.

Notes regarding manuscript phenomena, such as marginal emendation, refer to the copy-text, unless otherwise specified. Biblical quotations in Latin are from the Vulgate Bible, and those in English are from the Douay-Rheims Bible.

Notes to several of the texts, including the *Fifteen Steads* (P), *Fifteen Sorrows* (S), *Doctor of the Church* (D) and *Vision of St John* (J), contain chapter references to the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. Much like the biblical cross-references, these references are intended to give the locations of equivalent events within the *Meditationes*, rather than to indicate a direct, source-derivative relationship. The *Meditationes* was chosen as a useful point of reference because it utilises biblical, patristic, apocryphal and traditional material, and because it was tremendously popular. In texts and passages where the *Meditationes* is considered to be a source, as in the *Rule of the Life of Our Lady* (R), I have provided quotations and more specific references to the *Meditationes*. 
TEXTS
RULE OF THE LIFE OF OUR LADY

Version A edited from London, British Library MS Harley 2339 (MS B5), with variants from London, British Library MS Royal 8. C. i. (MS B6)

Version B edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (MS O2), with variants from: London, British Library MSS Additional 11478 (B1) and Harley 1022 (B4); London, Westminster School MS 3 (MS W); Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (MS CM); and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 41 (O1)
Here bigynne þe rule of Oure Ladi lif, while sche lyuede here in erþe.

Aboute þe glorious maiden of whom Oure Lord, Ḣesu Crist, took fleisch & blood, we haue to þenke upon hir lif; of which þou schalt wite,

5 þat whanne sche was þre þeer oold, sche was offrid into þe temple of hir fadir and hire modir, & þere sche dwellide in þat degree into xiii þeer. & what sche dide þere, we mai wite bi reuelaciouþ þat sche l schewide to a
Here bigynneþ þe reule of þe liif of Oure Lady

Aboute þe glorious maiden of whom Oure Lord, Jesus Crist, toke fleisch and blood, we may biþenke vs of hir lif; of whiche þou schalt wite þat when sche was þre 3eer olde sche was offrid into þe temple of hir fadir & hir modir, & þere sche duellid in þat degré into þe fourteneþ 3eer. And what sche did þere we may wite bi reuelacions þat sche schewid to a deuoute

1 Here bigynneþ þe reule of þe liif of Oure Lady] Of þe manere of luyng of Owre Lady Marie CM; omitted W B1 B4 O1
2 Aboute þe glorious maiden] Of owre glorius lady Marie, maiden, moder & wyf CM; Aboute þe Virgyn B1; About bo mayden B4
3 we may ... of whiche] omitted CM biþenke] vmþenke W; vmthnk B1; vmthynke B4; bethynk O1
4 sche was offrid into þe temple of hir fadir & hir modir] she was offred in þe temple of hir fader & moder CM; hir fadir & hir modir ofryd hir in þe tempil B1 B4; scho was offred in to þe temple of her fadyr & of hir modyr O1
5 þat] þilk B1
5 into þe fourteneþ 3eer] vnto þe forteneþ 3er CM; vnto sho was fourten 3ere old B1; vnto foutene 3ere B4; vnto þe fowrtene 3eer O1
what] omitted B1; qwat B4
Rule A (MS B5)
deuout woman, seruaut of God, Seynt Elizabeth, Joon Baptist modir, in
whiche reuelaciouns, alle þingis þat here folowen weren seid of Oure Ladi
in þis wise.

“Whanne my fadir and my modir leften me in þe temple, I settide
in myn herte to haue God to my fadir & þouȝte þeron deuoutly. & ofte
tyme I þouȝte what I myȝte do to Goddis worschipe & likinge, so þat He
wolde vouchesaaf to ȝeue me His grace. & I was bisy to lerne þe lawe of

[10[8] 15 God & to kepe þe commaundementis l in Goddis lawe. Ffoure I kepte
specialy in myn herte, þat is: þou schalt loue þi Lord God wiþ al þin herte,

8 womman] omitted B6  Joon Baptist] Seint Johan Baptiste B6  13 worschipe &]

omitted B6
Rule B (MS O2)
seruaunte of hirs (and men trowiþ it was Seynt Elizabeth, of whom we synge of solemnly), in whiche reuelacionis among oþere aren contenyd þees þat folwe.

Sche seide, “When my fadir & my modir lefte me in þe temple, I sette in myn herte to haue God to my fadir & þouFy_¶æ*ítt it deuoutly. And ofte tyme Y þouFy_¶æ*ítt what Y myFy_¶æ*ítt do to Goddis liking, so þat He wolde vouchesaaf to gif me His grace. And I made to teche me þe lawe of my God, and of alle þe commaundememtis of Goddis lawe. þre Y kepide namely in myn herte, þat is: þou schalt loue þi Lord God wiþ al þine herte, & wiþ al þi soule, with al þi
Rule A (MS B5)
and wiþ al þi soule, and wiþ al þi þouȝt, and wiþ al þi strenkþe; also þou schalt loue þi neiȝebore as þisilf; & þou schalt noon enemye hate but synne.

20 “Þese”, sche seide, “I keppe in my soule, & I sette me to gadere alle þe vertues þat ben conteyned in hem; & so I wole teche forþ. For sikirly, þat soule haþ no parfiȝt vertu þat loueþ not God wiþ al his herte, for of þis loue comeþ al fulnesse of grace. & aftir þat þis fulnes is comen, it dwelliþ not stille in þe soule, but fletiþ awei as watir, þere he hatiþ not hise

17 and| omitted B6 and| omitted B6 18 þisilf| þiseleuen B6 20 me] in B6 24 fletiþ| fletiþ B6
Rule B (MS O2)
þou shalt & with alle þi strengþis; and þou schalt loue þi neþbore as þisilf; and þou schalt hate þin enemy þat is synne.

“Þees”, sche seide, “I kepèd in my soule and I sette me for to gedir alle þe virtues þat are contenyd in hem; and so I wol teche þee. Fforsoþe, þat soule haþ no parfit virtu þat louiþ not God wiþ al his herte, and of þis loue comeþ al fulnes of grace. And after þat þis fulnes is komen, it duelliþ not stille in þe soule, but | flowiþ as watir, where it hatiþ his enemys þat are [263']

16 with] omitted CM; of B1 and] & þerewith CM; Also W B1 B4; omitted O1 neþbore] neþbore CM; neþbur W; neþbour B1; neþbur B4; next O1 and] Also B1 B4 17 þat is synne] omitted B1 18 me] omitted O1 gedir] gedere CM; comprehende B1; geder B4; gader O1 19 contenyd] contenèd W B1; conteynd B4; omitted O1 in hem] in þaim B1; omitted B4 teche þee] þat þou do B1 Fforsoþe] Sothely B1; Forsoþh B4; Forsoþe O1 þat] a B1 20 haþ] may haþe B1; has B4 parfit] omitted B1; profite B4 þat] zif he B1 God] omitted B4 wiþ] of B1; whyt O1 and] for CM B1 21 grace] grace witbouþen qweche non virtu comeþ into þe sawle B1; [O1 finishes here] þat] þat at B4 And after þat þis fulnesse is comen] omitted B1 it duelliþ not] hit dwelliþ nat CM; it dwelliþ noght W; No þis grace dwelleþ B1; it dwelles noght B4 22 stille] omitted B1 þe] þi CM as] as hit were CM where it hatiþ his enemys] hit hateþ his enemys CM; bot if it hate is e[ne]mes B1; qweþe it hates his enemys B4
Rule A (MS B5)

enemyes þat is vicis & synnes. Þerfore, he þat wole haue grace lastyngly
in his possessioun, he muste stablyn in his herte to loue þat he schulde loue
& hate þat he schulde hate.

“Þerfore, I wole þat þou do as I dide. I roos alle nyȝtis at mydnyȝt
& wente bifore þe auter of þe temple, & wiþ as myche desier & greet
affeccioun as I myȝte haue, I axide grace of God to kepe the
comaundemtis of His lawe. And stondynge þere bifore þe auter I made
þese seuen preiers to almyȝty God.

“Ffyrst I axide grace þat I myȝte fullfille þe comandementis of loue,
Rule B (MS O2)

VICES & SYNNES. PERFOR, HE ḤAT WOL HAUE GRACE LASTINGLI IN HIS POSSESSIOUN, HIM BIHOUĬ TO ORDEYNE HIS HERTE TO LOUE & TO HATEREDEN.

"PERFOR, I WOL ḤAT POU DO AS I DID. I ROS ALLE TYMES AT MYDNYȝT AND WENTE BIFOR THE AUTER OF ḤE TEMPLE, AND WIĬ AS MYCHE WILLE, AND AS GRETE AFFECTIOUN AS I KOUĊE & MYȝT, I ASKID GRACE OF GOD ALMIȝTY TO KEPE ḤE ḤRE COMAUNDEMENT3 & ALLE OȖRE COMAUNDEMENT3 OF ḤE LAWE. & SO STONDING BEFOR ḤE AUTER, I MADE SEUEN PRAIRES TO OUR LE LORD GOD, WHICHE ARE ŪES.

"FIRST I ASKID GRACE ḤAT I MYȝT FULFILLE ḤE COMAUNDEMENT3 OF LOUYNGE,
Rule A (MS B5)

that is, to loue God wiþ al myn herte, wiþ al my soule, wiþ al my þouȝt & wiþ al my strenkþe. In þe secunde preyer, I axide grace þat I myȝte loue my neiȝebore as it likide moost God, & for to loue truly al þat God loueþ. In þe þridde preyer, I axide grace þat He wolde make me to hate al yuel þat God hatiþ. And in þe fourþe preyer I axide grace to haue verry mekenes, & pacience, & alle oþere vertues þat myȝte make me l glorious in His siȝt. In þe v preyer, I axide grace þat I myȝte abide þe tyme to se þe holi virgyn þat Schulde bere Goddis sone, & þat I myȝte be worþi to serue hir & algatis

Rule B (MS O2)

That is, to loue Him in al myne herte &c (as it is seid before). In þe secound praier, I askid grace þat I myȝt loue my neiȝbore after þe wille & pleaunce of Him, and þat He wolde make me to loue alle þinges þat He louid. In þe þridde praier, I askid þat He wolde make me to hate alle þingis þat he hatid. In þe fourþe preier, I askid Him mekenes, pacience, debonerte & alle òphere virtues, bi whiche I schulde be maad glorious before His siȝt. In þe fiueþ praier, I askid þat He wolde make me to hate alle þingis þat he hatid. In þe fiueþ praier, I askid þat He wolde make me se þat tyme in þe whiche þe holy virgyn schulde be born þat schulde bere Goddis sone. And I askid þat He

32 þat is, to loue Him] of God CM; þat es to luf Hym B4 in] with CM B4; of B1 &c (as it is seid before)] as hit is forseyd CM; &c as it is seyd biforn W; of alle my soule of al my mynde and of alle my strenkethis B1; & forthermore os is sayde before B4 In þe omitted B1 33 praier] prayer CM; tyme B1; prayer B4 pleaunce] plesaunce CM W; plesinge B1; plesyng B4 34 þat He wolde make me] to make me CM In þe] Omitted B1 35 praier] prayer CM; praiere W; tyme B1; prayer B4 asked] asked grace to hate myne enmy B1 þat] and þat B1 to hate alle þingis] hate and flee alle thynges B1 36 In þe] Omitted B1 37 praier] prayer CM; preyer W; tyme B1; prayer B4 him] omitted B1 B4 mekenes, pacience, debonerte & alle òphere virtues] meknesse debenerete pacience mildness & alle òper virtues CM; mekenes pacience debonerete and myldenese and alle virtues B1 B4 37 bi whiche] by whuch CM; be þe whiche B1; be þo qwilk B4 In þe] Omitted B1 38 praier] prayer CM; tyme B1; prayer B4 se] see W B1; omitted B4 39 I askid] Omitted B1
Rule A (MS B5)

þat blessid child. In þe vi prier, I axide grace to be obedient to þe comauandementis & ordynauntis of þe bischop of þe temple. And in þe seuenþe prier, I axide grace for þe bischop, þat he schulde weel kepe þe temple & al his peple in Goddis seruyse.”

And whanne Elizabeth hadde herd alle þese wordis, sche seide þus

to hir, “A, þou blessid maide! Were þou not ful of grace & of vertues biforn siche prayers?”
Rule B (MS O2)

wolde kepe myne ȝesen, þat I myȝt se hir; my tunge, þat I myȝt preise hir; my handis, þat I myȝt serue hir; my feet, þat I myȝt go to hir seruise; my knees, þat I myȝt worship hir & Goddis sone in hir barme. In þe sixte, I asked grace to be obedient to þe comauȝnent3 & to þe ordenaunte of þe byschope of þe temple. In þe seueniþ prier, I asked þat He wolde kepe þe temple & al His peple to His seruice."

And þen Seynt Elisabeth, when sche hade herde þees wordis, seide, “A, swete Lady! Ne were [ye] not ful of grace & of virtues?”
Rule A (MS B5)

And þerto sche answereide þus, “Certis, Elizabeth, I heeld me gilty, & moost vyle wrecche & vnworþi þat myȝte be! &c, þerfore, I axide Him grace & vertues. And ouer þat, trowist þou, Elizabeth, þat al þe grace þat I hadde, þat I schulde haue haed it wiþouten traueile? Nay, it is not so! For I seie þee sooþly, I hadde no sich special grace ne vertu wiþoute greet traueile & contynuel preiynge, wiþ brennynge desier & deep deuocioun, &

manye colde teeris, euermore þenkynge & redinge | of holi writt, wiþ worchinge þingis among þat weren plesaunt to God, for al þe grace þat I hadde of halowynge in my modir wombe.

Rule B (MS O2)

Then the Blessed Virgin answered, “Wite thou forsothe that I helde me 
gilte & most vile & vnworshiporous the grace of God as thou doist 
myself, and for I asked of Him grace & virtues. And, ouer that, thou 
troust that al the grace that I had, that I hede it withouten travel? But it is not so! For I sey thee 
solde at I had no grace, ne ȝifte, ne virtu of God wiþouten grete travel & 
contynuel praiynge, brennyng desire, depe deuocioun, many colde teeris, 

| mekil [afflicioune]; euermore þenkand & seiand & worchand þinges þat 

were plesing to Him as I kouþe & myȝt, outaken þe grace of halwing þat 

I was halwed in my modris wombe.
Rule A (MS B5)

“And I seie þee sooþ, Elizabeth, þat no grace comeþ to a soule but bi preier and ponyschinge of fleisch. And aftir þat we han 3oue to God al þat we han, þouʒ it be but litil, He wole come into oure soule & brynge wiþ Hym so greet ʒiftis þat it schal seme to myche folk þat he is al out of mynde & hǎp forʒete boþe good and yuel. And also he schal seme in his owne | siȝt more viel wrecche & vnworþiere seruaunt of God þan cuere he was bifer.”

Here eendiþ þe reuelacioun & bigynneþ þe writynge of Seynt Jerom.

Seynt Jerom writiþ of hir liif on þis wise & seþ þat, “Þe Blesside
Rule B (MS O2)

“And ouer þat”, sche seide, “wite þou forsoþe þat no grace comeþ into a soule but by grete praiynge & punysching of body. And after þat we haue 3iuen to God al þat we may, þouȝ it be but litel, He wol come into oure soulis, bringyng wiþ Him so heȝe ȝiftes, þat it semeþ þe soule to faile in himself & lese his mynde, and haȝ forȝeten what he did or seide anyþing before plesing to God. And also he semþ to his owne siȝt more vile and more worþi dispit þen euere he was.”

Hiderto lastiþ þe reuelacioun.

And Seynt Jerom writiþ of hir lif on þis wise & seíþ, “Þat blessid
Rule A (MS B5)
Virgyne ordeynede to hir þis rule: þat fro þe mornțiid til vnderne daies, sche ʒaʃ hir al to preiers; and fro vnderne til noon, sche ocupiede hir wiþ weuynge craft; and fro noon afterward, sche ocupiede hir wiþ þreiynge or redynge Goddis lawe, til þe aungil of þe Lord apperide to l hir, of whos hondis sche was wont to take hir mete.

“And so sche preued hirsilf alwei bett̄er. In þreiynge & worchinge in þe loue of God, & in alle vigilis & holy sabotis, sche was wiþ þe mooste; & in þe redynge of holi writt, moost studiynge; and in salmes of þe sauter book, moost bisily; and in mekenesse & charite, moost gracious; in ech clënesse & in alle oʃere vertues, moost parfiʃt. Sche was ful
Rule B (MS O2)
Virgyn ordeynyd to hir þis reule: þat fro þe mornyng to vndern, sche 3af hir to praiers; and fro vndern to none, sche ocupied hir in weving werk; and fro none afterward, sche went not fro praiers to þe angel apperid to hir, of whos hand sche was wont to take hir [mete].

“And so sche proved better & better. In praiynge & worching, & in þe loue of God, & in alle vigilies & holy wakings, sche schulde be founden þe firste; in þe wisdom of þe lawe of God, best lerid; in mekenes, most meke; in psalms of Dauið, moost likand; in charite, moost gracious; in clennes, moost clene; & in alle virtues, moost peref. Sche was stidfast &
Rule A (MS B5)

stidefast and not chaungable, whanne sche proftide euermore bettere and
bettere.

"Ffor neuere man wiste hir oonys wroþ, ne in wil to speke ony

Hire entent was euere redi in preier or in redinge Goddis lawe, and euere
bisy aboute hir felawis to kepe hem fro pride and mysberyne aþens oþere.
Sche tauȝte hem euere to blesse God. And for sche wolde neuere be lettid
Rule B (MS O2)
vnmouable when sche profitid into better & better.

“No man herd hir neuere wroþ. Euery word of hir was so ful of Oure Lord þat God was knowen in hir speche. Sche duellid euer in praier and lernyng of þe lawe of God, and sche was besy aboute hir felawis, þat noon schulde be proude ne mysberyng æzens oþere. Wiþouten ceessing sche blessid God, and, for sche schulde not be taken awey fro þe louyng of God in
Rule A (MS B5)

for to loue God wiþ al hir herte, sche eschewide euermore alle noisis of

men and worldly pleies & meledies, & delitide hir in alle þe werkis of God

þat sche myȝte se wiþ iȝe or þenken vpon goostly þinges.

[15’]  & sche was comfortid of þe aungil þat fedde hir eueri day, &c he was

ful buxum to hire.”
Rule B (MS O2)

hailing of hir, what man þat hailsid hir, sche 3af þanking to God for þat hailsing, and of hir come it first þat holy men, when þei ben hailsid, þei ziuon louynge to God.

“And of þe mete þat sche toke, of þe angels hand sche was fedde.

And euery day an angel was seen speke to hir & was buxom to hir as his derlyng.”

Hiderto of Jerom.

81 what man þat hailsid] what man þat salued CM; þat if anybody saluted B1; qwat man so hailsed B4 3af] 3af euer CM; omitted B1; gaf B4 þanking] thankynges CM; thankid B1; thankynges B4 to God] as to god CM; god B1 for þat hailsing] for þat saluyng CM; for þat hailsynge W; omitted B1; for þat haylsyng B4 82 of] herfore of B1 come it] took CM; come B1 B4 first þat] first ensample CM; first þis maner B1; fyrst þat B4 þei ben hailsid þei] þat eny salutacioun was maad to hem to CM; þei ben hailsyde þei W; þei bene haylsed þei B1; þei are haylsed þei B4 84 of þe mete þat sche toke] also when þay eete also 3eue þonkyng to god as she dide when she eet CM; of þo mete þat scho toke B4 sche was fedde] omitted CM; scho was feed B1; scho was fed B4 85 And] and þilk mete þat scho toke of þe bishops of þe tempel l3 scho 3afe it to pore men B1 euery day an] everyday certayn tymes an CM; euer day was an B1; ilk day B4 was] omitted B1 to hir] with hure CM; wit hir B1; til hir B4 & was buxom to hir as his derlyng] & was boxom to hure as hir derlyng CM; And as to his owne moder or sister was obescand to hir B1; & were buxom til hir als hir derlinges B4 87 Hiderto of Jerom] And hiderto of Jerom CM; hidir to of seynt Jerom B1; Hederto of Jerome B4
In the fourteenth year, this Blessed Virgin Mary was wedded to Joseph by revelation of God, & went again into Nazareth, & how that was done, that legend of her nativity makes mention.

And in the same year, in Bethlehem, she bore Christ, & lived for six from the nativity of Christ until he was slain by the false Jews in the thirty-third year next after. And so, at her assumption, that is, when she died & was taken up into heaven, she was of the age of sixty & one.

And also Saint Denyse that said her conversations in earth, & was at her dying with apostles, speaking of her beauty & thus said: "That many of the Jews, that were great gentle men, cast aside in her heart in what manner wise they privately ravished her, for her beauty. But each of them was deceived at her coming to her for that purpose; through the virtue of her holiness & perfect grace that was in her, her foul lusts & lecherous

[15'] into heaven, she was of the age of sixty & one.

And also Seynt Denyse that said her conversations in earth, & was at her dying with apostles, speaking of her beauty & thus said: "That many of the Jews, that were great gentle men, cast aside in her heart in what manner wise they privately ravished her, for her beauty. But each of them was deceived at her coming to her for that purpose; through her virtue of her holiness & perfect grace she was in her, her foul lusts & lecherous

[16'] those lusts were destroyed as venom. And, therefore, she is likened in holy...
Rule B (MS O2)

In þe fourteniþ 3eer, þat blessid Virgyn was weddid to Joseph by reuelacioun of God & went azen into NaFy_¶æ*íten i
n to NaFy_¶æ*ítareth. And in what maner it
was don men may fynde in þe legende of hir natiuitee.

Salue Regina. Deo gracias.
Rule A (MS B5)

writt to þe cedre þat growiþ euermore on mounteyns, and what maner of
neddre or oþir foul worm touchiþ þe grene cedre is deed anoon of þe
sauour þerof. Riþt so ech goostly venym was euermore distried bi vertu of
hire greete grace and of hir clenessse.

Now God, for Þi mychil mercy, þeue us part of þat greete cleness,
grace and swetnesse þat sche hadde, if it be Þi wille.

Amen. Explicit.
FIFTEEN STEADS AND FIFTEEN SORROWS DEVOTIONS

Edited from London, Lambeth Palace MS 546 (MS L)
It is to be notyde that the Virgyn Mary, Mother of God, after tyme that her blessyde son, Jhesu Criste, was ascendyde vppe into hevyn, than lyved sche heer in erth by xv yeris and sumwhat on the xvi. And than euery day in the same xv yeris and on the xvi sche went dayly her pilgrimagis to þe xv steedis wher her dere belouyde son had suffered Passion; in þe whych steedis herafter been wrytt. And in ech steede than remembred sche in her herte ful inwardely what her deer son had dured and suffered. Whan sche had so inwardely thowght in her harte what her son suffered in euery stede, than kyssed sche euery steed with most grettest meknes and reuence. And syth sche went abought from one place to another so longe tyl sche had goon alle the xv stac[ions] rounde abought. And it is to know the Virgyn Mary was contynually, after her sonnys ascencion, besyde Jerusalem vpon the Mownte of Syon; ther had sche her dwellynge and her selle, and ther Seynt Johan the Euangeliste songe oftyn tymes masse before her in tho same 3erys. Who þat [to] theyse xv steadys wolle dayly go in his harte with a perfight mynde & trew entendaunce, then yeueth he to the Virgyn Mary and to her blessyde son fulle gretely plesaunce, ffor that in hem be closyd alle the Passion of oure Lorde Jhesu. The furste steede was wher oure Lorde Jhesu
Fifteen Steads (MS L)

Fifteen Steads (MS L)

Eet his laste supper, and here he "for" cause of his charite and mekenes

Wasschyd his disciples feet and after wyped them. And ther he 3ave them

His blessyde body and his moste holy blode, in forme of bred and wyne, and

Betok that sacrament into theyre handis and "toke" to them the same holy and

Precyous wordis "with" whych Oure Lordys blessyd body is sacryde in the

Prestis handes. The secunde steed was that hylle that was | clepyd the

Mownt of Olyuet, wher he so inwardly prayde to his Ffather thre tymes,

Knelynge on his kneys, that he swett water and blode. The thurde steede

Was that gardayne that is clepyde Getezemany, wheras he was betrayed, and

Kyste of Judas, and takyn, and cruelly boundyn and prisoned of the cruylle

Jues. The iii stede was the howse of Cayphas wher he stode, after that

| Bede sayth, alle the nyght after he was take. And her he was lockyd and

Bounden in fetters, and in hym was "nefer" lisse ne reste, and he was cruely

And in manyfolde skuornyd. The fyfte steede was hat pretori or councl

Howse into the whych he was led erly be the morow at prime tyme tofore

Pylate, wher he stode, his mowth kepyng scilence, with pale visage, his

Eyen fulle of terys, holdyng | his holy heed doune to þe erthe. The vi stede

Was the house of Herrode, wher he was clothyde in folys clothynge and in

Skuorneyng sent ayene to Pylate. The vi stede was at the pillour, wher he was

Stryped oute of his clothis; and her stode he nakyd, quakynge and bounde

And betyn to a piloure. The viii stede was hat streyt that is clepyd

Lychostratos, wher he was sett on a chayer, and clothyd in purpure

23 whyche] whyche with
Fifteen Steads (MS L)

[4v] clothis, and crowned with thorn, puttyng a rede into his hande; to his more
scorne [he] was gretyd of the Jues with knelynges, sayinge, "Hayle, Kyng of
Jues!" The ix stede was that strette in whych he bare þe crosse on his blody
schulders, what tyme he went oute of Jerusalem towarde his deth. O, how
fayne wolde the Virgyn Mari than haue borne the crosse with hym, whyche
3ede after in his blody steppes and myght hym nott touche! | The x\'th\' stede
was euyn withboute the 3ate of Jerusalem, wher oure Lorde Jhesu was
brought; what for prese of peple and for cause of his awne feblenes, [he] felle
doune grovelyng on his face vnderneth the crosse so pytuously, þat on hym
bled both visage, nose, and mowth, and þe teth losyde in his heed. The xi\'th/
stede was ther wher he was crucified and nayled thorow handis and feet.

[5v] Ther 3el[d]yde he vppe his holy sprite. And after | he was dede, he was
persyde with a spere thorow his side, oute of whych ranne water and blode;
water for to wassch vs from oure synnys, and blode for price and rawnsome
from the presonyng of the devyle. The xii stede was a lytille from the
crosse, theras the body of oure Lorde Jhesu was taken doune of the crosse
and was leyde deed, pytuously and blody, in the lappe of his dere mother,
Mary. The xiii stede was the holy graue of God, in whyche he restyd, after
þat he had hymselfe | so gretly labored and nobely foughnte for oure
rempcjon. The xiii stede was þeras Oure Lorde appered and schewde
hym furste to his dere mother, Virgyn Mary, on Ester day in þe mornynge,
in his glorious body, more schynyng than the son, whan he was new
41 with thorn] with a thorn L  42 scorne [he]] scorne L  48 [he] felle] felle L  52
3el[d]yde] 3elyde L.
Fifteen Steads (MS L)

vpperysyn from deth. The xv sted was the hylle that was clepyde the Mownt
of Olyvete, wher he stode whan he bad his dere mother and alle his apos|telys
bodely farewell. And, as Ambrose sayth, he dyd iii thynges on the same
hille before he de|partyde from them: the furste was that he kyssed them
fulle charytabely and lovyngly with his holy mouth; the secunde was that he
grette them and bad them farewelle; the thurde was that he toke vppe his
holy hande and 3ave hem his blessyng. Than anon for|with was he taken
vppe into hevyn in a whyte and a clere clowde. Than, also | sone as þe
apostylles se that he was so ascendyde vppe into hevyn, than felle they
downe on ther facis to the erth and leyde themselfe to prayers.

Now syttyth he on his Fathers ry|fte honde, gouernyng and
susteynyng alle thynges withou|te ende.

Amen.
The xv sorowes of Oure Lady

O, glorious Mother of God, whos excellencye no mow\th\ of man may perfy\tly expresse, accordynge to the greate dignyte thow hast by the eleccion of Oure Lorde above alle creatures, whych mayste more do for thy servantes than alle the sayntes vnder God! I, a wrecyde synner, beseche the ffor the compassion that thou haddest when thou sawest the yonge blode of thy bessydyd babe in his circumsis\ion ryn\inya from his tender flesche the viij day of his natiiyte, his clothes respersyde and bysprent with hys reed blode that he toke of thy bessyde body, pray for me, goode Lady, that I may haue tru compassion of hys Passion and thy sorow, and parfi\tte contracyon for alle the synnes that I have done syth I furste dyde synne, and parfi\tte wylle neuer to offende my Lorde and my maker. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

O, preelecte Virgin, by the eternal ordynaunce of the glorious Trinite, the moste swete flowre and whyt lyly of clennes and chastyte! I beseche the for the sorow that thou haddest whanne Symeon dyd say thus to \pe, when \pou dydest offerre thy chyld in the temple of thy puryfication after his natuyte, “the scharpe swerde of his Passion schalle perse thy harte with greate penalite”, procure \ grace, goode Lady, to me, that my hart may be perfy\tte \ with remembraunce of his Passion and of the sorowes of the, and make me partener of yowre consolacion in euerlastynge felycyte. Amen.
Fifteen Sorrows (MS L)

Pater Noster. Ave Maria.

O, gracious Queene of Hevyn, to whome all the gloryfied sayntes and holy angelles be ioyfulle to serve! O, Lady of the Worlde, ffor whos helpe Cristen people crye! O, Empresse of Helle, æzenste whos commaundementes alle the devylles dare nott presume, but, redy to thy preceptes, they cese of þer malice! I beseech the, Mother of Marcy, by the meryte of thy sorow that þou haddeste whan þou dydste fle to save the lyve of thy dere belouyde chylde from the cruelle persecucion of Herode thorow deserte into Egypte, with greate fere of malycious envye, helpe my pore soule, pyttyfulle Lady, whych is dayly pursued with greate multitude of fendes. Lett | them neuer, goode Lady, take me presoner into her place of darknes, but translate me from theire daunger into the bryght Jerusalem, ther to haue cleer vision of the blessyde Trinite and perfiȝte poscessione of eternalle peace with endlesse glori. Amen. Pater Noster. Ave Maria.

O, wysest Lady of doctrine in holynes! O, most comfortable mother in payne and sorynesse! O, lamp of lyght to vs laborynge in darknes! I beseech the, good Lady, for that sorowe | thou haddeste whan þou haddeste loste thy chylde iii dayes in the tyme of thy pylgryme, and with bytter terys and greate sorowe wentyste aboute to seke hym whyche was alle thy solace, lett neuer my soule, goode Lady, be loste in defauȝt of thy helpe, but when þou seeyst me in synne, I beseeche the, ceese not to seke me and make me to leve it, what þou knowest most to my weel, that I may take leve of þis | lyffe 29 envyte envyte L 41 þou seeyst] þou seeyst seeyst L
Fifteen Sorrows (MS L)
in the true seruyce of my Lorde Jhesu and of the. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue
Maria.

45 O, most mercyfulle Lady, whyche now arte resydent nyghe to the
trone of the Trinite and mayste deluyer thy seruantes from alle daungers of
eternalle deth! I beseche the for that sorow that thou haddest whan Johan þe
Euangeliste brouȝte to the furste tydnynges that thy most dere belouyde

chylde was take and brouȝt afore Pylate to be jugyd to deth; and how the
Jewes camme armyd to take thy chylde, lyke as he had benn a theffe; also,
how mekely thou stodyste whan he was wrongfully accused and answeryde
no worde whan they, in dyspyte, dyd spytte vppon his face, so lovely and
swete to loke vppon, helpe vs, dere Lady, in oure greate daunger, against
whom the devyllle wull be redy at the houre of oure deth to accuse us with

50 innummerable synnys that we haue | done the tyme of oure lyffe, & preserue
us euere, goode Lady, from desperacioun, obduracioun and endlesse

O, most louely Lady! Most faier of alle women that euere were!
Through-schynynge in the glory of the Trinite, be the merytes of thy chast
meknes, alle angellys in hevyn ioy to beholde the! I beseche the for that

sorrow that thou haddest when thy chylde with rude ropes was | streytly tyed
without pytte to the marbyle pylloure vppon the colde \Good\ Fryday,
trymmelyng in his awne flessch and alle tolasschyd with skorges from the
hed to the fote, his body alle totorne with scharpe strokes and rede in his

54 oure deth] oure of deth
Fifteen Sorrows (MS L)

awne blode, whyche ranne downe abouȝte hym and respersyd the walles—

whyche body, goode Lady, þou so moderly dyddest swadylle and kepe fulle

warne, halsyng hym with tender loue fulle | nyghe vnto thyne awne flessche,

conceyved in virginitie, borne without penalite—and nowe thou mayst se the

cruelle Jewes bete hym withoute any pytte. Ffor this sorow, I beseche the,

preserve my soule and body in clennes and chastite. Wassch me, good Lady,

by thy prayers, from fylthy synnes whyche offende the. Lose me from eylle

custome and put me to lyberte that my demeryȝtes neuer departe | me from

the and the cytte of heuyn, wher I Trust to se the. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue

Maria.

O most honorable Lady and heuynly prosperite, hauynge most

plenty, whyche haste borne of thy body the Lorde of Vertu and the Kynge of

Glorye! Ymage \ and ' Mother to thy maker whyche dyd create the! I beseche

the for that sorow that thou haddest when the hede of thy chylde was crowned

with thorne that percyd his brayne | and blyn[d]yd hym with his blode, helpe

that I haue forgysnes for the myspendynge of my v wyttes, whyche I haue

myspendyd, and make me to dispysye the vayne proffettis of this lyffe fulle of

synne and mysery and to loue, good Lady, thy v ioyes, whych neuer schalle


O, mother of Grace, þe welle of consolacion! I beseche the for that

sorow that thou haddest whan þou saweste | thy chylde come thorow the

cytte, berynge on his backe the crosse of his deth, and whan þou sawest the
bocher brought hym forth boystersly, that on the stonys he fylle and brake
his schynne bonys, thou sawest the blody trace of his feet, schorne with the
scharpe gravelle, and whan his crosse pressyd hym downe to the grounde,
þou woldyst haue takyn it from hym and borne it thyselfe. A, good Lady!
To the this burden schulde haue benn fulle heuy, remembrynge þou
schuldeste haue borne the crosse vpon the whych thy chylde schulde dye.
By the merites of thy payne and of thy compassion, I beseche the to helpe me
that I may paciently beer the crosse of tribulacioun, and for those bytter terys
þou dyddest wepe in thy greate vexacioun, sende me teris of compunccioun,
compassion and deuocioun, wherby my synfulle soule may be wasschyde from

| O, Mother of Meknesse, whyche in thy consideracion ware more
lowe, abiecte and of leste reputacion, thyngkyne thyselfe most vnwordy to
conceyue thy maker, whyche of thy meknes dyddest desyer to be the lest
servaunt to his mother—to swepe, bere assches and to do vyle occupaciouns
so thou myght do any thynge to her acceptacion! Almyghty God of His
meknes dyde bost of the in the begynnynge, saying to the ffende in maner
of thretenyng, | “A woman schalle breke thy hed and contrary the in alle
thyng.” I beseche the for that sorowe that þou haddest whan thou sawest thy
chylde spoyled ouȝte of his clothys and pulled with them the skynne and
flessche, whyche cleuyd to his back with the drye blode after his betynge,
whyche was rent with the skorges. I beseche the for his payne and of thy
Fifteen Sorrows (MS L)
compassion to haue forgynes of pryde and elacioun that I haue had in soule
and in body | syth the tyme that I was born and make me meke and low of
harte, goode Lady, to fulfylle þe law and wylle of my Lorde God

O, most mylde Mayde in perfiȝte paciens, whyche neuer in thy
trobylles dyde speke angry worde! I beseche the for that sorow that þou
haddest when thou sawest the partes of thy chylde extenyde vppon the
crosse; his armys and lymmys drawne to those markes, whych in the | crosse
were made, by such violens that his bonys were brought ouȝte of the
ioyntes, the synnewes and the vaynes brokyn, that the bonys of his tendyr
body myght be nombred. And thou, goode Lady, stodyste lokynge vppon
his moste meke face þe tyme he was in naylynge. By the vertu of his payne
and thy compassion, helpe that I had forgyvenes, by the meane of thy
prayinge, of the synne and ire and vengeable harte & | angrye spekyng, and
make me pacient in alle tribulaciouns, that, in hevyn, I may haue with the

O, constant Virgyn, most fast in thy fayth, perseuerant and stabylle
in alle vertuse occupacions! I beseche the for that sorowe thou haddest when
þou sawest thy chylde lyfte yppe with the crosse to suffer deth and the
turmentoures so schakyde hit in the sokett wher|by alle his body quallyde
and the woundys in his handys and feet rent with the naylles. I beseche the
be the merite of his payne and thy sorow, that I may haue forgynes for that
I haue myspendyde my tyme in ydylnesse and leuyde many good werkes
Fifteen Sorrows (MS L)

whych myghte haue beene done to the wele of my soule. Graunt me, goode Lady, in vertuouse lyuynge, and stable to stonde ayenst temptacioun of mortalle synne, and to haue | fynally, with the, palme of ioy and eternalle felicitie. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria

O, benynge Virgynne! The perfí³te rolle of temperaunce, whych for bodely delye of delyciousnes dyd neuer excesse! I beseche the for the sorow thow haddest whan þou dydest se the bytter aysylle and galle putt in to thyne chylde, whyche many a tyme and oftene thow hadest fede with swete may|dyns mylke. I beseche the, good Lady, that I may haue forgyñes for the offence of gloteny, where many tymes I haue takyn more than was nescessary. Mak temperaunce in me, represse sensuall pleasure and make me perfí³te in alle perfeccion to my lyvys ende. Amen. Pater Noster.

O, louely Lady, the grete ly³te of charyte, of whom dyde ryse in this lyfe | the clere Son of RÝ³twysnes! I beseche the for that sorow thow hadest when thy chylde, after longe turment of the crosse, so petyfully dyd crye with voyce lamentable to þe Fader of Hevyn, and mekly dyd forgyuynge hym to deth. I besech the, good Lady, [that] I may haue mercy and remyssion of my envyous harte, and to loue alle crysten people accordynge to his wylle and | alle synnes to hate as venymous serpentes the tyme of my lyffe. Amen. Pater Noster.

O, most holy Mayde, sanctified in thy moders wombe! The spryngynge welle of grace! The elect Spowse of God! I beseche the for the
Fifteen Sorrows (MS L)

sorrow that you hadest when you sawest the syde of thy dere chylde schorne with a scharpe spere, his harte clevyde in two, whych luffye the so welle; the strem of the reed blode rennynge downe | by the spere. Helpe, good Lady, tha[t] I haue forgyfnes for immoderate couetyse, and mak me above alle thyng to loue my Lorde God and vertuouse lyvyng and nex[t] Hym to loue the and hat glorious place of felcyte. Amen. Pater Noster.

O, Lady of Pytte, most redy to here our prayers whan we be in perelle! I beseche the for that sorrow that thou hadest when thou dydest see thy swete chylde ly dede vpon | thy knee and lokyd vpon hym whyche was alle thy loue with moderfulle pytte, as alle kynde moders can testyfie; thy sorrowfulle chere when thou sawest thy chylde ly alle bathyde in his awne blode. I beseche the, good Lady, for the merites of thy compassion, kepe me from synne and endelesse dampnacioun. Make me dayly encres in merytes by thy medyacioun, and her in this lyffe to haue my purgatory, and at the houre of my deth, good Lady, be with me and make me, after this lyffe, to reigne with thy chylde and the in that excellent glory of the blessyde Trynyte. Amen. Pater Noster. Aue Maria.

Ffinis dolorum Beatissime Virginis Marie. Master Johan Warde.
A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH ON THE COMPASSION OF THE VIRGIN

Edited from Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33 (MS C2), with variants from Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125 (MS CM)
Of iii requestes of Oure Lady made to hyr sone, Jhesu

A deuoute doctour of the Chirch, in a holy contemplacioun, made for the encres of grace & devocioun to Qwene Isabel of Frawns, in remembrance of Oure Lordys dylfulle deth, of the lamentable compassion of Oure Ladye, his blessid moder, [thys tretys].

Syth þat Oure Lord, after the raysynge of Laʒare, was sore envied of the pryncys of þe Jwes for the doynge of that merelous myracle, from the Frydaye next before Passion Sonday, which was the day of the sayd Laʒarus raysynge, euery day vnto Good Fryday, the sayd princes maliciously comprised in theire cownsel-howes dayly to dampne Oure Lord to deth. And for as moche as Oure Lorde knewe well þat the naturall lufe & kyndenes of his true & tendyr moder | must nedys of moderly pyte make grete sorowe & lamentacioun in the tyme of his deth, and specially yf it were kepte close and not dyscouered to hir afore, þe soden aduenture of þat cruelle deth wold cause
her modirly hert the more vniuersally to morne, therfor Oure Lorde, longe afore the tyme of his deth, tolde hys benigne moder the day, the houre & alle be lamentable manere of his peynfull Passion for the redemption of mankynde, ffor the entent þat hit shulde the lesse greve hir tendyr hert when the tyme schulde comme of his cruelle deth.

Wherfor,oure blessid Lady, seenge in the myrroure of hir contynuale remembrance howe the tyme of his Passion fast drewe nye, seyd to hir dere sonne thes wordes þat folowe: “Sonne, ye knowe welle þat I am youre moder in a more specialle manere þan euere was eny moder to hir childe, for as muche as alle other children haue theire begynnynge as welle of the fadir as of the moder, and sonne, ye haue youre begynnynge bodely of me, your moder, alle oonly, witboute eny bodely fadyr. Wherfor, I praye yowe, myn owne sonne, beholde & see the bely that bare yowe; see here the brestys that gave yowe mylke; see here the aremys þat bare yowe into Egipte; and see ye, in thys wyse, I am youre moder. I requyre yowe, denye Ye
not me, but, at the leste wyse, þat ye grawnt me oon of iiii requestes þat I shalle resonably desyre of yowe.

“The fyrst request ys, ffor as muche as ye haue told me the cause why ye toke flessch & blode of me was to deleyure & to by mankynde outhe of the paynfulle domage of dæmpnacioun, whyche I wylle nueere lette, savynge þat I praye yowe to puryve another meen þan your bodely deth to by mankynde, considerynge þat ye may doo it, sythe ye be allemyȝty.” Oure Lorde answeryd & seyde, “Fforsoth, moder, I may not conveniencytly doo it, & why I shalle telle yowe afterward.”

Then seyd oure | blessid Lady, “Sonne, I praye yowe, grawnte me þe iiide request: if ye wylle nedys suffyr deth for mannys redempcioun, I praye yowe, lette your deth be such a deth þat it be in no wyse a paynfulle deth.”

“Fforsoth, moder”, seyd oure blessid Lorde, “I may not conveniencytly graunte yowe this request, and why I shalle telle yowe afterward.”

Then seyd oure blessid Lady, “I beseche yowe, dere sonne, graunte me the iiide request: if ye wylle nedys suffyr deth for mankynde, & not oonly deth, but a peynfulle deth, I praye yowe, lette me dye before ye suffyr...
Doctor of the Church (MS C2)

your deth.” “Truly, dere moder”, seyd oure blessid Lorde, “þat I may not graunte yowe in no wyse, and why I shalle telle yowe afterward.”

Then seyde oure blessid Lady, “O, my dere, swete sone, I requyre yowe þat ye denye not me the iiiith request: if ye wyll e nedys dye on a paynfulle deth & not suffyr me to dye afor yowr deth, then I pray yowe, in the moste tendyr wyse, þat I may be at the hour of your deth insensible—þat is to | sey as a stocke or a stone—not felynge peyn noþer ioye.”

“Fforsoth, moder”, seyd Our Lorde, “I parye yowe, be ye not displeyd, ffor I may not goodly graunte yowe noon of these requestys. Ffyrst, þat where ye desyre me to by mankynde by anoþere meen than by my deth, I may not graunte it to yowe for this cause. Anone as Adam had synned in paradyse, hit was ordeynde by my Fadir, þe Holy Goste, and me, þat alle that came of Adam shulde dye bodely & there sowles shulde goo to the paynes of helle, vnto the tyme þat oon were borne withoute eny manere

of synne in dede, wylle, worde, or thouȝte, whos deth shuld be a rawnsom for alle mankynde. Suche oon was neuere borne but I alone, ner neuere shalle be after me. Wherfor, dere moder, I am he þat must nedys dye for alle mankynde; ffor thowȝe eny oþer synfulle man shulde dye, his deth myȝt not avayle to the redempcioun of mankynde, for bycause of his owne synne.  

Wherfore, modere, I may | not graunt youe your first request, for I muste nedys dye.  

“And as to your iide request, where ye desyre þat my deth shuld not be paynfull, truly, moder, I may not conueniently graunt it yowe, for this cause: my deth muste nedys be a sufficient satisfaccioun and a nobyll amendys for alle manere of synne, lesse than it [not] haue the contrarye condiciouns to synne. Þat is to sey, þat lyke as synne ys plesaunte & delectable for the tyme to þe synner, ryȝt so the amendys for synne must be nedys with penaunce & peyne. And, therfor, my deth shalle be the moste peynfull deth that euere was or euere shalle be, ffor I shalle suffyr as many woundes as ther be bonys or ioyntes in a mannys body, in tokyn for euery delectacioun þat euere was in eny part of eny mannys bodye or his sowle, ffor I shalle make a sufficient amendes by the wondyrfulle woundes of my
paynfulle Passion. And, þerfore, swete moder, I pray yowe, be ye not displeyed, for | I may not graunte yowe your iiide request.

“As to your iiiide request, where ye desyre to dye afore my deth; truly, moder, I may not graunt it yowe. Ffor yf ye shulde dye before my deth, youre sowle muste nedys goo to the peynfulle pryson of helle, there to abyde vntyl the tyme of my Passion, and that I may not suffyr in noo wyse. Wherfor, ye muste lyue tyl þat I be dedde for þe redempcion of yowe & alle mankynde.

“As to your iiiith request & laste, where ye desyre to be insensible as a stone or a stocke at the tyme of my deth, not felynge payn nor ioye; fforsoth, swete moder, it may not be grauntyd yowe. I pray yowe to remembyr þat at the tyme of my natuuite, ye had noo manere of peyne, as alle other wemen haue in berynge of theire chyldren. Also, I haue so ordeynd for yowe that at your owne deth ye shall haue noo payne. Wherfor, the peyne that ye shuld haue | suffred at my natuuite and at your owne deth, I pray yowe to suffyr paciently at the tyme of my dyenge. And, good, benigne

modere, be ye not displeysyd, thowye your modirly requestes be not grawntyd for thes resonable causys that I haue before rehersyd.

"Neurethelesse, modere, your tendyr & true hert shall be comfortyd ayen with the grete & excellent ioye of my resurreccioun. For your feyth, I promytte yowe þat I shall aryse fro deth to lyfe on the iiide day after. And then, euery desyre & requeste þat ye wyll pray me for, whethir it be for youresel or eny other of youre true seruantes, I shalle truly performe it at youre plesure."

Deo gracias.
A VISION OF ST JOHN ON THE SORROWS OF THE VIRGIN

Version A edited from Cambridge, University Library MS 6686 (MS C1), with variants from: London, British Library MS Additional 37787 (MS B2); Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.11 (MS C3); Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208 (MS CJ); Glasgow, University Library Hunterian MS 472 (MS G) and San Marino CA, Huntington Library MS 127 (SM)

Version B edited from Cambridge, University Library MS ii.6.43 (MS C4), with variants from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 175 (MS O3)

Version C edited from New Haven CT, Beinecke Library MS 317 (MS NH)
I fynde and rede be holy mennes wryteynge þat, after Oure Ladys Assumpcioun, Saynt John þe Euangeliste gretely desired to se þat blys[s]fulle Lady, and after his desire, in spirite he was rauyshed and [saw] þat ioyeful sight. And beynge in þatt visione he sawe whor þat show spake to hir dere soun in maner of a complaynt, shewynge be hyr wordes fyue principale sorowes whilk sorest trobled hir hert whils sho was on erthe.
In þe book of Seynt John þe holy Apostle is wrete þat, after þe tyme þat our Lorde God, Jhesu Crist, had payed hys hert blood in raunson of alle mankynde, and had liftid vp hys blyssyd modyr, Oure Lady, Seynt Marye, and maad hyr worþy Queen of Heuen, thys holy Apostle, Seynt Jon, desyred for to see þis gloryous Ladye. Soo vpon a daye, as he was in hys prayers, hys spyrtyt was rauysched abouen alle heuenes, and þer he saw þis gloryous Ladye syttyng in hyre trone fast by hyre gracious sone, and to hym seyde þees wordys.

1 [I]n þe book of Seynt John þe holy Apostle is wrete ... Y was fulle sorye and hugely dystrobyld] Þis oryson of sorow & of compassyon of our lady saint mary gederd togyter saint anselme hir prest what man says it deuolutely dwelland in sothfast penance haueand rewth of þe blysseyd mayden witt yhe wele in sertaine þat he es in grace of hir son and hyrs I haue fonden wryten sais saint anselme þat saynt John þe euaungelist efter our lady was taken vp to heuen desyrand to se hyr he was rauyst on a tyme in a visyoune He saw & herd how our lauded saint mary tald tyll hir son þat in þis world in fyue thinges namely was scho mykell anoyed. O3
Vision of St John A (MS C1)

The fyrste sorow was in þe temple after þe oblacione of hir soun, when Symeon of hir prophesyed and sayd, “Þe swerde of sorow sall passe thorow þi herte.” Þe secunde sorow was when sho had loste hym thre dayes, bot, after þe thryde day, sho fonde hym in Jerusalem sittynge in þe temple, opposeynge and answerynge þore amang þe doctoures. Þe thyrde sorow was when shew knew in spirite þat he was taken of þe wikked Jewes, knawynge wele þe propheye þat bitter dede he walde suffre to by al mankynde. Þe fourte was ful sorowfull, when sho sawe his blody body nayled to þe crosse and herde hym with a lowde voyce betake his spirite.
Vision of St John B (MS C4)

“[D]ere blyssyd sone, I do þe to vndyrstonde þat in v tymes, me lyuyng in þe worlde, Y was fulle sorye and hugely dystroblyd. The fyrst tyme was whan Symeon seyde to me, ‘Thy sowle’, he sayde, ‘schalle be persyd þorow with þe swerde of sorow’; the secunde whan Y had loost þe, my dere sone, iii dayes, and þou were in þe temple þat tyme techyng, and Y souȝte þe in Hierusalem; the iii whan Y knewe in my spyryt þat þou were taken of þe Jewes, knowyng welle þat þou woldyst suffre deep for mankynde; the iii whan Y sawe þe, byfore my face, hanged vpon þe crosse; the v whan þou were take downe of þe crosse and leyed in my lappe, with þi

10 The fyrst tyme was whan Symeon seyde to me] ffyrst when saint symeon said of me O3
11 ‘Thy sowle ... swerde of sorow] throug þine awen saule sall þe swerd of sorow pas O3
12 secunde] secund tyme O3 13 my dere sone} omitted O3 iii dayes] and thre dayes soght þe with grethand her þe O3 and þou were in þe temple ... in Hierusalem} omitted O3
knowyng welle ... for mankynde] & suld thole ded O3 16 iii] ferth tyme O3
byfore my face} omitted O3 hanged upon þe crosse] hyng opon þe cross with fresch woundes made red with þine awen blode O3
Vision of St John A (MS C1)

[269, col 2] into his fader handes. Þe fyft sorow | was fulle grete, when sho hadde

hym in hir lappe after þe bitter dede, beholdeynge fulle pytweswesly his blyssed
body, vysage, and his fressche woundes.

And aftyr swylk wordes of þis glorouse Lady, Jhesu Criste, hyre dere soune, anwerde & seyde: “My dereworth moder, þou salle wele knawe
þat whatt man or woman devowtely has compassioune of þies grete sorows
and hertly pray for þe firste sorow, I wil hym assoyle of alle maner synne &
amange my childer receyve hym to blysse. He þat prayes for þe secunde

16  his Fader handes]  hys fadur hondys  B2;  the hondis of his fadyr  CJ;  his ffadris hondes SM;  his fadrys handys  G  17  þe bitter dede]  þat bytter dethe  B2;  his dethe  CJ;  þat bitter deþ  SM;  his bytter dethe  G  fulle]  ful  B2 SM;  ffully  CJ  pytweswesly]  precyously
B2;  petuusly  CJ;  pitousli preciouslich  SM;  petuosly  G  blyssed]  blesid  B2;  blessid
CJ;  blissid  SM;  blesfulle  G  body, vysage]  blody vysage  B2;  body his vesage  CJ;
bodi visage  SM;  body vesage  G  and]  & alle  B2 G;  and alle  CJ;  and al  SM  19 And
aftyr swylk wordes ... hyre dere soune]  After that the glorius lady hade made her
complaynete to her dere sune on this maner of the most inwarde sorowys the wyche sche had
on erthe then Jhesu her owne dere sune  CJ  21  þat]  in þat SM  has]  schalle haue  B2;
haue  SM;  hathe  CJ G;  hath  C3  compassion]  compassyon  B2;  pete an compacion
CJ;  compassion  SM C3  G  22 pray]  þat prayeth  B2;  prayith yow  CJ;  þe praieþ  SM;
prayeth  C3;  the prayeth  G  þe]  the CJ;  þi  SM;  thy  C3;  this  G  hym assoyle]  hym
assoyle  B2 C3;  assoyle hym  CJ;  assoile him  SM  maner synne]  maner of synne  B2;  her
synnys  CJ;  maner sinne  SM;  maner synnes  C3;  maner synne &  G  23 to]  into  B2 C3  blysse]  my blys  CJ;  blisse  SM;  blys  G  He  þat]  and whoos o CJ;  illegible  G  for]  to
yow for  CJ;  þe for  SM;  the ffir  C3
Vision of St John B (MS C4)

woundys alle fresche bledyng. Had Jon not kept me, my hert had brost for pyte & sorowe.”

[O]wre Lorde, Jhesu Crist, answered to hys modyr and seyde: “[O] dere, ‘swete’ modyr! For þe holge peynes þat þou suffryddyst for me, what bodye in þe worlde þat prayeþ to þe be þe fyrst pytous sorow þat þou haddyst, Y schall asoyle hym of alle hys synnes & deliuer hym of alle yuelys. And hoosoo prayeþ to þe for þe ii, Y wolle ȝeue to hym for hys synne to
Vision of St John A (MS C1)

sorrow shall have before his death, verily contrition with parfit love and charite. He that prayeth for the third sorrow, having mynde on me when I was taken, shall be delivered from all manner disease bodily & ghostly, whether he pray for himselfe or elles for his frendes. He that also prayes for the fourthe

24 with parfyte luf and charite] with parfite loue & charite B2 of alle her synnes and parfite loue CJ; wiþ parfit loue and charite SM; with parfyt loue and charyte C3; with parfit love & cheryte G 25 He þat] and wo so CJ þe for] for þe B2 SM; to yow for CJ; to þe for C3; for þe G hauynge] her to hauynge B2; to þe hauing SM; hauynge C3; hauynge G on] apon CJ 26 salle be delyuered ... bodely & gostly] schal be delyueryd fro alle maner desese bodely & gostely B2; yff thay were or any of there frendys be in prison other in sekenes or in any deseays othir bodyly or gostly desseys CJ; schal be deliuereed from al maner diseses bodilich and goostlich SM; schal be delyuereid fro al maner dysese bodyly and gostly C3; shalle be delyuered fram alle maner dese bodely and gostly G whether he pray ... his frendes] wether he pray for hymselfe oþer else hys frendys B2; and thay pray for hit to yow by `cave of yow my dere modyr they schalle by delyueryd and y schalle socoure hem in alle tymeis and saue them fro soden dethe CJ; wheþir he preie for himself or ellis for his frendis SM; whether he preye for hymself or for hys frendes C3; wheder he preye for hym self or for his frendys G 27 He þat also] he þat B2; and who that CJ; He also þat SM C3; Also he þat G for] to yow for CJ; to þe for SM C3; to the for G þe þi C3
Vision of St John B (MS C4)

haue very hertly contrycion before hys deeth, and soo parfyte charyte & loue & meryte in blysse as hou3 he had seruyd me in perfeccyon of holy luyng xl 3eer. As for he iii, hoosoo praye to he, I shalle delyuer hym of alle anguysch, bohe bodyly & goostly, and 3ef eny of hys frendes be taken to
Vision of St John A (MS C1)
sorow, he salle haue in hym þe fyre of hote brynnyngge lufe, so þat my
Passioun salle euer be in hys mynde. And he þat has compassioune of þe
fyfte sorow, praynge þe deuotely for þat pytevous syght, salle haue of me
fulle grace and mercy, and fulle power I gyf þe of his body and saule.
Vision of St John B (MS C4)

preson or to oþer desese of enmyes, bycause of þe I schalle delyuer hym of
þat takyng 3ef he praye to þe deuoutly at þe instaunce of þe takyng of mysylf.

Whoosoo praye | to þe by þe iii, I schalle kyndylle in hys sowle þe hoot fyre
of loue, soo þat he schalle euer contynue in mynde of my Passyon. Also,
forsoþe, whooso praye to þe in mynde of þe v, he schalle haue my grace, &
Y schalle 3eue þe fulle power of hys bodye & of hys sowle for to do with hym
what mercy þat þou wylt.”

31 Whoosoo praye to þe by þe iii]  ffor þe ferth O3  kyndalle in hys sowle ... mynde of my
passyon]  mak him bryn in gudenes & luf so þat he neuer forgett me and if he be so feble þat
he haue noght my Passyon in hert noght for þi I sall gylf him grace of swilk mete als he
fullfyld it all his days  O3  32 Also, forsoþe]  omitted  O3  33 to þe in mynde of þe v]  þe
þe bi þe fift partutlacyon O3  he schalle haue]  I sall gylf  O3  My grace ... þat þou wylt]

end of text in O3 lost to damage
Vision of St John A (MS C1)

Of þies wordes before-sayd Saynt Anselme berys witnesse, for to
þies fyve sorows he made fyve orysons. Bot þof we haue nott in
speciale þo same fyue prayeres, we may praye for þe tyme whatt God wille
gyf vs grace, haueynge compassioun of Oure Lady paynes, and wyryshyp hyr
soun att ilk one of þies fyue sorowes with a Pater noster, and þerwith alle
grete His modir fyue sythes at euer ilk tyme with ane Aue Maria.

[270, col 1] After þis, | to þat lady it may be full plesyng, to [us] also full
Vision of St John B (MS C4)
Vision of St John A (MS C1)
helpyng, if we deuowtelye, with glade sperytte, cast vp þe eishe of oure herte
to þat Qwen of Heuyn and worschipp hire as we mow with hir fyue gaudes,
and þan sey an antem wiþ a deuowte oryson, lyke as we þinke most helpyng
to owr sowles.
Vision of St John B (MS C4)
Thise been þe sorowes of oure blissed Lady & þe rewardes for worshippynge of hem, as heere foloweth.

Seynt John þe Euangelyste, after þe Assumpcyoun of Oure Lady, bysily prayde & feruently desyred to knawe the glorye & þe ioye þat oure bllyssed Lady was yn, whoes prayers & desyre, be þe meanes of þat bllyssed Lady, oure bllyssed Lorde, Cryste Jhesu, graciously herde & yn a vysioun lete hym see þe ioyes & þe glorye þat þe Blyssed Virgyn was yn. In which vysioun, also, he herde how owre Savyoure, Cryste Jhesu askyd of his bllyssed modyre what were þe grete sorowes þat she hadde while she was woman lyvynge yn the worlde. And she answeryd to hyre sone & seyde: “The firste grett sorowe þat I hadde ‘was’ whan I offred the vp ynto þe temple, where Symeon profecyed & seyde to me þat þe swerde of sorowe of thy Passyoun shulde perce & passe be myne herte.” To whome Oure Lorde seyde, “Modire, whosoeuer yn memorye of þat sorowe devoutly say euery day i Pater Noster, I shal yeve hym fulle remyssyouyn of alle his synnes yn the owre of his deth.”

“The secunde sorowe was whan I had loste the þe space of iii dayes &, at þe laste, founde þe yn the temple.” To whome oure Savyoure,
Vision of St John C (MS NH)

Crist Jhesu, seyde, “Modire, whosoeuer yn memorye of þis sorowe
dayli say devoutlye i Pater Noster, I shal graunte hym iii thynges tofore his
deth; þat is to say plener & hoole confessyoun, plener satisfaccyoun, &
plener rewarde yn my kyngdome.”

“The þurde sorowe was whan I conceyved & knewe þat þou
were take of þe crewelle Jewes.” To whome Oure Lorde seyde,
“Modire, whosoeuer daily say devoutly i Pater Noster yn memorye of
þis sorowe, yeff he be yn captyvyte, thraldome, or prysoun, I shal
sone delyvere hym of hit.”

“The iiiithe sorowe was whan I seygh the, my beste belovyd
sone, bounce & nayled to þe crosse.” To whome he seyde, “Modyr,
whosoeuer dayli say devoutly i Pater Noster yn memorye of þis sorowe,
I shal take his soule at [þe] owre of his deth ynto myn handes &
lede hit ynto my blysse.”

“The viithe sorowe was whan I receyved thi dede body, betyne
& wounded, frome the crosse ynto myn armes.” To whome Cryste,
hyre sone, seyde, “Modire, whosoeuer dayly say devoutly i Pater Noster
yn memorye of þis sorowe, I shal kepe hym & strenghte hym yn
spirituallle sorowe & temptacyoun, & pardoun hym of alle his synnes &
offensys, & restore hym to þat clennesse that a man receyveth whan he
receyvyth þe sacramente of baptyme.”

Deo gracias.
TREATISE ON AVE MARIS STELLA

Edited from London, British Library MS Arundel 286 (MS B3)
Ave maris stella

Amonge alle þe songes þat men vsen in holy chirche in þe worship of Oure Lady, on ympne we vsen, þe wheche begynneþ þus: “Aue maris stella, dei mater alma, atque semper virgo, felix celi porta”; “Heyle sterre of þe see, þe holy Moder of God & alle tymes virgyne, blessed 3ate of heuene.” In þis verse is comprehennyd foure maner of worschyppis to þe gloryouse Moder of God, for in þis uerse is schewed þat sche is, byfore alle þe seyntis in heuene, singulerliche profitable, noble, meruelouse & amyable, & ouer alle oþer sche is to ‘be’ loued.

For þis, þat sche is sterre of þe see, for what is more profitable or more necessarie to man þan liFy_¶æ*ítt, þat seyleþ in þe tempastes of þe see, in derkenesse & in perelis, dryuen wiþ wawes ofte in poynste to perische, as we ben alle in dyuurse temptaciouns driuen in þe see of þi world ful of myche wretchednesse, where we no li3t | seen, ne wyten on whiche syde to goo, but onyliche bi þe li3t þat comeþ of hyr, & by þe ensaumple of hir holy conversacioun, & by hyr gloriouse preyer? Also, for Oure Lady is Modyr of God, sche is most worþi, for what my3t be more noble þinge, more gloriouse or more worþi, þan to be Moder of God, maker of heuen & of erþe, & of see, & of alle creaturis þat ben in hem? None, but oneliche God. Grete þinge
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

it is to be servaunt & mayden to God, & myche more to be His douȝter or  
His spouse, but alþer-most worþinesse & worschip it is to be Goddis modyr  
of heuen. Sche is merueylous, for what þinge is more merueylous, þat to be  
modyr & virgyne togeder, & to conseuyue a child wiþoute corupcioun?

For Seynt Austeyne seiþ, of alle merueylis þat euer God dude, þis is þe  
grattast; þat He wold be bore of a mayden, for þere feyled kynde | &  
resoun of man. Þer is noþ ellis but þat we byleue sykerliche þat God may  
doo what He wol. Sche is þate of heuene, for by hir mankynde hade entre  
into heuene, and sche is worþi alle worschip for sche is Goddis modir of  
heuene.

We schul worschip þir in þre maneres; wiþ grete crying, wiþ  
preyers, & wiþ seruice. Wiþ grete cryinge, þat is to preche hir worschipful &  
gloriouse in as myche as we may. Wiþ preyers, þat is to prey þat lady  
deuoutliche & ententiliche as Modyr of Mercy; wiþ grete reuerence as  
Moder of God & Quene of Heuene. Worschip, we schal, þat lady wiþ  
service, þat is to serue hir wiþ al our power—þat is, to doo þe goode we  
may for þe loue of hyr—to þe enseamle of humylite & pacience &  
obedience to þe comaundmentis of God, in þe whiche ben alle godenes  
fulfyld.

Also we schul serue hir in afliccïoun | of our flesche, for whoso  
norischeþ his flesche in delices, he sleeþ his soule. Þis is þe most stronge  
enemy þat we han & þe most pryue, & in so myche he is most to be drede.  
In oure bosum we bere oure enemye, wiþ þe whiche vs behoueþ to feiȝt &
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

here is a perelous bateyl.

Șe þridde manere is to sue Our Lady in orysouns, for alle hir lyue

sche was in orisouns, deuocioun & afflicciouns & contemplaciuon. Also,

whoso wol be of șe felyschippe of Oure Lady, to haue of hir socour & helpe,

in șree maneres he schal sue hyr. Șe first is in priuy converascioun; șe

secunde in diligence of dysciplyne, șis is șe studye of Seynt Jerom; șe

șridde is by seruice of lownes, șat is, șat iche schal serue to șopher wiþ grete

low3nesse of herte & swete semland wiþowte.

Of șis șe Quene of Angelis șeueφ vs ensaumple, first, of priue

conuersacioun. Oure Lady chese hyr a priuey place, wharinne sche hade hyr

[151]\n
conuersacioun fro men & fro noyse of șe puple, whoche place was couenlable
to lessoun & to orisoun, to studye, & to rest of contemplaciuon, șat is to

șenke on heuene & heuenly þinges. & whan sche was șis, șe angel entrede

into șe chau3bre to hyr—“Ingressus angelus ad eam & dixit”—& seyde “Aue

Maria, gracia plena”; “Heyle Marie ful of grace, șe Lord is wiþ șee.” Whoder

entrede he into a priue place, or chau3bre, where șat sche was? He founde

hir no3t in șe strete, ne amonge multitude of men, ne rydynge by șe cuntrey,

but in hir priuy chaunbre in hyr contemplacioun & hyr meditaciouns.

On șis mater, Seynt Ambrose seiþ, whan șe Virgine sau3 șe angel
scie ros no3t into hy3nesse \of' pride, but dredeful sche bycome in șe entre
of șe angel. “O”, seiþ Seynt Ambrose, “take hede here to șis chosen mayden,
to șis schamefast mayden, for it falliþ to maydens to be dreful & schamefast

at șe wordis of men.” Speciali chastite & shamefastnesse ben ioyned togedere,
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

for þe on may noþt be wiþoute þe oþer. In silence þe angel founde l hir & noþt spekynde wiþ men. “O, 3ee virgynes”, seiþ Seynt Ambrose, “eschewe þe foly speche of men.” Þe Virgyn Marie douted þe speche of þe angel, & noþt forþi sche þouȝt þat it myȝt be soþe þat þe angel to hyr seyde, but sche was schamefast, & þerfore sche hyr dredde.

Now heriþ of hyr dyscyplyne, þat is, in takynge, in recordynge, & in receuyynge of holy writte, for in þis sche putte alle hyr entent, & noþt to schewe hyr in veyn seculere labore, but in priue ocupaciouns, þat sche myȝt stronglich haue hyr hert & ententilych in al þat sche hade herde of God. 3if þou art noþt letterd ne canst noþt rede, þis may be þi lessoun: þou schalt haue bysy mynde how þat God made alle þinge for man, & man to serue Hym, worship Hym, loue Hym & drede Hym byfore alle þinge; & to take & vse of alle þing in best mesure; to doo þes wiþal & to þenke bysyle on Cristes incarnacioun & on þe poyntes of His peyneful Passyon, & how þat He schal deme hem l þat done wel to euerlastynge icycle & blisse, & þei þat done wickedly & enden in syne to perdurable peyne. Also, who is he þat wol bysile haue myn[d] of his owne liſynge þat ne he schal fynde myche wherinne he haþ God offendyd & His holy seyntes? & þus he may iuge hymselfe, & be sori & anguysful, & sye wiþ þe prophete, “Domine, recogitabo tuam omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mec.” Þat is to seyne, “Lord God, I schal þenke to þee alle þe þeres of my life in þe bitternes of my soule.” & þus man may haue matere of goode studye, & goode lessoun & gode
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)
dyscyplyne.

Þe þridde is of þe humble seruice of þe glorious Moder of God &
Quene of Heuene, for whan þe Virgyne was grette of þe angel & sche wiste
þat sche hade conseuyed (God sauyng hir virginite) & þat sche schuld be
Goddis modyr & Quene of Angelis, hir hert arose noFy_¶æ*ítt into pride for þis
heyse dignyte, but more & more sche meked hyr l for to be þe more
couenable & plesynge to God, þat suche worship hir wold doo. And sche
seyde noFy_¶æ*ítt to þe angel, “See here Goddis loue” or Goddis spouse or Goddis
modyr, but lowþlich sche seyde þus, “Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mibi secundum
urbum tuum”; “Loo he rer Goddis handemayden; be hyt to me after þi
worde.”

And anone as þe angel was passed fro hir, sche ros & went into þe
mounteynes, noFy_¶æ*ítt rydyng on an hors, but porely, on hyr fete, & grette
Elizabøth, hyr cosyn, lowþlyche & mekeliche, & deuoutlyche sche serued
hir. Þe moder of a kynge serued þe moder of a seruaunt; þe Moder of God
serued þe moder of Jon þe Baptist. Why dude sche þus? For sche hade herde
þis, þat holy writte seïp, “Quanto maior es, humilia te in omnibus”; “In how
myche þat þou art gretter, meken þee in alle þinges.”

And also, seynes seyne, þat in so myche þat a mayden is more
chaste, sche schuld be more humble. For, as a seynt seïp, “It hade noFy_¶æ*ítt ben
þat plesynge to God þeuirgynte of Oure Lady, zif sche hade noFy_¶æ*ítt hade þe
grete mekenes.” & þis acordiþ þat Oure Ladye seïp hirselye in þe Gospel,
“Quia respetit humilitatem ancille sue”, þat, byfore alle þinges, God byheld
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

into þe mekenes of his Handmayden, & þerfore sche seyþ, “alle þe
generacions of heuene & erþe schul blesse me.” & here sche schewes þat
God is more plesed wiþ his virtu, þat [is] mekenes, þan wiþ any oþer virtue,
for wiþoute þis uirtu may none be saufe.

Virgynyte & mekenes beþ a castel aȝeynes þe fende, wher wiþ he is
kept oute fro Goddis hous, þat is/mannes soule. & of þis oure Lord Jhesu
Críst ȝauæ us ensaemple Hymselfe whan He seyde þes wordes: “Discite a me,
quia mitis sum, & humilis corde.” “Lerneþ of me”, he seþ, “for I am myld &
humble of hert.” O þou foule erþe & stykynge carien, here what þe Maker
of heuen & erþe seþ to þee: “Lerne of me þat am softe & humble of herte.”

He deceyueþ none by a feynte | semland wiþoute, but hys lownes comeþ of
þe hert. Of þes twoo þinges holdeþ Jhesu Críst scole þat alle his scolers lerne
of hym: to be softe & humble of herte. For al þat he seyde & alle þat he
dude was ensaumple of gode informacions. Forþi seþ Seynt Austeyne,

“Omnis Christi actio, nostra debet esse instructio.” For of alle þe
comaundmentis of God, ne of alle His techinges, þou schalt fynde no place
þat He so expreslych, ne so byndyngeliche comaundyd to His seruantes any
þinge to take hede of, as He dude of þes two þinges, for He knewe wel as He
þat alle þing knoweþ þat no man may be saufed wiþoute humylite. For by
humylite us byhoueþ to come þeder þat þe angel fel fro by pride, whan God
wold noþt spare His most hiȝe creature þat He hade made in heuene, þe
whoche þat l was for his grete feyynes cleput Lucyfer, þat is to sey berer of

113 þat [is] mekenes] þat mekenes B3
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

lyst, & He cast hym owte of heuene for his pride into þe depnes of helle. & Þerfore, ȝif euer we wolde dwelle in heuene, vs byhouȝ to flee pride & come þeder by mekenes & humblenes, þat is contraye to pride.

And þerfore Crist, þat come into þis world to teche us þe wey to heuene, seþe in þe Gospel, “Tollite iugum meum super vos, & discite a me, quia mitis sum, & humilis corde: & inuenietis requiem animabus vestris”; “Take þy ȝocke, þat is my commaundmente vpon ȝou, & lerne þat I am softe, & humble of herte, & ȝe schul fynde reste to ȝoure soules.” For soȝely, þe soule may haue no rest but in God, and God is euȝer þerfore, for in pees is made His dwellynge place, as þe psalme seiþ: “In pace factus est locus eius.”

And Hymselȝe ȝafe us ensaumple of loue & mekenes, for it was grete mekenes when þe Lord of þe heuene & erȝe come downe fro þe bosum of þe Fader into þe wombe of a pore meyden. Fro þat grete ioy into þe grete wretchidnesse of þis world, he was borne in wynter whan þe ‘weder’ was colde & þe nyȝt longe & wappet in a fewe pore cloutes & leyde bytwix þe oxe & þe asse to breþe vpon hym for colde. & ȝif þou take hede here was grete mekenesse. & neȝt þritte þreȝ, lowȝliche he seruid to his moder & was to hyr obedient, & to þe carpenter her husbounde. & he þat was Lord of alle creaturis ofte tymes suffurd honger, & þirst, & colde, & werines, & hete. Vpon an asse he rode wiȝoute sadde or bridel. He wesche hys dysciples fete wiþ þis precious hande, & here was grete mekenesse of þe Kynge &
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

Emperoure of alle þe Worlde. & sîp he was taken, & bounden, & beten, & spitte vpon, & scorned, & crownd wiþ scharpe þornes, & wiþ scharpe neyles neyled fote & hande, & wiþ a spere stikèd to þe hert, preyinge for his l enemes to God his fader. Here was grete mekenes. Many lesse þinges myȝt be ensaumple of mekenes of Hym þat made heuene & erþe, & al þat is þerinne.

O þe vyle wormes mete & roten askes, þat dedeynen ȝou noȝt to be meke & obedient to God, to kepe His commaundmentes, þat ȝeueþ þe life & al þat þou hast to mayntenþ þi lyfe wiþ! Sofelich lowþnes is uirþu of alle uirþues & þat most dystroyeþ pride, þat God most hatiþ. For none oþer virtu may doo wipoute þiþ virþu. For an holi seynt seïþ þat noþinge confoundiþ þe deuel so myche, ne bynymmeþ hym his strengþe as doþ humlylyte. On oþer seynt seïþ, “Blessed be þe penaunce of humlylyte, for hit ouercomeþ God & turneþ tremblable Juge to þe most meke Fader, for noþinge ouercomeþ God but onely humylite.”

Of þis virþu spekeþ Seynt Bernard & seïþ, “What is more riche þinge, what is more precious þinge, þan l lowþnesse, by þe whiche þe kyngdom of heuene is geten?” As Crist seïþ ine Gospel: “Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam eorum est regnum”; “Blessed be þe pore of spirite, for of hem is kyngdome of heuen[e].” For holy writte seïþ, “Deus superbis resistit, humilibus dat gratiam”; “God wiþstandiþ þe proude; [to þe] meke forsoþe He þeueþ grace.”

And Seynt Gregore seïþ, “Qui ceteras uirþutes congregat sine

155 Here was] here was was B3 163 mayntençe] mayentene B3 174 heuen[e]
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

humilitate, quasi in uento puluerem portat”; “He that gederiþ oþer virtues
togeder wiþoute mekenesse is but as a man to bere smale dost opun in a
grete wynde, þat wiþ a lytel blaste is blowen awey.” & so alle virtues ben
blowen fro man but 3if he haue mekenes. And also Seynt Gregorie seif, þat
“He is more pore & nede þat hæþ noþt mekenes þan he þat hæþ noþt wher
wiþ to hyle wiþ his bones.” Seynt Ambrose seif, “Twoo þinges þer ben þat
byfore alle oþer aswagen God & oneþ | Hym wiþ man, þat is feiþ &
lowþenesse. O”, he seif, “how many heiþe braunches of uirtu \’comen/ of o
rote of mekenesses!” Seynt Austeyne seyd to his frendis, “Þe first wey to God
is lowþnes; þe secunde wey is lowþnesse; þe þridde wey is lownesse. And as
ofte þe wol axe þe wey to God, I schal answere, ‘lownesse’, for noþinge þat we
doþ is worþe, but 3if we haue mekenesse.”

Þe Gospel telliþ þat þe apostlis stryuen for dignite whoche of hem
schuld be more, and Crist toke a child & sette it in þe mydel of hem, &
seyde, “Soþely I sey to 3ou, he þat is noþt meke as þis child may noþt entre
into þe kyngdom of heuene.” Vpon þis word seif a seynt, “He þat is noþt
lowþed by grace & uirtue as a child is by kynde may noþt entre into þe
kyngdome of God.” 3if a man smyte a child, it dar noþt smyte aþeyne, ne it
dar noþt be wroþe, ne it kan bere none yuel wille ne hate | in hys hert, ne it
holdiþ noþt in mynde þat yuel þat man dude to it. Ríþt so, man byhoueþ
liþtly to forþeue as þis child & noþt to haue in mynde þe yuel þat man hæþ
done hym, ne take or seche no veniaunce.”

As God Hymselfe seif, “Non queres ulcionem, nec memoreris iniurie
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)
ciuium tuorum.” And al þat God techiþ vs to do, He dude Hymselfe, for He
was smyten & He smote noþt aþeyne. He was scorned & myseyde wiþ
wordis & He myseyde noþt aþeyne, but preyde for hem þat were His dedyle
enemies & ȝelde gode for yuel, & þis He dude to ȝeue vs ensaumle to doo
þe same, ȝif we wol haue þe kyngdome of heuene.

But þere beþ summe þat humble hem feyntly wiþoute & her hert is
ful of felonye wiþinne. Wherfore seþ a seynt, “Nichil superbius ficta
humilitate”; “Nopinge is more pride þan feynt lowynes.” Perfore be noþt a
culuer wiþoute & a serpent wiþinne, but loke þat Ōþou be meke of þi berynge
wiþoute & of þi hert wiþinne. Seynt Jerom seþ, “Humilitas est
fundamentum & custos omnium virtutum”; þat “mekenes is foundment &
keper of alle virtues.”

We reden of Seynt Antonie þat he sawe alle þe engynes of þe deuel
sette vp, wherof al þe world was ful vnto heuene, & he was sorye & siþede,
& seyde, “Lord, who myȝt passe alle þes engynes?” & a voyce of heuene
answered hym, & seyde, “Onelich mekenese may passe alle þes engynesse.”
And Dauid þe prophet seþ, “Dominus respexit in oracionem humilium, &
non spreuit preces eorum”; “Oure Lord byhylde in to þe orisoun of þe meke,
& he dispised noþt þe preyer of hem.” And also he seþ, “Et humiles spiritu
saluabit”; “God schal saue þe humble in spirite.”

Kyng Dauid was so harde ebounde and wounden wiþ so many manere
of engynes þat he wist noþt what to doo, but so mychel he vnderstode by
l grace of þe Holy Gost þat onliche by mekenesse he myȝt escape alle þe
[157º]
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

bands of the devil & all his adversaries. Therefore he cried to God, & said,

“Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, necque elati sunt oculi mei”; “Lord, my heart is not exalted, nor my eyes risen vp in pride, but

only to Thy mercy I meken me, & therefore, Lord, ‘Vide humilitatem meam, & eripe me’; byholde my mekenesse & deliver me fro alle he engynes of

my enemies.”

Samuel the prophet seide to Kyng Saule, “Whan thou were lytell in

thy owen eyen, than God enhysed he & made he kyng of he Puple of Israel. Now, when thou art proud, semynge grete to thyselfe, God hath putte he
doune of thi kyngdome and hath chosen another, he whoche is more worþ than

thou.” For, as the Gospel seide, “Deposuit potentes de sede, & exaltavit

humiles”; “God putteïb doune he proud myesty of her se[t]e, & enhyseth he

meke.”

An holy fader seïb, “Humylite is the gate of blis, & by his gate

entrede alle he seyntes þat ben in heuene l by many maner tribulaciouns &
grete schames & reprowe in his lyfe.” Also, another holy fader seïb, “Alle

owres a man schuld haue in mynde to be meke & he drede of God, ryȝt as he

hath in his nese þurles he wynde þat goþ owte & inne, wiþoute he whych he

hert myȝt noȝt lyue.”

A holy fader asked another, “Whoche is he most syker wey to

heuene?” And he seide, “A man to blame hymself al tymes more Þan another.”

Another holy fader asked of another, “What schal I doo for to be saued?” And
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

he cast of hym his cloþe & defoulet it vnder hys fete, & seyde, “But zif a man be þus defouled, he is noȝt in þe riȝt wey.”

Seynt Macharye mette þe deuel beringe a grete staffe, wiþ þe whoche he wold haue smyten hym, but he myȝt haue no power. Þan seyde þe deuel to Seynt Macharie, “Grete violence I suffur, for I may noȝt ouercome þee ne noo power haue toward þee, & I doo al þat þou dost. Þou fasteþ & I faste, for I ete neuer. Þouwakeþ & I wake, for I slepe | neuer. Þou dost penaunce, & I am euere in penaunce. But onelyche o þinge þer is þat I may noȝt doo; þat is þi mekenesse, for it me confoundeþ þat I may no fasteþ neyere.”

þe deuel smote an holy man in his cheke a grete stroke, & þe holy man turned to hym þe toþer cheke. And þe deuel myȝt noȝt suffur þe brenyng of hys mekenesse, but went awey aschamed & seyde, “O þou grete strengþe of mekenesse, þat casteþ me oute of my hous þat I may no lenger dwelle!”

An holy man seyde to anoþer, “Why be we traueled & ebete þus wiþ þe yuel spired?” And þe oþer holy man answered & seyde, “For we han cast awey oure armour wiþ whoche we schuld feizt aȝeynes þe deuel, þes beþ schames & reprouesse þat we schuld suffur of þe world for þe loue of God wiþ pacience & mekenes in ourselfe, for þes ben gostly armoure to þe soule.”

An holy fader asked anoþer, “What was þat lowȝnes?” & anoþer seyde, “To forȝeue hem þat haue trespassed to þee byfore þat he aske forȝeuenesse.”

Anoþer seynt seþ þat, “Lowȝnes is to do good to hym þat haþ done þe
An holy fader seyde, "I haue leuer to be ouercome wiþ lownesse þan to ouercome any oþer wiþ pride." An oþer holy seynt seip, "Dispice noþt hym þat standeþ before þee, þat is hym þat serueþ þee, for þou wost noþt whether þe spirit of God is more in hym or in þee."

An holy fader asked anoþer, "What is avaunsement & most proyfte to man?" & þe oþer answerid, "Mekenesse, for þat avaunseþ a man wiþ þe grace of God in þis lyue & þe endelesse blisse of heuene in þe oþer lyue."

Also it is vseyd in holy chirche þat children schul sey, "Benedicamus Domino", after þe seruice, for to schewe þat what so wee doo schuld ende in mekenesse, for noþinge þat õwe done is plesynge to God of þat we done, but if it be done wiþ mekenesse & ende in mekenesse. For 'charite/' suffurþ alle þinge, & wiþoute charite noþing plesiþ God. For þi seyntes seien, "Qui contempnunt humiliari non possunt saluari"; "Þei þat dyspisen to be mekened, mow noþt be saued."

And Seint Bernard seiþ þat "Lownesse is wey to come to mekenesse, riþt as pacience is wey to come to pees, & lessoun is informacioun to come to conynge." Riþt so lownesse is to mekenesse, & mekenesse is wey to come to God.

And man schuld be mekenede by grace as a childe is by kynde, for 'grace' is aboue kynde, & riþt as drede fereþ a child þat it dar noþt venge hym, so drede of God schul'd fere vs þat we schuld seche no veniaunce, but mekely suffur þe dyseses þat God beteþ vs wiþ. Many ben lowed by dyuerse
Ave Maris Stella (MS B3)

maladies ṣat God ȝeueþ | hem for her grete prayte, ȝif ṣei suffir it

pacientlich. Many ben lowȝed by grete pouerþe, ṣat alle her lyue despenden in
pouerþe & in grete mysseyse. Many lowen hem by her owen wyle, as ṣei ṣat
forsaken riches of þe world & by her owne wille bycome poyre &, for Goddis
loye, bycome seruauntes ṣat were maystris, & ben suget to God & to His
comaundmentis, & to alle creaturis after Goddis wille.
TREATISE ON ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET

Version A edited from London, Westminster School MS 3 (MS W)

Version B edited from London, British Library MS Arundel 286 (MS B3)
Here bigynneþ a noble tretys of maydenhode.

Ecce virgo concipiet, & pariet filium. Þese wordis weren seide by Oure Lady, Goddis modir, þoruþ þe prophete Ysaie; neuerþeles, þei may be vndirstonden goostly bi euerech mayden þat haþ mayden maneres. Eche mayden þat haþ mayden thewes, sche conseuyeþ hem of God & bryngþ hem forþ with vertues & gladnes to plesynge of þe Fadir, þe which maneres and thewes proprely ben vertues, þe which schal neuer deye, but euere schul praye bifice hir in þe blisse of heuene. Þoo ben riþtwisnes & worschipe âzens vnt Hewes; mesure of mete & sit more of drink; goostly strengþis to wiþstonde þe fondyngis of þe fend; symple of semblant & gladscith in þe Hooly Goost; suffre mekely; þolemodenes âzens harmes and reuþe of ech mannes sorewe; mildnes & swetnes in herte wiþ a brenynge wille to loue God & man.

Þese ben þe childre þat maidenhod berip, þat ben conseuyed of þe Hooly Goost. But þei han [not] alle þis teemyng þat men maidens clepþ; Þere ben þere degrees of maydens, but alle ben not yliche. Þer been bodili
Of maydenhede.

Ecce virgo concipiet, & pariet filium. “Loo”, seîp þe holy profete Ysay, “A mayden schal conceyue and bere a child.” Þouȝ þes wordes were seyde by Oure Lady, Seynt Marye, noȝt forþi, þei may be vnderstanden gostly by iche goode mayden þat haþ mayden maneres, for iche goode mayden conceyueþ goode virtues þat sche haþ of God & bereþ children (noȝt one, but many; not dediliche, but vndedilich), þat euer schul pley before hir in þe blis of heuene. Þes children ben goode werkes & feyre virtues þat sche vseþ, as: mekenes & chastite; & pacience, riȝtwisnes & mesure in mete & drynke & alle oþer doynges; strenȝe of þe Holy Gost to wiȝstande temptaciouns of þe fende, of þe worlde, & of þe flesche; suffringe myldeliche alle harmes, & diseses & tribulaciouns of þis life; & rewȝe of iche mannes harme þurȝ pyte of hert & swete loue to God & man.

maidens, & goostly, and gostly & bodily. Bodily maidens þoo ben þat
ben vnwe[m]ed in fleisch, but þe[i] han likyng to speke in leccherie, or here
to speke þerof or to þenk þerof, or handel hemself or suffre oþer
schamefully to handel hem, or han likyng in kissyngis or clippyngis, and
wiþ suche vnthewes & oþere moo þat no clene mouþ for schame may speke,
sekiþ to fele in her fleisch likynges & lustis. Þei tiffe hem & diȝteþ
hem in willyng to plese hem þat hem seeþ, þat þei of hem be temptid.
Þei þat so doiþ in þat entent, þouþ þei wolde for no good þat þei wiþ hem
synned, suche maidens wynneþ hem no mede wiþ her maydenhod, but of
grete peyne þei may hem drede, but ȝif þei hem amende.

[137]\(|Of such fole maydens seynt Jerom spekiþ & seïþ, “Iste sunt
virgines male, virgines carne sed non spiritu; virgines stulte que non habentes
oleum excluduntur a sponso.” “Þese ben yuel maydens”, he seïþ,
“maydens in flesch & noȝt in spirit; fole maydens þat haue noon oyle in her
laumpes, þerfore ben þei output from her spouse, þat is Jhesu Crist.”

17 þe[i] þe W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

These that ben undefouled of dede doyng but þei haue likynge in foule spekynge & vnleful touchynge. Þe secunde ben þes þat ben noȝt defouled in dede ne in spekynge, but þei ben noȝt in purpose to lyfe chaste. Þe þridde ben gostly maydens, þat ben nouȝt defouled in word ne in wille, but ben in ful wille euer to lyue c[h]aste.

To þe first maydens spekiþ Seynt Austeyn & seǐþ, “Non solum concupiscere, set concupi welle, crimynosum est”, þat is, “noȝt oneliche to coueyte but to wilne to be coueyted of oþer is synne”, as þos þat areyn & ordeyne hem boþe in body & in wille to styr mennes hertis to desyre hem. Alþouȝt þei wold noȝt consente to þe dede, ȝitte þei ben cause of synne of oþer, þat þei styren to yuel wiþ her nyse cuntenaunce. & of siche maydenes [seǐþ] Salomon, “Ecce mulier occurrit homini ornatu meretricis, preparata ad capiendas animas.” “Melior est humilis | nupta quam urgo superba.” “Loo”, seǐþ Salomon, “þe wicked womman comeþ aȝeynes þe man areyed as a strumpet to take soules & bynde hem in synne.” And also Seynt Jerom spekeþ of siche maydenes (ad Eussthochium), where he seǐþ, “Iste sunt virgines carne set non spiritu; virgines stulte que non habent

20 25 30 35
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

Suche ben like deed mennes graues, þat wiþoute ben white lyned & wiþinne roten bones; or ellis þei ben lyke a dongheep ouerhilled wiþ snowe þat vndur foule stynkiþ. Þese ben angels of Sathanas þat wiþoute ðeyneþ hem aungels of liþt with semblaunt, contenaunce & ypocrisy, as þei clene weren, & vndirneþe ben servauntis to þe ðeende of helle.

Sooþfast maydens aungels lif leden, & suche as þei wiþoute schewen, suche ben þei wiþinne or better. 3it of suche fole maydens, Seynt Poule spekiþ:

“Voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei: speciem quidem pietatis habentes, virtutem autem eius abnegantes”; “þei þat louen more lustis þen God, liknes þei schewen of holynes & wiþstondþ sooþfastnes.”

And 3it to þe reede may suche be euened, þat wiþoute schyneþ as he polischide were, but wiþinne is al empty & ðaþ his rote festned in foule myrc, & is as fantom þe fruyt þat it beriþ, for a puþ of wynd dryueþ it al aweiþ. Suche ben þese maydens þat I of speke. Contenaunce of clennesse þei withboute schewen, but in luste, as in myrc, her hertis þeþ inne rooted.

Wiþinne þei þeþ al empty, riþt as þe reede, ðfor alle goostly goodis sofþly hem wantiþ. Þer fruyt haue þei noon of her maydenhod but preysynges of mennes mouþis þat passiþ wiþ þe wynde.

3it may þei be like to þe appil, þat wiþouten is fair, þat groweþ in
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

oleum in vasis suis.” “Des ben yuel maydens”, he seþ, “maydens in flesche, but not in spyrite; vnwyse maydens hat han none oyle in her lampes, forþi hei beþ schutt fro her spouse Jhesu Crist.”

Syche maydens ben liche to dede mennes burielis, þat wiþoute ben ferre areyed & wiþinne ben ful of roten bones; or þei ben liche to a donge hylle þat is ouerhilde wiþ whyte snowe & vnderneþe foul styngynge donge. And þitte siche maydens may be likened to þe reede þat grouþ in a myre þat semeþ feyre & stronge wiþoute to mennes siþt, but it is feble & halowþe wiþinne & þe frute þat it bereþ is but as fantome, for wiþ a little blaste of wynde it is dryuene al away. Soþely, þes maydens þat I of speke, wiþoute þei schewen as þei were al holy: but hir hert is al roted in þe myre of lustes, | of synne, & al vo[i]de wiþinne of goode þoughtes & holy meditaciou[n], & wantynge of alle gostly goodenes. Forþi frute haue þei none of her maydehode but preysynge of mennes mouþe þat passeþ as þe wynde. Also þei ben liche to þe worme þat schewed hir to Eue, þat wiþoute forþe hade a maydens face, & vnder þat feyr face was a cursed fende. & so beþ þei þat feynen hem withoute as holy angelis & beþ wiþinne ful of cursed lustes & lykyngges of synne, & angre & malicious as fendes of helle.

46 vo[i]de] vowde B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

50  þat curside stede þat ‘Sodom’ men clepiþ. But take þis appil þat semip þus

[138']  fair & breke it in two; | noþing ellis schalt þou it fynde wiþinne but al blak

syndris. Summe of þese maydenes þat holdiþ hemisf clene in flesche, þat

delitiþ hem in lustis & in foule þouȝtis wiþinne, þei ben Sodom applis þat

no þing ben goode. Wiȝtouen þei feynen hem maydens; wiþinne þei

hyde þe fend, like to þe worme þat in paradys to Eue schewed, þat wiþoute

hadde a maydens face, and vndir þat louely face was hidde a loþely deuel.

þat oþer degre of maydens is þat her body kepþ clene & ȝit þerwiþ

holdiþ hem fro lustis þat I of spak, but þei ȝit han a wille weddid to be.

þouȝ a womman þenk to be weddid, sche synþe noȝt in þat al ȝif sche

do noȝt Goddis counself, but sche is noȝt at oon ȝit wiþ hirsilf ne stidefast

in herte in þat þat sche wolde plese to God & man boþe.

Herof Seynt Poule spekiþ, þere he to wymmen seþ, “Que nupta

est, cogitat que sunt mundi, quomodo placeat viro”; þat is, “womman

þat weddid is or ȝit þenkþ to be weddid, of þe world sche þenkþ & how

sche may likyngly plese hir husbonde.” Seynt John wiþ þe gilden mouþ

of suche maydens spekiþ: “Si non est nupta voluntatem tamen habet

nubendi, corpore quidem virgo, ex animo nupta”; “sche þat is not weddid &

wille ðaþ to be weddid, in flesische mayden sche is, in soule sche is

weddid.”

70  Þese maydenes wynþe no mede þat to maydenhod fallþ, ðfor it
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

... secunde degre of maydens beþ þei þat kepen her bodye elene & her hertes also fro alle lustes & likynge of synne, but þitte þei haue wille wedded to be. Þouþ a womman þenke to be wedded, heo synneþ noþt in þat, þouþ heo doo noþt þat God hyr conseyleþ, but sche is noþt zitte at one wiþ hirselle ne studefast in hert, in þat, þat sche wolde boþe plese to God & to þe word.

Forþi, of siche Seynt Paule seiþ, “Que nupta est, cogitat que sunt mundi, quomodo placeat viro suo”, l þat is, “A womman þat is weddyd, or þenkeþ to be weddid, hyr mynde is most of þingges of þe world & how sche may plese hir husbounde.” Of siche maydens spekeþ Jon Crissostom & seiþ, “Si non est nupta uluntatem tamen habet nubendi, corp[o]re quidem uirgo est, animo autem nupta”; “sche þat is not weddid & haþ wille to be weddid, sche is mayden in flesche, but in soule sche is weddid.”

Þis mayden wynneþ no mede þat to maydenhede falleþ, for it
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

helpið not to haue þe fleisch clene wiþ herte to be weddid, ñôr lesse worði bæt be weddid. As Seynt Austyn seìþ, “Ffeliciar michi videtur nupta mulier quam innupta virgo: habet enim illa quod ista cupid, presertim si nondum sponsa cuìusquam sit. Illa studet

[138°]  75

virt placere, cui data est: hec autem multis interea vni datura est”; “more blessed me þinkeþ is sche þat is weddid þen is þe mayden þat is for to be weddid, for þe weddid haþ þat þe mayden þerneþ; þou3 sche be in no specche certeyn for to haue. Þe weddide, painefuly sche is aboute to plese hym þat hir haþ weddid; þe mayden peyneþ hir to plese many, but oon getiþ sche.”

Suche maydens ben like to þe pore man þat no faire cloþing haþ of his owne, forþi he borewiþ at oþere þat þei be more worschipid of oþere þat hem seeþ, as summe maydens doþ aþens her fest day. Bodily maydenhod is fair vtter cloþing and a mark of gostly maydenhod þat schulde be wiþinne in þe soule. But þis cloþing is not heres þat coueytiþ to be weddid, þat beriþ it but a while as cloþ þat is borewed for þe feste, þat þei be more honoured for þe cloþing þat þei bere & more be couetid of suche as þei wolde haue for her fair wede.

Ffor wynmen þat lesen her maydenhod, al þif þei aftir goode be,

þe more 3it þei ben holden vnworþi & þe lesse [s]eten by. Suche maydens to tyn ben lyche, þat haþ colour of siluer but þe worþ haþ it noþt. Or þei ben like copour þat is ouergild; þou3 it schyne as gold, it is fer fro þe worþ.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
wynneþ noȝt maydenes crowne to haue þe flesche clene wiþ ful wille of hert to be weddid, for lesse worþi ben siche byfore God þan þei þat ben weddid. As Seynt Austeyne seith, “Fȳlicior mihi videtur nupta mulier quam talis innupta uirgo: habet enim illa quod ista cupid. Illa studet vni placere, cui data est: hec multis set tamen vni datura est”; “more cely, me þinkeþ, is sche þat is weddid þan is þat mayden þat is to wedde, for þe weddid womman haþ þat þe mayden coueþþ. Þe wyfe oneliche studiþ to plesa to one þat is hir spouse; þe mayden peynes hyr | to plesa to many & but one schal heo haue.”

73 datura] daturus B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

So suche maydens as I of speke, colour þei haue of maydenhod oonly in þe fleisch, but þe worþ haue þei not of maydenhod mede.

But by man or womman is for to wite, þat clene holdiþ hem vnweammed in fleisch þouþ þe[i] wille haue to synne or weddid to be, whanne þei repente hem of þat lech[er]y wille er þei do it in dede, wiþ stidfast wille euere to be chaste, [þei] lesiþ noþt þe coroun of maydenhod myȝt.

Seynt Jon þe Euangelist þouȝt to haue ben weddid, ȝit he is clepid mayden þat God Hymself chees, & among alle þe apostlis most loued of Hym, as þe Gospel seþ.

[139]

Gostly maydenhode is in hem þat han a loue brennyng wille | euere chaste to be & aftir her miȝt holdiþ it, þouþ þe þoruȝ strengþe be rauerschid & defouled of wickid men aȝens her wille; boþe bifo[u]re & aftir, ffor ouȝt þat þe lechour hem doiþ, noþing þei lesen of maydenhod mede, but her mede is wel more if þei wiþstonde wiþ her myȝt & suffre aȝens her wille. As Seynt Lucy to þe tiraunt seyde, þat steernely hir þrette to put hir into bordel to be comune to alle, and þen to hym sche seide, “Si inuitam me violaueris castitas mibi duplicabitur ad coronam”; “if þou wiþ strenþe make me defouled aȝens my wille, þe coroun of maydenhod schal be doubled to me in mede.” Ffor whatso men doþ to maydens & it be aȝens her wille, it is greet synne to hem þat it doþ and mede to hem þat þe[i] þe B3 whanne but whanne B3 97 lech[er]y] lechy B3 98 [þei] sche B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

But we schul vnderstande þouȝ man or wouman þat lifen chaste haue wille for a tyme for to be weddyd, & aftyrward forþingep þys wille & haue her wille & her desyre euer to lyue chaste, þei losen not þe croune of maydenhode. Seynt Jon þe Ewangeliste was in poynt to be weddid, & þitte Criste hymselfe clepet hym clene mayde & toke hym fro weddynge, & emonge alle þe apostles loued hym moste, as þe Gospel seiþ. Ambrosius (homilia De Virginius): “Caro aute non potest coru̇m, nisi fuerit mens ante corupta.” Item Augustinus (de Bono Coniugali) caput 27: “Sanctius est mori sine liberis, quam illicito coitu stirpe quaerere.”

Gostly maydens ben þulke þat haue a loue brennynge wille euer to be c[h]aste & holdiþ it after her myȝt, þouȝ þei þurȝ strenghȝe be rau̇esched & defouled of wicked men aȝeynes her wille; boþe byfore & after, for ouȝt þat wicked men wiþ hem done, noþinge þei losen of maydens mede ȝif þei wiþstande wiþ her myȝt & | sufferen ȝaeynes her wille. As Seynt Lucie answered to þe tyrande, þat þratte to putte hir to þe bordel hous to make hir to be a comyn woman: “Si inuitam me violaueris duplicata est mibi corona castitatis”; “ȝif þou wiþ strenghȝe aȝeynes my wille make me defouled, þe crou̇nne of chastite is doubled to me.”

88 c[h]aste cast B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

Maydenhod bodily & gostly is in [hem] þat wiþ hoolhed of fleisch haþ wille þerwiþ euere to lyue chaste. Whiche þoo maydenes schal be, þe Apostle techiþ: “Mulier innupta, & virgo, cogitat que sunt Domini, vt sit sancta corpore & spiritu”; þat is, “Þe womman þat is noþt weddid & mayden, sche kepþ hir herte fro þe world to stable it in God, þat in holynes sche may Hym serue with body & wiþ soule.” To suche maydens hooly chirche ȝyuþ a gold rynge to bere in tokenynge þat God haþ chosen hem bifore ofere to be Hys spouse.

Þat it good is mayden to be, holy writt reediþ vs maydenhod to kepe, and ensaumple of maydens þat bifore vs haue be techiþ vs how medeful it is & how quemeful to Crist, and resoun it schewiþ þat kyndely we schulden it loue. Ffirst, holy writt it reediþ & noþt he it comauþdiþ, ffor, if it comauþdid were, þe doers þer æþen, as for Goddis biddyngis broken, gilty þei were bifore God, as þoo þat deadly synned. Fforwhy God reediþ þat þei suche be as þoo þat ben His priue & most to Hym dere.

Fforwhy bi maydens spekiþ þe Apostle, þere he þus seþ, “De virginibus preceptum non habeo: consilium autem do, tanquam misericordiam consecutus a Domino, vt sim fidelis”; “no biddyng of God I haue to maydens þat þei euere maydens be, but I counseile hem in God, þat þei suche be as I, þat mersy haue founden of my Lord, þat I trewe to Hym be.” Ffor þe state of maydenhod is so hiþe as þat þat is next God &
Also þe Apostle techiþ whoche maydens schuld be: “Mulier innupta, & uirgo, cogitat que sunt Domini, ut sit sancta corpore, & spiritu”; “þe womman þat is not wedded & is a mayden, heo clepiþ hir hert fro þe world to þenke on þo þinges þat moste plesen hyr Lord Jhesu Crist, & to kepe hir clene & holy, boþe in body & soule.”

Medeful it is maydenhode to kepe, & þat for þree causes: on, for it is mychel comended in holy writte; anoþer, for it myche pleseþ to God; þe þridde, for it is medeful in heuene. Ffirst, holy writte comendeþ it, as Seynt Paule seiþ, “De uirginibus preceptum non habeo: consiliu autem do’, tanquam misericordiam consecutus a Domino, ut sim fidelis”; “no comaundment I haue of God of maydens þat þei euer life chaste, but I conseyl in God þat þei euer life chaste, as he þat mercy haþ founden of my Lord, þat I trewe be to Hym.” For þe state of maydenhode is so híye as þat þat neste is God & most to Hym plesynge, & it is hard to kepe in þis dedyle life. Forþi God comaunded it noþt, but conseyled it to hem þat wol take it. Forþi it is worþi more mede, for harde þinge it is to make man or womman to life angelis life, forþi þei schul be þe nere God whan þei come to heuene. & þerfore Jhesu Crist, þat toke oure kynde as
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

moost Hym to paye, & ful harde to holde in þis bodily lyf. Fforwhy God it noȝt comaundide, but counseileþ it to hem þat wol holde it. Forwhy it is þe more mede, for it is noȝt comaundid but of goode counseil do it whoso may. Harde þing it were & also ȝȝen kynde to make man or woman to lyue aungels lyf & ȝord þat he is maad to. Fforwhy Goddis Sone of heuene, þat [took] oure kynde at his comynge into þe worlde, made hym a newe folk þat next hym schulde be as his most priue, þat, as he was of aungels worschipid in heuene, þat he myȝt haue aungels, þat is, maydens, to honour hym in erffe.

Ensaemple of hem þat maydens were, & of what myȝt maydenhod is & to God so dere, in tyme of þe olde lawe & siȝen of grace, louely vs He techiþ. By þese ȝȝe I fynde in tyme of þe olde lawe þe myȝte of maydenhod: by Helye, & Danyel & his felawes þre. Ffirst by Helye, þat þre ȝȝere bonde þe watir in þe clowdes þat no reyn in al þat tyme myȝte reyne on þe erffe and, aftir he vnschette þe clowdes & reyn fel at þe fulle, ffyr come fro heuenum at his woord & brent twies fifty in a while. Þoo þat deade were, he reisyd hem to lyue. He made þe watir of flum Jordan wiȝdrawe hym on eyþer syde, þe whiles he & his wif with drye foot þorûȝ passide; þere in chare al brennynges was lift vp to paradys, where, wiȝ body ȝit liuyng he is, as holy writt telliþ vs.

[140'] Of þe l holy prøphete Daniel is writen also, þat al his lyf lyued in maydenhode clene. For he wolde not trowe on þe fals goddis, in a putte

140 þat [took] oure kynde] þat may ouer kynde W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
comynge into þis world, made hym a newe folke þat nexte hym schuld be
as his moste loued servauntes, þat, as he was worshipped in heuene of
angelis, so þat he haue angelis, þat is, clene maydens, to worschipe hym
in erþe.

Of þe myFy_¶æ*ítt & of þe goodenes of madenhode, of þe olde lawe we
haue ensaumple, first by Ely þe holy prophete, þat for he kept hym clene
wipoute corupcioun of flesche, þat is clene mayden, he was taken uppe
| into paradyse body & soule. Of Danyel þe prophete is writen also, þat was
[138]
put into a prisoun to seuene hongre & wode lyons, þat were longe kept
me[tes]eles, for þei schulde sone haue eten hym. & for he hade wiþstanden
lustes of þe flesche þat kyndely stired hym to synne, & kept hym in
clene maydenhode, þe cruel bestes haden no power to touche hym wiþ
no harme, for God for loue made hem meke as lambren.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

he was caste to lyoune seuene, and to þise lyoune was þeuen no mete a
longe while before, þat sone þei schulden for hungir drawe hym al to
peces. But no myȝt þei hadde to touche hym wiþ tooþ, þfor aȝens her
kynde God hem made as lombis, al ful seueneȝȝt þe while Danyel wiþ
hem dwellid. Þforwhy þat Danyel ouercome his owne kynde in þat, þat he
þorȝȝ maydenhod wiþstode his owne fleisch & þe kyndely stirynges þat
eggid hym to lust, he stood aȝen hem wiþ myȝt of Goddis grace, wherfore
he ouercome þe beestis þat so kene were of kynde þat greued hym noȝȝt.

By þe þree felawes of Danyel ȝit may men se of what vertu is
maydenhod myȝt. Þese þre were þonge children & maydens clene,
comen of þe gentilest kynde of þe Jurie. Ananyas & Misael [þc] Aȝarias þei
hatte. Þfor þei wiþstode to worschipe fals goddis, þe kyng dide make a
fourneyes as hote as it myȝt be, and bade bynde þese children boþe honde
& foot & caste hem amyddis. Þe seruaunts dide as he hem bade, and it
so hoot þei made þat fourty cubites ouer þe fourneyes þe flawme ouerȾȝȝos.
Þei bonde þese children & kaste hem in myddis, but þe fier soone lowsed
þe bondis þat þei were bounded wiþ, but touchid it noȝȝt body, ne cloþ, ne
ȝit þe heer of her heuedes. [It brent] so wodlich, þat it brent on ech syde
hem þat þe fier made. And þe children amyddis þe fier þede þankande her
God, þfor no fier þat men myȝt make myȝt brenne þese children þat
weren so clene, þfor myȝt of maydenhod, as a scheelde, droue it aȝeyn,
þfor þei quenchid þe fier withinne hemsilf, þat were fleischly lustis.
Also by þe þree felowes of Daniel, 3it may men see of what virtu & myȝt maydenhode is. Þes þree were ȝonge children & clene maydens alle, & were of þe genteliste kynde of alle þe Jewrie. Ananyas, Azaryas [&] Mysael were her names. For þes wiȝstoden to worship fals goddis, þe heþen kynge comaunded þat þei schuld be brende, & þe kynges men maden siche a fyr þat fourty cubites on heizþe þe liȝe arose. & þe þre children were fast bou[n]den hande & fote & sette in mydel [of] þe fure, & þe bandis þat þei were bounden wiȝþ þe were brende, but of hem þe fure touched nouþer body, ne cloȝe, ne | þe lest here of her heued, & zitte þe fure brende so wodely þat it brende alle þe men þat stoden aboute & maden it. & þe children stoden wiȝoute harme & worschipen God, for no fure ne corrupcioun myȝt desoule her body, for þe clennes of maydenhode, as a schelde, kept hem, for þei wiȝstode þe fendis fure, þat is lust of lecherye.

130 Azaryas [&] Mysael  Azaryas Mysael  B3  134 bou[n]den  bouden  B3  mydel [of] þe fure] mydel þe fure  B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

In tyme of grace þat now is, þat maydenhode is most quemeful to

[140°] 180 God, ensaumple | we haue of Crist & of hise þat were to hym dere. Ffirst
Crist hymself, þat roote is of maydenhode & of al þat goode is, þat of God
his fadir come. He come wiþouten lust & of mayden oure manhod he
took, & sche mayden neuþerþeleþesse; scheyng þerby þat to hym
maydenhode is ful dere, siþ he wolde take oure kynde of noon but sche
mayden were, in ensaumple 3yuynge to his loueres þat þei suche be.

3it ensaumple by men & wyinnen þat most his priuey
were, and first by men, as Seynt Joon Baptist, þat prechide his comynge,
by whom Oure Lord seþ þis derworþe sawe: “Inter natos mulierum, non
surrexit maior Johanne baptista”; “neuer noon better amonge wyues sones
roos þan John Baptist.” Ffor his hisenes þat he hadde biforn oþer in lyuyng,
he haþ þrefold coroun vpon coroun, ffor clene mayden he was,
& þrechoþ, & martir. Also þe Hooly Trinite schewide hym here to hym
in þis deadly lyf: þe Fadir in voys; þe Sone in his handis; þe Holy Goost in
liknesse of a dowue. Also Joseph, Maries spouse, þat norischid Crist &
hadde hym in his warde. And Joon þe Euangelist his cosyn, dere
mayden, chosen of God, þat so priuey to hym was þat he slept on his
breest, & was rauyschid to heuen to see þere & here what schulde bifalle
in erþe. And for he lyued here clene wiþouten corupcioun of fleisch,
þerefore he passid out of þis worlde wiþoute penaunce of deep. Also, in
ensaumple to alle maydenes, God His modir to hym bitauþt.

And also Seynt Bernard seþ, “Matrem virginem ideo Christus
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

In tyme of grace hat nowe is, it is proued that maydenhode is myche loued of God, first by ensaumple of Crist hymselfe, hat is hede of maydenhode, & of Oure Lady, Seynt Mary, of whom he toke manhede, is a token that maydehode is moste dere to God. And also of Seynt Jon the Baptiste, of whom Crist speke & seiþ, “Inter natos mulierum, non surrexit maior Johanne baptista”, hat is, “Emonge wymmen sones rose never non gratter than Jon the Baptiste”, for his heïçenes of lyfynge he was aboue oher seynte heerfolde: wiþ he creune of maydenhode; of prechour; & of martyr. Also he Holy Trinite to hym was schewed; he Fader in voyce, he Sone in his handis, he Holy Gost in likenes of a culuer. Also Seynt Jon he Ewangeliste hat most was loued of Crist, for he was clene mayden wiþoute corupcioun of flesche, herfore he passed outhe of his world wiþoute peyne of deeþ.

Also Oure Lady, Seynt Marie, is sette a meroure to alle maydens.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)
elegit ut ipsa omnibus esset exemplum castitatis, in qua quasi in speculo
refulget forma virtutis”, “Jhesu Crist chees a mayden to His modir, þat
sche were of maydenhood ensaumple to alle, in whom as a myrour alle

myȝten see fourme | of virtues & alle goode thewes.”

Þouȝ it proûed be þoruȝ holy writt & bi ensaumple boȝe þat
maydenhood is most plesyng to God, ȝit wiȝ skil þe þridde may be proûed:
of kynde. ȝit wiȝ skil it may be preuéd þis þridde þat I hyȝt, ffor
kyndely þing it is & worschipful boȝe, & þarðit grete to kepe wel þat state,
kepe it whoso may, as þe Apostle biddiþ: “Qui potest capere, capiat.”

“Whoso may take it, take it”, he seiy. Ffor it is so hiȝe & to summe so
strait to holde, þerfore he biddiþ it on noon oþer wise. Fþirst þat kynde it
is þat it so be, ffor man was first mayden clene, ffor at þe firste
maydenhed was ymped in maydens kynde. Fþor of maydenhode was Adam
Þe first man maad, & aftir of Adam, þat mayden was, Eve, mayden, was
maad. Fþorþi seiy Seynt Jerom (ad Eustochium): “Vt scias virginitatem
esse nature: virgo nascitur caro de nupt[is]; in fructu reddens, quod in radice
perdiderat”; “þat þou wite forsoþe þat maydenhode is of kynde; of
wedlok flesch mayden is born, and so in þe fruyt he þyndiþ þat he in þe
roote lost.”

Maydenhode þit is worschipful in þis lyf & also in þat oþer. In þis
lyf, for it is fairest parte of al mankynde; ffor þere is it to aungels & next
to God, þat it is þe fayrest & þe noblest party of holy chirche here in
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

As Seynt Jon Crisostom sem, “Matrem virginem ideo Christus elegit ut
ipsa omnibus eset exemplum castitatis in qua quasi in speculo refulget
forma uirtutis”, þat is, “Jhesu Crist chees a mayden to his moder, þat
sche were of maydenhode ensample of alle oþer, in whom, as in a
meroure, alle folke myȝt see forme of chastite & of alle goode uertues.”

&c, þerfore, holy writte sem, “He þat may take þis virtu, take it”; “Qui
potest capere, capiat.”
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

erþe. Ffor þei ben þe flour and þe fairhed þat moost makþ fair: as þoo þat han moost virtu & grace, þoruþ þat þei halde hem hool & clene in þis deadly lijf; and in whom Goddis liknesse is most vercly enprentid; and in whom þe Holy Goost haþ His duellyng maad, þat euere stireþ hem to goode & wiþdrawiþ hem fro yuel. Mayden schewiþ in hirself why oure kynde was in paradys | & which it schal be & is in heuene. Eue, þe while sche was in paradys, mayden sche was & Adam boþe, so ȝit mayden schewiþ in hirself þe lyf þat is to come. Wherfore Bernard spekiþ: “Hec est sola [castitas] que in hoc mortali loco & tempore statum immortalis glorie representat”, quia Mattheo dicitur, “In resurreccione neque nubent, neque nubentur: sed sunt sicut angeli Dei in celo”;

“maydenhode is þat oonely þing þat in þis deadly lyf & tyme schewiþ in hir þe state of þe vndeadly blisse þat is to come.” Ffor Seynt Mathew seiþ, “In þe newe vprisynge, neiþer schal me wedde ne wymmen be weddide, but alle schal be as aungels in heuene.” And þe holy man Ciprian seiþ to maydens, “Quod futuri sumus nos, vos iam esse cepistis. Vos resurrectionis gloriam in isto seculo iam tenetis”; “suche as we schal be in þat oþer lyf, in ȝowselþ now ȝee it schewen.”

Maydens ȝit ouerpassiþ in mede þe weddid & wydowes boþe, fforwhy Seynt John seiþ, “Laudo coniugium sed quia michi virgines [generant]: leg o de spinis rosam, de terra aurum, de conca margaritam.

Ita nupcias recipimus, vt virginitatem, que de nupciis nascitur,
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

Maydens ouerpasseþ in mede wifes & wedewes boþe, forþi Seynt Jon Crissostom seþ, “Laudo coniugium set quia michi uirgines [generant]:

lego quasi de spinis rosam, de terra aurum, de consta margaritam. Ita nupcias recipimus ut uirginitatem, que de nupciis nascitur preferamus. Ita ut

164 uirgines: lego] uirgines elego  B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

praeframus. Numquid argentum non erit argentum, si aurum argentum preciosius? Vt pomum ex arbore, frumentum ex stipula, ita virginitas ex nupciis. “I preise”, he seif, “wedlok, but wel more maydenhode, whom”, he seif, “[as] a rose I gedir fro þe þornes, & as golde fro þe erpe, & as preciouse margarites fro þe schelle. So”, he seif, “þe weddid we preise, þat maydenhode of wedlok we take bifoire. Þouȝ siluer be syluer, þat is gold more riche. Bettir is whete þen þe chaaf | þat it beriþ, & maydenhode þen wedlok, þouȝ al he it bere.” And so, as maydenhode wedlok ouerpassiþ, so he[o] doþ wydewhode in hir hise price.

Þis Seynt Jon Gospeler seif, þat sawȝ of what myȝt & what pride maydenhode was worþ in þe blisse of heuene, & þus by hem seif, “Hii empti sunt ex hominibus primicie Deo, et Agno”; “as þe beste & moost worþi of mankynde, maydens beþ outchosen & goon bifoire alle oþer to make sacrifice to God, þat is of her maydenhode.” He makiþ ofrynge as þe best party of mankynde fﬁrst to God is plesynge & moost pure & clennest & next God to serue: “Quia sine macula sunt ante tronum Dei & seq[u]ntur agnum quocumque iberit”; “ﬀor þei as vnweþmed ben euere bifoire þe trone of God & next folwþ hym whidir so euere he wendiþ.” Et sapien[s] dixit: “Incorrupcio proximum facit esse Deo.” Fför þe Wise Man seif, “þe vndeouled beþ next God.” Ffor maydens beþ vndeouled, þerfore þei bifoire þe trone of God. Fför as holy chirche is as Cristis cloþynge, but maydens ben as Cristis scherte; as 249 [as] a rose W 254 he[o] W 262 seq[u]ntur W 264 sapien[s] W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

aurum preciocius est terra, pomum [ex] arboare, frumentum [ex] stipula, | ita [140']

uirginitas [ex] nupciis”; “I preye wedloke, but more maydens. I chese maydens
to me as rose fro þe þornes, & as golfe fro þe erþe, & as preciouse stone fro þe
schelle. We receyuen weddynges but we putte byfore maydenhote þat is borne
þerof, for as þe gold is more precious þan þe erþe þat it come of, þe precious
stone þan þe schelle, þe apple þan þe tree þat it groue þat, þe whete corne
þan þe stubble þat it bare, rìst so maydenhode goþ byfore weddynges þat
lyfen in fleschly worchynge.”

& þerfore seîþ Seynt Jon þe Ewangelist in þe `apocilps`, “Hii

empti sunt ex hominibus primicie Deo, & Agno”; “maydens ben outake fro
men as þe moste worþi of alle mankynde & is a sacrifice to God & to þe
Lombe, þat is, Jhesu Crist.” & as moste pure & clene to God, þei ben
nexte Hym: “Quia sine macula sunt ante tronum Dei & sec[u]ntur agnum
quocumque ierit uirgines enim sunt”; “Ïfor þei ben clene wiþoute
defoulynge byfore þe trone of God & for þei ben clene maydens þe
sewen þe Lombe of God, þat is, Jhesu Crist, into alle his ioyes in þe blis
of heuene.” Forþi þe Wise Man seîþ, “Incorupcio facit prximum | Deo.” [140']

167 pomum [ex] arboare, frumentum [ex] stipula, ita uirginitas [ex] nupciis  pomum arboare,
frumentum stipula, ita uirginitas nupciis B3  179 sec[u]ntur secuntur  B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

most clene and delicat next hym to be.

Þen maydens þat to God ben offrid passen before wydewes & weddid. And þus affermih Seynt Austyn wip þis word: (De diffinicionibus recte fidei; virginitatem coniugi[o] & viduitat[i] comparans ait):

“Virginitas vtroque excellencior est, quia & natura[m] vincit & pugna[m]. Natura[m], corporis integritate; pugna[m], clipeo castimonie, que pro solo amore pucidicic in pace est”; “wedlok, wydewhode & maydenhode ben þre statis in holy chirche, but maydenhod in hir worþines ouerpassiþ þe toþir two, ffor he[o] ouercomeþ kynde & batail boþe. Hir kynde sche ouercomeþ þorþ holeschip of hir fleisch, þe enemys þat wip þir fijþuh

[142”] wip scheelde of chastite, þat is clennes of soule, for þe loue of Jhesu, | to whom sche wolde chaast be and in pees reste with hym as wip hir dere spouse.” And wip hirslef sche fijþuh to ouerpasse kynde, ffor aþens kynde & hit ouer it seemþ noþt to do be þat sche is made & sekþ in hirsilþ þe roote þat kyndely stireþ to lust, to knowe no felawscheep of man, & wlatþ hem to neþþ þat suche lust wolde vse. Þerfore Jerom seþ, “Prof[ecto] in carne praeter carnem viuere, non terrena vita est, sed angelica.” “In fleisch, to lyue wifouten fleisch”, as Seint Jerom seþ, “is not erþely lijf, but aungel[s] lyf of heuene.” Fforwhy þe aungel forbede Seint Joon, þat chosen mayden was, þat he hym schulde not honoure, & bad hym arise & noþt
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

And þe degree of maydenhode is more parfite þan wedewes or wifes, as Seynt Austeyne wittenesseþ, where he seiþ (De functionibus recte fidei: virginitatem coniugio & viduetat[i] comperans ait): “Virginitas utroque excellencior est quia & natura[m] vincit [&] pugnam: naturam, corporis integretat[e], pugna[m], clepio castimonie, que pro solo amore pudi[c]cie in [pace] erit”; “maydenhode, wedloke & wedewhode ben þre states in holy writte, but maydenhode in hyr worþines ouerpasseþ þis oþer twoo, for heo ouercomeþ kynde & batayl boþe. Hir kynde sche ouercome wíþ clene chastite. Þe batel of temptacioun heo [ouercome] wíþ stable purpose of holy lyfynge.”

And how clene þis life is, Seynt Jerom wittenesseþ where he seiþ, “In carne, praeter carnem viuere non terræ uita est, set angelica [&] celestis”; “in flesche to lyue, wíþoute þe doynge þat kynde of flesche axeþ, is noþ crþeliche lyue, but angelis life & heuenliche.”

186 viduetat[i] viduetate B3 187 natura[m] vincit [&] pugnam B3 pugnam B3 188 integretat[e] integretatem B3 pugna[m] pungna B3 pudi[c]cie pudicie B3 in [pace] inpare B3 192 heo [ouercomeþ] wiþ heo wiþ B3 195 angelica [&] celestis angelica celestis B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)
do to hym as he hade ment, “Ffor we boþe”, he seyde, “ben servauntis to
oon Almyʒty God.”

And as it zit semeþ, in virtu a mayden aungel ouerpassiþ, ffor
Seint Jerom seþ, “Of more merit it is þoruz strengþe of virtu to wynn
aungels clennes þen haue it of kynde.” For to haue it, of blessidnes it is;
but mayden lyf here, clene in þis deadly lyf, þoruz prowes of virtu it is &
ouer kynde, þoruz þat a mayden enforciþ hir to wynn þoruz grace þat
aungel hæp of kynde. Aungels hauþ of kynde þat noþing hem leþiþ of
her clennesse, but maydens makiþ euere redy greet batyle aþen foolis of
þe world, aþen her owne flesch & eggynges of þe fend.

So noble & so gracious is maydenhod in hir kynde þat he þat
is abouen al kynde Lord chees hir to hymself, and þe fairest dwellyng
þat euere he fonde in erþe þen was bitwene a maydens sydes. So holy þing
& so hyȝ is maydenhod þat of lesse staat ne lower may sche haue noon
to spouse þen Goddis owne Sone of heuene. Perfore in þe olde lawe
comaundide it was þat þe hiȝest preest of þe lawe no wyf schulde wedde,
but if sche mayden were. Þe hiȝe preest of þe lawe, Jheu Crist, | bitokeneþ
to whom maydens schulde be weddide & to noon oþer. Fforwhy Seint
Gregori by maydens seþ, “Qu[e] sponsum fugit in terra, sponsum meruit
in celo”; “þat mayden þat here in erþe fleþ felawschep of man, sche is
worþi to haue to spouse Goddis owne Sone of heuene.”

Fforwhy grete foolis þei ben & mochel greueþ God þat

306 Qu[e]] qui W
So hīge a þinge is maydenhode þat it passeþ alle oðer lyues in clannesse. Fforþi in þe olde lawe | it was comaunded þat þe hīge preost of þe lawe schuld wedde no wife but ȝif sche were a clene mayden. So Jhesu Crist, nowe þat is þe hīge preost of Cristen men, spouseþ to hymselfe clene maydens. Seynt Gregorie seip, þerfore, by maydens, “Que sponent fugit in terra habere, meruit sponent habere in celo”; “þe womman þat fleþ to haue husbande in erþe is worþi to haue to spouse Goddis Sone of heuene.”
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

310 counseileþ maydens to be weddid þat wolde lyue chaast & more 3it Hym
greueþ þat streyneþ hem þerto, as faire wyermen & many goode þat
fayn chaast wolde lyue 3if þat noon hem lettide. But greet losse her
freendis þenken bi suche, but 3if þei weddid were, for fruyt þat of hem in
wedlok myþt ryse, and ofere þat lasse ben worþe, as loþely to man &

315 lymhalt or yuel thewed, þat noon þat hem knowiþ wolde haue hem to
wyfe, counseileþ hem & rediþ hem chaste to be, or puttiþ hem in
religyoun aþens her wille, forwhy to wedlok þei þinkiþ hem vnworþi.

Suche han þe curs of God, þat He hem wiþ þretiþ: “Maledictus dolosus
qui habet [ovem] in grege suo, & immolat debile Domino, quia rex magnus

320 Ego sum, dicit Dominus”; “cursyde is þe fals trechour þat haþ a good scheep
in his flok & offriþ to God a lymhalt & an vnworþi.” Þis curs may þei
drede þat offriþ to Cristis religioun moost vnworþi þing þat þei haue of
her barneteme or oþir þing. Ffor of þoo þinges þat þei offren to God þei
schulde chese of þe best; but if þei worse hadde, ofte worse wolde þei

325 3yue. Alle suche þat don or counseyleþ þus ben greete foolis to hemself,
and mochil leesiþ her honour & her worschiþ þat þei myþt haue of her
douþtris, 3if þei in maydenhed myþt lyue, as many maydens hertily
330 3ernen. Ffor þe more þat he is þat a mayden is to be weddid to, þe more
honour it is to þe leste of hir kyn, | but moste to þe fadir & to þe modir
þat such douþtris haueþ. Siþen þen in nobley, in richees, power, fairhed
& in likyng, God passiþ ouer alle men, so þat noon is to Hym lyke, ne of

319 habet [ovem] in grege] habet in grege  W  332 alle þat faer] for all þat faer
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

His fairhed noon fully kan telle, alle þat fair ben þei haue it of Hym.

Sche þat lyueþ mayden clene, to Crist sche is weddide. Þen þoruz suche alyaunce bitwix God and maydens maad, more honour & worschipe it is to alle þe maydens kyn þen sche to any oþer weddid were of al þis mydil erpe. 3it suche kyn ben no freendis to her douȝtris but her ful foes, 3if he greetyl harmed a womman þat maried myȝt be to a kyng, wiþ whom sche myȝt euere lyue in ioye, honour & welte, & leytt hir of þis honour, & 3af hir to a harlot or to a begger þat aboute beriþ baggis. More harm he doþ þen euere he may amende þat on any maner mayden lettiþ þat myȝt & wolde be maried to Almyȝty God & ȝyueþ hir to any of þis worlde, be þei neuer so riche.

Fforwhy spekiþ Seynt Jerom to a womman þat lettiþ hir douȝtır, þat couetid ouer alle þingis to serue Oure Lord in clene mayndern: 335

“What haþ þi douȝtır to þe c/ mysdone þat þou hir so hatest? Þenk þat of þee sche was born, & of þi breeste þou hir fedde, & in þi lappe þou hir norischid, & hir mayndern so longe þou hast ȝemed. & by hir now þou þenkist so liȝt? And bi þis mayden þat so longe þou hast forþ brouȝt, so hertliche þou berist & so liȝt þe þinkiþ þat sche spouse schulde be to

Almiȝty God? Nouȝt to a kyng deadly, but to a kyng undeadly, bifoare whom alle kyngis wiþ nakid sydes schulen stonde to resseyue of Hym after þat þei haue done, be it good or yuel? More worschippe myȝt þee 350

noȝt falle, if þou þee wel biȝouȝt, | þen þat þi douȝtér were weddid to suche

[144 ]
Forþi aȝeyne þe conseyl of holy writte þei doo þat conse[y]len maydens to be wyfes þat ben desposed & in wille to lyfe chaste. Fforþi Seynt Jerom spekeþ to a womman þat letted hyr douȝtȝer to lyue chaste: “What hap þi douȝtȝer done to þee, þat þou hatest hyr soo? Þenke of þee sche was bore & of þi brest þou feddest hyr. Why þinkeþ þe nowe lytle þerby & setteste it at liȝt þat sche be spoused to þe heisȝe Kynges of heuene & of erȝe, byfore whom alle erȝely kynges schul stande with naked sydes to be demed & receyue of hym after þat þei haue done in erȝe, be it good or yuel? More worschip I myȝt noȝt byfalle þee ȝif þou were wel bȝouȝtȝ, þan þat þi douȝtȝer were wedded to so noble a lord.” And, þerforþe, grete despite þei doo to God, þat robben fro hym þat 205 conse[y]len] conselen B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)
a lord and thou þoruȝe suche alyaunce be clepid modir of þi douȝteris
spouse.” 3it greet dispyt suche to God doȝh þat robbiȝ fro God þat Hyse
schulde be, as don þoo þat maydenes constreynten to be weddid þat chaste
wolde be, or þaraunter chaast haȝ avowed, þouȝe it priȝe be.

Þe fadir & þe modir ben þoo þat her childre schulden helpe þoruȝ
kynde, & þat hem most schulde stire to goode if þei kynde were, & þe
ordre of wedlok þat þei han taken þerto hem byndeȝ, þat þoo children þat
þei in wedlok haue schulde norishe hem & teche hem to worschipe &
preise & drede God in al her myȝt. If þei wiȝdrawe hem or lette hem þat
þei may noȝt so, her freendis be þei noȝt, but her ful foes.

Fforwhy bi suche freendis Seyn[t] Bernard spekiȝ, & by a
douȝter þat þei hadde þat forsaken hadde al hir kyn, þat sche in chaste
& clene lyf myȝt serve God þe bettir. When sche was fro hem
departyde, greet sorewe for hir þei made, as if sche hadde ben loste for
euere, as þoo þat loued hir fleischly & kouȝe not loue þe soule. þei sent
ofte lettris to hir & sternely awed hir þat sche schulde home come to
comfort hem in her sorewe þat þei for her hadde. þis holy mayden sent
to hem aȝen wiȝ lettre on þis wyse: “Onelich oon chosen þer is, fadir
& modir to wiȝstonde, and þat is God Hymsilf. For in His Gospel þus
He seij: ‘Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me
dignus.’ ‘He þat more loueþ fadir or modir þen Me’, seij God, ‘he is not
worþi to haue Me.’ If þee as goode fadir & modir loued me as þee letiȝ,

364 Seyn[t] seyn W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

scluld be His, as doo þei þat conceylen & maken maydens to be wedded aȝeynes her wille.

Ffader & moder ben bounden by her order to teche her children to worschip God in al þat þei myȝtten. 3if þei þan wiȝdrawe hem or lette hem, þei synnen grettlych & ben noȝt her frendis.

Forþi by siche frendis Seynt Bernard seiþ & telliþ of a douȝter þat hade forsaken alle hir kyn, þat sche myȝtte lyue chast life & serue God in clannes. Whan sche was departid gre te sorowe þei maden, as þouȝ sche hade be lorne for euermore, for þei loued hyr flesche more þan hir soule. Þei sende ofte lettres to hyr, & beden upon her blessynge þat sche schuld come home & comforde hem in þe grete sorowe þei toke for hyr. Þe holy mayden sende hem lettres & seyde þus: “One chosen loue þer is, to forsake fore fader & moder, & þat is to loue | God & serue Hym þe beter. For Crist seiþ in þe Gospel, ‘Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus.’ ‘Who þat loueþ fader or moder more þan me, he is noȝt worþi me’, þat is, ‘he is noȝt worþi my ioye.’ 3if þe ben my fader & my moder, why lette þe me to serue þat ioye? I knowe þou
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

whi lette 3ee me þen to loue my dere Fadir of Heuene? Why wole 3ee
drawe me fro His seruyse, whom for to serue is endeles ioye? | Soþely, now
I knowe 3ee ben no3t my frendis, but my ful foes. I knowe 3ow no3t
for fadir ne for modir but for my most enemyes. Ffor soþely, if 3ee me
loued, greet ioye 3ee wolde haue þat I haue forsaken boÞe þe world & my
kyn to serue my Fadir of Heuen & 3ouris, & Fadir of al þat is. What haue
I of 3ow to loue 3ow fore, but mysese & synne & þis wrecchid body þat
I bere aboute, þat in haste schal fayle? Þis I knowe I haue of 3ow, but
no good ellis. Ffor of 3ow, synful, I synful, in 3ow synful, was maad in

synne. Born I was, & þorú3 3ow norischid in synne. And but if þe mercy
of God had ben, þat þorú3 His mercy me haþ founden, þat wol not þat
I synful deye, þorú3 3ow 3it I hadde ben maad a brond in helle fier. A
harde fadir! A kene modir! So fel & wickid 3ee ben aþens me! 3ee clepe
me 3oure child, but 3ee kiþe not to me þat I schulde be 3oure child, ffor
more 3ee willeþ me to harme þen ou3t to helpe. But a bettir Fadir I haue
founden; woo were me ellys! 3oure sorew is myn heele; 3oure comfort is
my deep, þat coueyten more þat I perische wiþ yow, þen þat I lyue wiþ
Crist wiþouten 3ow. Wiþ 3ow I was in þe see, þere tempest me
ouercaste, but þorú3 a boord I feste me to I ascapid my deep.

“& now 3ee as foes & no3t my frendis clepen me aþen to perische
in þat wiþ so hard ascapide. In þe fier I brent so hooTe, þat half
brent I was or I my3t outwende, and 3it 3ee clepen me aþen to brenne
of me þat is lefte. Þere I was aboute bisette wiþ þeues, þat robbid me of
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

not for my frendes, but for my ful enemyes. What haue ye of you but wretchednes & synne, in his wretched body hat I bere aboute, hat sone schal feyle & rote in he erpe? His I know I haue of you, but no goode elles I knowe I haue of you, for of you, synful, synfully I was borne, & in synne I was norisched and hade not he mercy of God be, hat me synful haþ founden, elles hur3 you I hade ben made a childe of helle payne. Se clepe me 3oure childe, but se schewe not to me hat se loue me, for more se wilne me to harme han to goode; more to be in payne wiþ fendis, han in ioye wiþ Crist. Wiþ you I was in he see of his wretched world, here tempeste | ouercast me, but hur3 a borde I fest me to, I ascapet my deþ.

“Nowe se as enemyes & no3t as frendes clepen me aęyne to perische in he tempest hat I byfore fled. In he fure I was, hat I brende halfe er I my3t wynne oute, & zitte 3ee clepen me aęyne to brene alle hat lefte. Wonder vnkynde, me þinkeþ, se ben to clepe me aęyne to
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

hat I hadde, & woundid me so sore hat hei lefte me half dead, but I tanke my good Lord hat rewed on me hat I was so diȝt, for He weische my wounds wiþ wyn, & made hem souple wiþ oyle, & on His rigge me baar to house, and so He me heelyde of my sorewe. I tank Hym onely os me wel owe. And now see procure me as my foes to tolle me aȝen to falle in alle þese þerlys hat I am wonnen fro? Wondir madschip it is if þe hous brenneþ al of fier & men fleen out of þe hous for drede to be brent, and oþer before hem stondiþ to praye hem to turne aȝen. Þei hat dreden deþ may saye to suche fools, ‘If see vnhappy be & ȝuyen nouȝt of ȝoursel ne of ȝoure deþ, I drede sore deþ, wherfore fro ȝow I am flowe. And if see hate to deye, why coueyte see my deþ? Why see ȝoȝt he fier as see see me do, hat see þerinne noȝt brenne? What comfort may it be to ȝow, if I turne aȝen & in þe fier wiþ ȝow brenne? What solace may it be to hem þat ben dampned to deþ to haue felawes wiþ hem in payne? What helpe is it to hem þat dyȝen to see oþre dyȝe by hem?’ Anoþer lessoun þe riche man me techiþ, of whom þe Gospel telliþ, þat hoot brennyd in helle fier, and þerto he wiste forsoþe þat he neuere schulde come out, he preide Abraham to warne his fyue breþeren þat þei so dide here whiles þei lyued & kepe hem fro synne þat þei come noȝt to þat steyde wiþ hym to be pyned. Wheþer þen now I schal wende aȝen to comfort fadir & modir, þat for me mournen sore & make hem haue likyng of me here & but a litil whyle, & þat þerore wepe euere aftir moo glorwynge teeris in helle þen ben dropis of salt watir in þe see, and curse
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

alle þes myschefes. Schuld I þanne turne aþeyne to comford hem, for þei ben sorì for my flesche? Schuld I comford hem fleschely a lytle tyme in þis wretched life, & I, þerfore, wepe in helle moo brennyge teres þan dropes of water ben in þe see? þis dar I noȝt doo, but after þe conseyl of of þe apostel, þat þus biddeþ me doo, I wol folowe: ‘Non adquiescas cávni & sanguini’, þat is, ‘Ne folowe þou not after þe flesche & blode’, þat is, to þi fleschly frendis or þi fleschly stirynges, ne siche men þat conseylen þe aþeynes þe conseyl of God & His wille, but doo after þe conseyl of þe Gospel þat þus seþ, ‘Dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos’, þat is, ‘Suffur þe dede to burye þe deede’, þat is, leue þe wordliche conseyl & lete oo wordliche man conseyl anoþer. & doo þou after Dauid þe prophete, þat seþ þus: ‘Renuit consolari anima mea.’ Alle confortes þat helpen noȝt to þe loue of God, I hem forsake.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

 Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concepit A (MS W)
“Fforþi, in charite, I ȝou byseche þat ye leue ȝoure mournynge & spekeþ no more of siche þinges to me, for þe lyue þat I haue chosen ne wol I neuer leue, þurȝ þe myȝt of my Lord Jhesu Crist, to whom I schal prey as to my dere spouse; for whos loue I am departed fro ȝou as for a schort tyme, þat we mow afterward þe beter lyue togeder in euerlastynge ioye.” And þus maydens may answere to her fleschly frendes.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

nede.

Greet profyt it is mayden to be, for two þingis þat kepiþ hem þat þe weddide mochil harmeþ. Þese two ben synne & peyne. Ffirst it kepiþ hem fro synne, in þe which þese þat weddide ben ofte fallen ynne, what for worldly bisynes, | what for houshold & oþere þing þat þerto fallyþ. Also for to plese hem þat þei ben to weddic, ofte þei wrapþe God, & fallen into manye synnes in þat þei peyne hem ouermochel to paye her spouses:

þei make fair her face; þei wasche her necke; þei tresse her heer as semelyest wolde seme & fretþþ it wiþ garlondis on euerech a-sye. So feerid þei ben þat ouþt is amys, þat a myro ur before hem redy bihouþ hem haue wherinne þei may loke. Þei feyne hem to þe myroure suche as þei wolde biseme, for to plese to her lordis whiles þei ben in her siþt, but to ouþt þat God myþt paye haue þei no wille and payneþ hem in al þat þei may in dispyt of God to make hem fairer þen euere kynde hem made. Now her childre þei kysse, now þei ȝyue hem sook, now þei sette hem on her kne, & þei hem vplifte and caste hem fro hond to hond as þei applis were. As childre wiþ her children þei pleye to make hem on hem lawȝ, and wantonly hem berþ aboute &c wantonly as children hem techiþ, riþt as þei witles were. þei acomtiþ with her seruauntis & wiþ spensers what þei haue ydo; wiþ spynsters, wiþ websters, wiþ skynners what þei haue ido; wiþ taylours & wiþ oþer myster men þat her werk makiþ. Ofte as þei acomtiþ wiþ hem, þei cursiþ & chidiþ & grete oþis swerþ, & greuiþ hemself ofte for nowþt. In alle þese sory mangglynges
Ecce Virgo Conципет B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

\(\text{hat } \text{he weddid haue}, \text{ bei fynden but a schort tyme for to } \text{henke on God.}\)

When \(\text{he loue of } \text{he weddide among so manye is delyd as bitwene } \text{he}\)

weddid hemself eïper to oïr, & to \(\text{he children bytwene } \text{hem ygete,}&\)

to \(\text{he worldis goodis } \text{hat } \text{hei haue or wille} \text{ to haue}; \text{when among alle } \text{he}\)

her loue is departed, God haþ \(\text{he leste part, if I sooþ schal seye.}\)

\[146^v\]

\(3\text{t profitable it is } & \text{lykyng a mayden to be, for drede } | \text{& sore}\)

peynes \(\text{hat } \text{these weddide suffre, ffor with wedlok wakip many a woo.}\)

What for worldly bisynesse, what for childre beryng \& norischynge of hem,

\(\text{hat euere is wiþ drede; for in } \text{he birþe of } \text{he child a drede knittiþ in } \text{he}\)

modir \(\text{hat neuer schal from hir departe, and ofte } \text{he peyne is so hard in}\)

beryg of \(\text{he child } \text{hat in } \text{he birþe sche dyþþ or sone aftir. Ffor þouþ it}\)

were neuer for Goddis loue, ne for hope of heuene, 3it ouþt womman

euermore fle wedlok \& mannes felaweschep forsake for euere, but if

\(\text{hei gessedyn trewely } \text{hat God moued hem þerto. Ffor knowen þing it is}\)

to ouermany, \& ofte it fallþ, þat men þat ben ofte myssseyde of her wyfes

\& chidiþ ofte togyder, \& wyfes of her husbondis beþ sore bete \& ofte

so foule defoulyd þat hem loþþ her lyf. And how euere þei beren hem

outward to siþ[r] of þe peple, manye sore greues \& angris þei felþ wiþinne,

\(\text{þe which noon knowiþ but þei himself. If þei haueþ any likyng bitwene}\)

hem, þinke it hem neuer so swete, bittirly it schal be bouþt as þe hony þat

is lickid of breris. Many I haue to witnesse, if þee wolde graunte þe soþe,

þei myþt not taast þe watir þat þe bacoun were soden ynne.

\[485\] siþ[r]  siþ W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Of alle þe angris þat ye weddid suffre, ye goode maydens beþ fre
as Goddis spouse dere. Þei nouȝt care for housholde ne for beestis ne for
childres sustenauence. Þar þei nouȝt swynke, ffor nouȝt ells þar sche care
but to qweme hir God, ffor He wol ordeyne for hir al þat hir nedip if
sche trewe be to Hym. Ffor þei þat trewely loueþ God in clennesse of lyf,
as maydens auȝte to done, more likyng & ioye þei haue wiþ her spouse in
a litil whyle þen haueþ al þe weddide in a long tyme, ffor þe likyng þat
maydens haue of Jhesu Crist her spouse is sooþfast & trewe, but þe
lyuyng þat | weddid haueþ is faulyng ofte & fals. Wel ben maydens worþi
to haue ioye wiþ Almyȝteþ God, þat for His loue here forsakeþ likyng of
her fleisch. Ffor Seynt Poule þe apostle seiþ, “Qvius ecun desper, que sunt spiritus, senciunt.” Þei þat hauiþ her herte rotid in þe loue
of God, He makiþ hem to fele how swete He is in Hymselþ.

Now þoruȝ Goddis grace helpynge, it is for to wyte why God
chees maydens to be His spouse. Þe Apostle schewiþ it in þis schort
worde, þere he þus seiþ: “Virgo cogitat que Dei sunt, vt sit sancta corpore,
& spiritu”, þat is, “sche þat good mayden is, of God sche þenkiþ & of þat
þat may helpe hir toward God, þat sche holy be in body & in spiriþt.” In
þis word þe Apostle makiþ to vndirstonde þat þe mayde þat ȝyueþ hir to
God wiþ a vow of chastite oweþ wiþinne & wiþoute to be clene, þat sche
in body & in soule be bisy to serue hir Lord God in al holynesse to
worche His wille. And if sche wol be as þe Apostle techiþ hir, þen hir
spouse wol louely speke to hir þe wordis þat in þe Loue Book beþ ywriten,
Now it is to wite why þei schulde be maydens þat God cheseþ to His special spouse, & in þis schort word þe Apostel techeþ: “Virgo cogitat que Dei sunt, ut sit sancta corpore, & spiritu”, þat is, ‘Þe mayden þenkþ þoo þinges þat ben of God, sche þenkþ þat sche be holy in body & soule.’ In þis worde þe Apostel techeþ vs þat þo mayden þenkþ þoo to life chaste oweþ to be clene wiþinne & wiþoute, þat þei be tendande for her Lord Jhesu Crist in alle holynes euer to worche his wille. And ȝif þe mayden be siche as þe Apostel hir lereþ, þan hir spouse Jhesu Crist frendeliche spekeþ to hyr þe wordes þat ben writen in þe Boke of Loue, þere He þus seþ, “Tota pulcra es, amica mea, & macula non est in te”;
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

Here he thus seif: “Tota pulcra es, amica mea, & macula non est in te”;

“al fair thou art, my loue, & no mole is in thee.” Of these wordis Seynt

Bernard spekif: “Sche is al fair”, he seif, “that no defaute haþ, that hir

fairhed may noon haue, but if he conscience hat is in he witt be clene

wipinne & he fleische wipoute chaste & clene.” His clene conscience

withynne wipen heoo maydens louely face hat Jhēu Crist, maydens

spouse, couetif to biholde. Ffor his he askif in he Book of Loue, where

he wip these wordis to his leaf spekif: “Ostende michi faciem tuam, soror

mea.” “Swete sister”, he seif, “schewe to me thi louely face.”

It tellif by a mayden hat of many was ypraisyde for hir louely face,

[147"]

to whom sche answered hastily on his wyse: “Of my face wipinneworþ hat

I louely be, I am bisy to Goddis plesaunce to kepe it clene. For Jhēu, he

Fadir Sone of heuen, my spouse, couetif it myche fair to see.” Also it
tellif of a mayden hat dwellid in a cyte of Alisaundre hat wondir gracious

was & fair, so hat manye hat syþe hir face of hir were ofte ytemptid.

When he mayde wist his, sche made hirself be closyd in a narew selle

ymaad of lym & stoon, & þere as in prisoun sche dwellyd to hir

lyues eende, þat neuer aftir man myþt her see, and þus sche answered

þese hat hir askid why sche was so closid: “Me is leuer”, quod sche, “be

loken in prisoun while I lyue here, þen to harme any soule þat to my

Lord is lyche.”

Þe fruyt of maydenhod ouerpassif al oþer—fruyt of wedlok &
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

“my dere spouse, þou art al feire & in þe is no filpe.” Seynt Bernard

seþ, “Sche is feire þat vseþ no foule maneres, but goode virtues & plesyng in þe syxt of God.”

It tellþ of a mayde þat dwelid in þe cyte of Alysaundre, þat
wonder feyre was & gracious in mannes syxt, so þat many þat seiþen þe
face of hyr were tempted to synne. & whan þis mayden wiste of þis,
sche made hyrselþ to be closed in a selle made of lyme & stone, & þere
as in a prisoun sche dwelled to hyr lyues ende, þat neuer after | man myzt
hir see. & whan any man axed hyr why sche e[n]closed hyr soo, þis was
hyr answere: “Leuer”, sche seyde, “I hadde be vnsene þe while I lyfe in
þis world, þan any soule, þat is þe ymage of my Lord, schuld haue harme
þurȝ me.”

Þe frute of maydenhode ouerpasseþ alle oþer, forþi God Hymselþ
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

wydewhod boþe—\( \textit{hat} \) is, in mede, \( \textit{hat} \) of hir springiþ. It alle þese boþe ouerpassiþ, ffor as Seynt Jerom seiþ: “\( \textit{De fruyt of hir paradys fille} \); \( \textit{he fruyt of wedlok fille} \) þe erþe.” Ffor hir grete fairnesse & clennesse boþe, God likeneþ hir to þe lilye, \( \textit{hat} \) of alle floures fairest is \( \textit{hat} \) in erþe growith. Fforwhy in þe Loue Book þus by it He seiþ: “Sicut lilyum inter spinas, sic amica mea inter fillias.” “As þe lilye”, seiþ Oure Lord, “among prickynge þornes is louely & faire, so My leef among alle wyfes dou3tris.” And þou schalt vndirstonde þat maydenhod is \( \textit{hat} \) flour, if it be kept as it oweþ to be, neuer schal it faile; for þe wynde of veynglory & of worldly wele, \( \textit{hat} \) of synne wakih, schal it neuere ouercaste, ne þe hailynge stormes of worldly angres neuer schal hem lette of þe welþe & þe ioye þat God hem ordeyneþ, as it wel was seyn in Seynt Joon Euangelist, \( \textit{hat} \) lyued mayden clene nyFy_¶æ*íttris an hundryd | 3eer, þou3 he many peynes & angris suffride, to holde hym euere in oon.

\( \textit{De lilye haþ sixe leefes as sixe wardeyns & þre corneles briþt as} \)

\( \textit{hei were ouergilt; riþt so haþ þe flour of maydenhod, þat holdiþ hir in hir strengþis & hool witbouten breche. Þe first leef þat maydenhod kepiþ is sobrenesse of mete & drynke, fforwhy Seynt Jerom to maydens biddiþ, “Virgo fugiat vinum ut venenum; vinum autem bibere nil aliud est, quam oleum flammis adicere.” “Ma\( \text{\`i}\) dens”, he seiþ, “schulden fλe drynkyngis of wyn as it poysoun were, ffor maydens þat drynken wyn but for medecyn, þei castiþ oyle in þe fier, & hatter it brenneþ & aftir it makih
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

likeneþ [it] to þe lyle þat passe oþer floures in feyrnes, where He þus seyþ,

“Sicut liliu* inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.” “As þe lyle”, ‘He’ seyþ,

emonge prickyng þornes, so My loued spouse emonge alle wymmens
douȝtren.”

Þe lile haþ sixe leues, & wiþinne þe leues, þree feir cornes, as
þouȝ þei were ouergulde. Þe sixe leues ben as sixe wardens to kepe þes
þree cornes. Þe firste leue þat maydenhode keþe is sobernes, þat is,
mesure of mete & of dringe, forþi Seynt Jerom seþ to maydens, “Virgo
fugiat vinum ut venenum; vinum autem bibere nichil aliud est, quam
oliu* flammis adicere”; “þe mayden fle wyne as venom, for a mayden to
dringe wyne is but as to caste oyle in þe fure, þat makeþ it | to brene þe
faster.” Loth, þat was amonge þe cursed folke of Sodom & lyued so
Æce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

Lo[th], þat amonges þe cursed folk so riȝtwys
lyf ledde, þat myȝt noon of Sodom þerinne he dwellide make hym do
amys, þouȝ al þei so pynded hym nyȝt & day to stire hym to do wronge
þat it was peyne hym to lyue among þe yuel folk; ȝit þis Loþ, þat so
stalworþely stood among so many foes, þoruȝ wyn þat he dranke he
was ouercast, & fel so foule þat wiþ his two douȝtris, þat maydens
were clene, vnkyndely he synned. Fforwhy, by wyn, þe Wyse Man seþ,

"Lux[u]riosas res est vinum, & tumultuosa ebrietas"; “Leccherous þing is
wyn, & drunkuþned is of greet stryf.”) Þerfore Seynt Jerom seþ to
maydens, “Mesure be to ȝow of mete so þat þi wombe be neuer ful eþ
day, be it fastynge day or not; restreyne þee er þou be ful.”

Þe wardeyn of maydenhod is þat mayden be noȝt ydel, but þat
sche be in honest werk; ffor ease wiþ ydilnesse makþ weye to
leccherous stiryngis. Ffor why þe holy man biddþ, “Semper aliquid boni
agite, ut diabolus semper te inueniat occupatum” (“Be euere worchynge sum
goode, þat þe feend fynde þee not ydel.”)

[148]

Þe þridde wardeyn | is scharpe cloþinge & meke, ffor riȝt as þe
scharpe cardé softeþ þe cloþ & makiþ it semeþe, riȝt so harde cloþes þe
conscience of þe mayden softeþ & maydens fleisch makiþ chaaste, þere
þe mayden suche cloþes weriþ onely to paye hir spouse Crist. Proude
cloþing, softe & leccherous, sore prickeþ maydenhed & as pricynge
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

riȝtwyse life āt none of hem myȝt make hym doo amysse, þouȝ al þei stired hym nyȝt & day, ēs Loth āt stode so stronge emonge so many liþer enimyes, þurȝ wyne āt he draunke he was ouercomen, & so foule he feel āt wiþ his owne twoo douȝtres, āt were clene maydens, cursedly he synned. Fforþi þe Wyse Man spekeþ of wyne & seiþ, “Luxoriosa res est v[i]num, & tumultuosa ebrietas”; “lecherous þing is wyne, & grete noyse dronkenhede.” Forþi Seint Jerom to a mayden seiþ, “Before alle þinge be þou mesurable in mete & dringe, so þat þi wombe be neuer ful. Iche day be þi fastynge day.”

Þe secunde warde of maydehode is þis: þat maydens be noȝt ydel, but euere occupied, traueylynge honest werkis, for ydelenes makeþ lecherous stiringes & is þe fendes restyng-place. Forþi byddeþ Seynt Jerom,

“Semper aliqūid boni agita, ut diabolus te ocul|patum inueniat” (“Euer be doynge sum goodenes, þat þe deuel fynde þe wel ocupied, & þan he may noȝt rest wiþ þee wiþ noo grete temptациоуns.”)

Þe þridde wardeyn of maydenhode is mekenes, for þat uіrтue is moste loued of God, forþi of alle þe vertues þat Oure Lady, Seynt Marie, hade, Our Lord specialy preyseþ þat, as þe Gospel seiþ þat “Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue”; “Oure Lord byhelde into þe mekenesse of Hys handemayden.” & Crist seiþ also þat he þat mekenes hym schal be heiʒed

306 v[i]num vnum B3 313 agita agito B3 318 as þe Gospel as ſе Gospel B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

brymbles doip hem þat hem neyþeþ & makip weye to synne.

Þe ferþe wardeyn is kepyng of hir wittis & namely of þoo þat

580 schewen hem afer, as siþt, heryng & curiousnesse for to see ydel þingis
þat harmen & noþt helpen, or to here ydel wordis or foule þat to
leccherey may stire. Fforwhy Salomo seþ to mayden þat is Goddis
spouse, “Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso vita procedit” (“Wiþ al
maner kepyng kepe wel þin herte, for lyf of þi soule is þerinne if it be
wel kepte.”)

Þe wardeyns of þe herte ben þe fyue wittis: siþte, heryng,
smellynge, þenkynge and alle þi lymes kepynge from yuel felynge. Kepe
þese wel, for it bihoueþ so þat þei ouerreche noþt owt of hem & so falle
in to harme & euere to be at home to herken & kepe when her spouse
comeþ to hem wiþ comfort hem to gladde.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

in heuene wiþ a crowne of euerlastynge ioye.

Þe furþe warden of maydenhode schal be sylence, for þat is þe strengþe of uirtuues. Forþi holy writ seiþ, “In silencio & spe fortitudo uestra.” And in silence maydens schal abyde þe comynge of her spouse, Jhesu Crist, forþi Jeremye þe prophete seiþ, “Bonum est prestolar[i] cum silencio salutare domini”; “good it is to abyde þe hele of Our Lord in silence.” | For ofte of myche spekynge comeþ myche synne, & þerfore seiþ Davið þe prophete, “Dixi: Custodia uias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea”; “Lorde, I schal kepe alle my weyes, þat I trespase not in my tonge, þat is in alle þe dayes of þis life.” He wolde kepe hym from myche ydel spekynge, for holy writte seiþ, “In manibus lingue mors & vita”; “in þe power of þe tonge is life & deeth.” Þerfore, of alle þinges it is most nede to kepe it wel, for of þe habundance of mannens hert þe mouþ spekeþ, as Crist seiþ in þe Gospel: “Ex habundancia cordis os loquitur.” & þerfore seiþ Salomon, “Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso uita procedit”; “in alle maner of kepinge kepe wel þi herte, for of hym goþ oute life & deeth.”
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

Loke now how þe lady in hir Loue Book techiþ maydens bi hir sawe how þei schal seye, "En dilectus meus loquitur mibi, 'surge, propera, amica mea.'" "Lo", he[ō] seiþ, "herken, I here my leef speke; he clepþ me, [I] moste go", & þee þen gon anoon riþt to 3oure dere lemmman.

Whiche ben wordis þat he to hir spekiþ, loue stiryngis þat he sendiþ to þat soule þat he to-comeþ wiþ swete hony teeris of louelonyng & raueschiþ hir wiþ mournynge to hym, þat peyne it is to hir to þenke of ouþte but of hym or þat þing þat helpe may toward hym. And þese ben þe louely wordis wherwiþ he his leðman clepþ, "Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni; ostende michi faciem tuam; sonet vox tua in auribus meis"; þat is "Ryse vp, hiþe þee toward me & come to me, my lemmman, my culuer, my fair, my louely spouse; schewe to me þi fayre face, þi glad chere & wiþdrawe þe from oþir. Speke to me, þat þe voys of þine wordis sowne in myn eeris & mene þee to me & seye who haþ mysdon aþen þee, my dere þing. And for þou couetys noon but me, ne spekest to noon but to me: þi voice is swete to me & þi face fair."

Fforwhy it folowiþ, "Vox tua dulcis & decora." Þese ben now two þingis þat been myche loued: swete speche, & briþt face & louely hewe, whoso hem haþ togidre. Suche loue haþ Jhesu Crist to lemmman & to spouse. If þou wolt suche be, ne schewe þou no man þi face for loue of praisynge, ne ʒit lete here þi speche, but turne boþe to Jhesu Crist þi derworþe spouse as he biddeþ þee. Hiþe vp, as þou wolt þat hym þinke þi speche swete & 593 he[ō] W 594 [I] moste go W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

And þerfore 3if any man wold styre 3ow to ydel speche forsakeþ

þat & heriþ how God spekeþ to Hys spouse in þe Boke of Loue, “En
dilectus meus loquitur mibi, ’surge, propera, amica mea’” (“Loo, my spouse
| spekiþ to me, ’Ryse up & arey þee, my dere frende’.”) Þes wordes He

spekiþ onely to hem þat forsaken alle erþely loue, for entent to loue

Hym, as alle maydens specialiche schuld doo. Þus loueliche God spekeþ to

hem þat kepen hem fro ydel speche & wordliche, & haue sette alle

her comforde in Hym, &, þerfore, He seiþ þus to hem: “Veni, ostende

mibi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis” (“Come to Me, My leue,

& schewe to Me þi fayre face, for þi voyce souneþ in Myn eres.”)

342 for entent] for 3ef entent  B3

411
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The face fair, and holde hym to thi leman hat seuen thousande fairer is then is the sonne, hat so briyt schyneþ.

Herkeneþ now bisily alle maydens, þat 3ee þe more be waar & bettir kepe 3oure wittis to worschipe of 3oure spouse. Herkeneþ now anoþer speche þat is ri3t al froward fro þe speche þat 3ee ri3t now herde. Herkeneþ now how Jhese Crist spekiþ as in wræþ & agreed, lokïþ & also an hokir scorne hæþ to þat mayden þat His leman schulde be, þat schewiþ his wipoute wip iangelyng, wip nyce lokyng & herkenynge, & hir oþir wittis letiþ outpasse to fede hem wip lustis & likyngis of þe world, to paye þe world wip his fleisch and myspaye God & þus wastiþ hir tyme. Take now ñ kepe hou Oure Lord spekiþ to suche maydens with þese wordis, þat writen ben in þe Loue Book: “Si ignoras te, pulcra inter mulieres, egredere, & abi post vestigium gregum tuorum, & pasce edos tuos.” “3if þou knowest not þiself”, to þe outward mayden God seiþ, “þou fair among wynmen, wende out & go aftir geet flockis & fede þe kiddes.” Þat is an aweful word & a grym wipal, þat Oure Lord seiþ of angur & of skorne to hem þat grymme lokïþ out & herkeniþ, & maydens þat iangeliþ; þus þese wordis beþ derke & hidde to þe vndistondynge. I schal declare hem þat 3ee mowe hem vndistonde, and take now good hede: “If þou knowist noþt þisilf”, Oure Lord seiþ, “þat is, if þou wost not whos spouse þou art, þat þou art queen of heuene, þat þou art My trewe spouse as spouse owe to be; if þou þis haue forþeten & tellist litil þerby, wende out”, He seiþ, “& go.”

But whidir out? Out of þi hiȝenesse, out of þi mychil worschipe, out of þi
Ecce Virgo Conципiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)
grete dignyte. Riȝt so it is to be Goddis spouse, Jhesu Crist brid, þe
Lordis leman, þat alle þingis bowiþ, of al þe worlde leuedy, as he is of
alle Lord; like hym in holynesse, vnwennmed as he is, & þat blessid
mayden his derworÞe modir, & liche his holy angelis and hise higest
halewes. Al þis ioye schal þei [not] haue þat he to-spekiþ on þis wyse: “Go
out of þi mych worschipe, & folewe þe floc of geet.” What is þis floc of geet?
þat is lustis & likynges of fleisch, þat stynkþ as geet doþ bifeore Oure
Lord. “If þen þou haue forþeten þi worschipful ladischip in goyng out
fro Me & folewest þi geet, þat is | þi foule lustis.”

Here now what he seiþ aftir: “Fede þi kiddis”, þat is as þouȝ he
þus seide: “Fede þine þzen wiþ outward lokyng, þi tunge wiþ iangelyng,
þine eeren wiþ vnleueful heryng, þi nose wiþ swete smellyng, þi fleisch
wiþ softe felyng.” Þese fyue wittis he clepiþ kiddes, ffor riȝt as of a
kydde þat haþ swete fleisch comiþ a stynkyng geet, riȝt so of a jone
swete lokyng, or of a swete heryng, or of a softe felyng, wexiþ a
stynkyng lust & a foul synne. Wherfore seiþ God to suche as He agreued
were, “Egredere”, þat is, “wende out”, as Dyna dide, Jacobis douȝter,
þat went out in an yuel tyme, ffor sche went out a mayde & come hom
an hore. Ffor it telliþ in Genesis þat sche went for to se wymmen of þat
lond, nouȝt for to se þe men, & þere sche lefte hir maydenhod. And for
þat dede was þe kynge of þat lond & his sone slayn & a greet cyte brenȝe
& al þat was þerinne, her fader & her breþer ðalemed & outlawed of
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

416

Hat lond; and of hir outwendyng come al his woo. Wherfore God to
wantyn maydens seide as in greet greeme, “Egredere”, hat is as hou3

God seide to a mayden hat leef is outward to loke, or to wydewes or to
nunnes hat chast haue avowed, “Loue Me & My comfort euere schulde
be wiþinne þi breest, if hou treuly louest Me as þi derworþe spouse; and if
þou sekest anoþer withoute in þe fals lyuyng or likyng of þe worlde hat
euere schal ende in peyne & sorewe, take þee þerno & leue Me when þee
is so leuere. But þou ne schalt on no manere wyse haue togydre þese
two comfortis: Myn & þe worldis. Neiþer þou may haue boþe togider þe
ioye of þe Hooly Goost & fleiscly stynkynge desyres. Chese now oon

[150']
of þese twoo, forþi þat oon þou most nede leue. O pulchra | inter
mulieres! A, þou fair among wymmen!” Oure Lord seï, “euere among

aungels, þou art My worþi spouse. Schal þou folewe geet on þe feld, þat
ben þi foule lustis? þou, My derworþe leman, þou, Myn hony, My
culuer, þat schuldest Me wiþ þin herte loue, bihote Me cussys as Myn
hony swete & Myn hertly loue, þat seï to Me in þe Book of Loue,
’Osculetur me osculo oris sui’, þat is, ‘Cusse me, my leman, with a cuss
of þi mouþe, þat is to me swetter þen hony.’” Þis dere mayden haþ hony
cussis; sche is as a hony swetnesse wiþ a delite of herte, so swete & so
sauery þat eueryche oþer sauour or likyng, whatsoeuere it be, is bitter
þer aſenst. But Oure Lord wiþ þis co[ss]e cussiþ no soule þat any loueþ
more þen Hym, but if þat þing be for Hym & may helpe to gete Hym.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

And þen þou, Goddis spouse, þat þus mayst here bifore how swetly þi spouse spekiþ wiþ þee & clepiþ þee to Hym so louely, & þeraftir how grymly to þee He spekiþ if þou wendist out fro Hym, holde þee at home with þisilf, & with þi dere spouse, & fede þou noþt (wiþoute þi zate) kyddis; þat is, holde wiþinne þin herynge, þi speche & þi siȝt; & barre wysely þe gates of þi mouȝe; & kepe þin eeren, þat þei be noþt reproued in openyng, but aȝenst Goddis sonde & lyuelode of soule.

Semey, Daviðis þral, hadde his deeþ deserued, þoruȝ þat he aroos aȝens his lord Daviþ, ffor þat he cursyde hym & caste to hym stoones, as he wolde hym haue slayne, as in þe Book of Kyngis openly it telliþ (2 Regum 16), wherfore he was accused to Salomon, Daviðis sone, of þis wickid deede. But Semey cried mersy & Salomon it hym forȝaf, þoruȝ such a forward þat he kepte hym at home in Jerusalem where he hous heelde. | Suche was þe forward maad, þat if he wente out, þat he be foule & gylty to þe deeþ demed. But þe wrecche Semey sone forward brak þoruȝ his madschip & wolde noþt be war; his þrallis flowe from hym out of Jerusalem, & Semey folwed after, wherfore he was accused to þe kyng &c, for þe forward was broke, he was demed to þe deeþ.

Vndirstonde þou wel þis, þou wanton mayde, wydewe, or nunne þat haþ avowed chast: Semey in oure langage is as myche as “worschippyng” on Englysch, & bitokeneþ maydens or wydewes or nunes þat han a souereyne longynge to her worldly iangelyn &
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

chaterynge. And Semeyes dwellyng w:s in Jerusalem, þere he schulde haue holde hym if he wolde haue lyued. Þis word Jerusalem is to mene “s[i]nte of pees”, þat bitokeneþ nunnes houses or maydens, fo[r] þer inne-dore þei haue but onely pees. Be þen neuerÞat mayde, þat semeþ so wilfully to halewe hir to God, a gyloʊr toward þe soþe, siþ Salomon biddiþ, þat is hir spouse, Jhesu Crist, þat sche noȝt wende out but holde hir at home in Jerusalem, þat sche noȝt of þe worldis wrecchidnes wite þat sche hāf forsake. And Salomon to hir frely bihotiþ his helpe, but if sche entirmete hir of þingis wrouȝte more þen hir nedīþ, & here be sette in worldly þinges. Fñor þouȝ a clot of erþe, þat is hir fleisch, be wiþinne þe foure wallis, sche is went out wiþ Semey of Jerusalem as he dide to folewe his þralles. Hir þralles ben þese erþely fyue wittis þat schulde be a tour her Lord to serue inne. Þen þei serueþ her Lord wel when sche worchþem hem wel in hir soule help: when þe yȝe is vpon þe book; þe eeren Goddis word heriþ; þe mouþ in preiere; þe hert in holy [151v] | meditaciou[s]. If sche is recheles & leteþ hem outrake & letiþ hir herte folew aftir, sche brekiþ Salomon forward wiþ þe wrecche Semey & is todeeþ demed.

Þerfore good mayde, þat to God art weddid, be þou noȝt Semey, but be þou Hester þat was hid, & þen schalt þou be hized as sche was. Fñor so telliþ þe name of Hester þat was hid, “Abscondita”; þat is not onely “hid”, but þit þerto is more sette, “Eleuata in populis”, þat is “in þe
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

725 folk hized.” And so was Hester as hir name seip, for sche was hized &
crowned quene from a pore mayde. Ffor his word “Hester” bitokeneþ
“hidynge” & “hizynge” fastned togidre, and noþt onely hidnesse but
hizenesse ouer folk, for to schewe outtirly þat þei þat hydeþ hem as
maydens schulde, þat holdiþ hem in hidelis from outward schewynge to
hiz world in chaumbre or in chirche, onely to queme Crist þat sche is to
weddid, sche schal be in heuene ouer oþir comoun folk worshipful hized.

On anoþir half vndirstondiþ, 3ee maydens & wydowes also, þa[t]
vowe haueþ maad to God bifoþre þe prelat Crist in holy chirche to haue
reste & pees, ffor 3ee beþ as þeeues outlawid þat fleeþ to holy chirche, for
þe seend awaiþeþ 3ou wel þerne wiþ enuy if he may fynde 3ou wiþoute,
as men doþ a þeef þat to chirche is fowle. Perþere holde 3ee 3ou fast
wiþinne; noþt onely þe body, for þat is þe most vnworþi part of man, but
holdiþ 3ee ynne 3oure fyue wittis & 3oure herte also, for þerinne is lyf
of soule, if it be wel kepte. Ffor be þou founden wiþoute, þou art demed
to þe deþe wiþ þe vnsely Semey, but þou be þe sonner turned æþen &
holde þe at home.

[152]\n
Þe fiþe wardeyn is | auysement of word. What maydens word schal
be, Seynt Jerom seip, “it schal be wyse & of mesure & selden schal sche
speke so þat hir word more preciouse be to alle þat it heriþ.”

732 þu[t] þu W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

Þe v warde. Hertliche loue schal be þe fift ward þat schal kepe
clene maydenhode. For Marye Maudeleyne loued myche, God graunte hyr
al þat sche axed, as Crist hymselfe seip in þe Gospel, “Dimissa sunt ei
peccata multa, quoniam dilesi[t] multum”; “many synnes ben forþeuen hyr,
for sche loued myche.” And þe prophete seip, “Dilexi, quoniam exaudiuit

351 dilesi[t]] dilesi B3
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

745  Þe sixte wardeyn is þat mayden fle al chesoun of synne þat may
      stire or make weye to synne, & namely of felawschip of men. Be sche
      euere aferd with any felawschip to haue, as in daliaunce of speche & whatso
      þei be, be wiþ noon bitwix hemself aloone. And þenk euere of Thamar,
      þat was Dauïþis douȝter, hou sche was aforcid & bileyn of Amon hir
      broȝer, þorus þat sche cam to his chambre & was with hym aloone.

750  Seynt Bernard seiþ þat, “Soþely, madens ben euere dredeful & neuer holdiþ
      hem sikir in þis lyf & for to eschewe þat dredeful is, þei ofte forbere þat
      noȝt is for to drede.”
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

*Dominus oracionem mean*”; “I loued, & for I loued, Oure Lord herde

my preyer.” þei þat trewliche louen | wolen doo noþinge þat schuld dysplese her loue, for, as þe Wyse Man seiþ, “Loue is stronge as deeþ”,

and, þerfore, þei þat most louen schullen be most stronge in grace in þis lif & haue moste ioye in heuene.

Þe sixte warde of maydenhode is drede, for drede holdeþ oute alle manere of yuel, & is bygynner & gouner of alle maner of

& liberabit eum | a malo”; “to hym þat drediþ God schal come none yuel, but in alle tempta[cions], God schal kepe hym & delyuer hym fro alle yuel.” Seynt Bernard seiþ, “Lore makeþ a man witty, but drede makeþ hym wyse”, & þerfore seiþ Salomon, “Corona sapiencie timor Domini.”

“Croune of wysdome is þe drede of God”, for as a croune worschipeþ a mañnes heuede, so þe drede of God worschipeþ þe wisdom of man.

For haue a man neuer so myche wisdome wiþoute loue drede to God, it is but foly whatso man doþe.

359 & is bygynner] & is bygynner & is bygynner B3 363 Seynt] seynt B3 368 tempta[tions]] tempta B3
Wiðinne þese sixe leues of þe lily ben þre cornes as þei were ouergilte, to make to vndirstonde þat mayden schal haue wiðinne þise six wardeyns þre skilles why sche schulde loue God. Ffirst sche schal loue God for He made hir, siþen for He bouȝt hir, and þe þridde for He haȝ byfore oþer to His owne spouse chosen hir.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

De þree cornes þat ben wiþinne þe lyle couert & kept wiþ þes sixe leuees, ben þree maner of cornes þat fallen to maydenhode: þe first is croune of clanes; þe secunde is croune of ioye; & þe þridde croune of worship.

Croune of clannes: “Qui sine macula sunt ante tronum Dei”; “for þei ben wiþ oute spotte of filþe or corrupcion before þe tron[e] of God,” briȝtter þan euer was sunne in mannes siȝt, and þat clannes & briȝt|tenes schul þei euer haue, world wiþouten ende, for þei kepe hem here in þis lyfe fro lustes of synne. Forþi Oure Lord seiþ to hem, “Veni, sponsa Christi, accipe coronam quam tibi deus preparavit in eternum;” “come, My dere spouse, & take to þee þe croune þat God haþ ordeynet to þee wiþoute ende.”

Þe secunde croune þat maydenhode schal haue is þe croune of ioye, for þei schul euer folowe Oure Lord, Jhesu Crist, & be wiþ hym in alle þe ioyes in heuene, as holy writte seiþ: “Secuntur Agnum quemque ierit.” Ffor þei forsaken to folowe þe lustes & þe wille of þe flesche, & þe ydel & þe veyne ioy of þe world, & ordeneþ hem onely to folowe Jhesu Crist & louen hym ouer alle þinge. Þerfore þei schul be wiþ hym in alle maner ioye before alle oþer, of þe whoche ioye Seynt Paule spekeþ & seiþ, “Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparavit Deus diligentibus se”; “þat no manes eiȝe myȝt
Sit her ben sise þingis þat maydens oweþ sore to drede. Ffïrst is pride: mayden þat proud is of hir maydenhod & countrefetþ maydens maneres, for couetynge to be praisyd, of þoo þat Goddis temple schulde be, an horehous sche makiþ. Bettir is sche þat haþ synned & now forþinkþ it sore, þen sche þat mayden is & makiþ þerof pride. Ffor þe
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

see, ne ere here, ne hert þenke þe ioye & þe blis þat God haþ ordeynet

to alle hem þat louene Hym.” For þei | schul be fîlde wiþ ioye wiþinne

& wiþoute, ebeoue & byneþe & alle aboute hem, for þei schul haue

alle maner of ioy þat þei wol desyre. Wiþinne hem, of þe glorifyng of

hemselfe; wiþoute hem, of þe blessed compenyes of angelis & holy

seyntes, & þere schal be ioy þat men myȝt be fîlde wiþ gladnes to þenke

þer on; aboue hem, þei schul see þe ioyful Trinyte, & þat siȝt schal fully

fiþe hem wiþ alle manere of ioye.

Þe þridde croune is worschip; for þei worschipped God here wiþ

her clene lifyng in þis life, þei schul be crouned þere wiþ worschip &
ioye wiþoute ende in heuene. As þe proþhete seþ, “Gloria & honore

coronati eum, Domi[m]” (“Lord, þou haste crouned hym wiþ euerlastynge

ioye, & sette hym aboue alle þi werkes and alle þinge in heuene & inn

erþe schal be to her worschip.”) For God Hymselfe schal worschip hem

as Crist hymselfe seþ in þe Gospel, “Honorificabit eum Pater meus.”

& þerfore seþ Dauid þe proþhete, “Lord God, mychel be þi frendes

worschiped”; “Nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus.”
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

proude mayden God euer wiþstondiþ, as Hymsilf seÍ, and wiþ þe meke & dredeful mayden He restiþ & comfortiþ hir wiþ His grace. Fforwhy,

mayden, whatso þou be, | be dredeful & meke, & take ensaumple of þat mayden þat is Goddis modir, þat onely for hir mekenesse more þen for sche was mayden prayeþ sche Oure Lord when sche seíþ þus:

“Magnificat anima mea Dominum.” “Wíþ þankynge”, sche seíþ, “my soule makiþ myche my Lord & my spirit reioyeþ hym in God myn helpe, ffor He haþ loked to þe mekenes of His handmayden & þer þoruþ suche worschipo to me ryseþ, þat al manere of folk blessyd me clepiþ.” Of hir fairnesse, of hir clennesse, ne þat sche was Goddis modir chosen, ne of alle hir ofir virtues þat sche was fulfilled wiþ made sche no mynde in hir songe but of hir mekenesse onely. For hir mekenes made þat alle þe ofir Hym payed, and noon ofer hadde payed Hym, ne hadde hir mekenesse ben.

Þat ofir is defaute of Goddis loue, for þe fool maydens wantid þis loue; forþi were þei outschutte from her spouse, þouþ þei stode longe at þe gates & cried loude: “Lord, open þe gates & lete vs come inne!”

God answered hem sone anoon & to hem seyde, “Go forþ þoure weyes! I knowe 3ow nouþt for Myne.” For þat þei putte were abac, as holy writt seíþ, ffor þei come wiþ holwe laumpis & brouþt wiþ hem noon oyle. Ffor noon oyle of loue was in her laumpis, but þei were alle empty. Ffor Seynt Bernard seíþ, “Maydenhod wiþouten loue & mekenesse is laumpe wiþouten oyle. Wiþdrawe oyle fro þe laumpe & it brenneþ nouþt as it
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

schulde.” Departhe mekenesse fro maydenhod &c it may noȝt paye God.

Pe þridde is a weyward hert &c a slowe any good to do. Þis

790 slowenesse ryseþ þorouȝ þat | þat summe maydens þenke bi hemsilf þat þei haue litel synned, ffor þat hem þinkeþ þei haue no nede to faste, ne to wake, ne to praye, ne to were hard or scharp cloþing in mendement of her lyf as oþir dop. Of þis maner spekiþ Seynt Austyn to maydens in a book þat he made of maydenhod: “Quoniam veritas dicit, quod ille cui modicum dimittitur, modicum diligit, vos autem ut ardentissime diligatis cu[i] a coniugiorum nexibus liberi vacatis, deputate vobis omnino dimissum quidquid a vobis illo regente non est commissum. Multo ardencius debes diligere illum qui flagiciosis ad se conuersis quicumque dimisit, in ea te cadere non permisit. Quid habes que non accepi et qua peruersitate diligis minus a quo plus accepi &c?” “God, þat is sobþfastnes, seþ, ‘he

800 þat litel is forȝyuen, litil loueþ.’ But þee maydens owen to haue a brennymende hert bifo[r]e alle oþere to loue þe Lord God, þat ȝow haþ clepid fro þe þraldam of wedlok, þat þee may wiþ a fredam of spirit be more entendaunt to Hym. Mette forþi al þat he haþ forȝyue ȝow & þat ȝee myȝt haue fallen ynne, had He noȝt yow helpide. And forþi, wiþ mychel more brennymge loue ȝowe þee to loue Hym þan þe greet synners þat her synnes forþinkeþ rescyueþ to His mersy & forȝyueþ hem frely, þat helde yow vp þorouȝ His grace, þat þee in þese synnes ne falle. What hast þou þat þou hast noȝt rescyued of God?”

794 cu[i]] cum W
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)
Ecce Virgo Concipiet A (MS W)

My dere derlynge, Cristis clene mayden & his spouse, loke þou

810 ofte þis lessoun & wrappe þee in þe loue of Crist as in a somour garnement, & ech day gedir þi wittis togider & þenk on þis name “Jhēu.” He kepe þee in clene maydenhod, Jhēu, maydens spouse.

Amen.
Ecce Virgo Concipiet B (MS B3)

And, þerfore, wel is þat child þat wol þeþe hem to clennes of lisyng þere a schorte tyme to haue þere þat ioye & worship, world withouten ende.

Amen.
COMMENTARY ON THE AVE MARIA

Edited from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296 (MS CC), with variants from: London, Westminster School MS 3 (MS W); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74 (MS CS); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938 (MS O2); and Norwich, Castle Museum MS 158.296.4g3 (MS N).
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

COMMENARY ON THE AVE MARIA

(MS CC)

[175, col 2]  *Dis is the Aue Maria*

Heil be þou, Marie, ful of grace, þe Lord is wiþ þe. Blissed be þou among wymmen & blissed be þe fruyt of þi wombe, Jhesu Crist. Amen. So be it.

5  þe archangel Gabriel, sent of God, grette Oure Ladie, Seynte Marie, wiþ þes wordis: “Heil be þou, ful of grace, þe Lord is wiþ þe. Blissed be þou among wymmen”, & he seide no moo wordis, as þe first Gospel of Seynt Luk techiþ. But Elizebeth, þe modir of Seynt Jon Baptist, seide þes wordes to Oure Lady whanne sche hadde consegued Crist: “Blissed be þou among wymmen & blissed be þe fruyt of þi wombe”, as þe same Gospel techiþ. But Cristene men for deuocioun adden to þes tweie wordis, Marie
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

& | Jhesu Crist, & men seyn þat popis graunte moche pardon þerfore. But hou euere it be of pardon, þis addynge to is trewe, for þe Gospel techiþ vs þes names & þei stiren men to deuocion.

Here men & wommen, & namely gentil wommen, schulden lerne mekenesse, chastite, charite, sobirnesse & schamefastenesse; to be asschamyd of eche euyl speche, & namely of lecherie, & euyl contenaunce of synne, & ribaudrie, & vilen[y]e, lerne holy deuocion, & þanne þei worshipen wel Jhesu, here gostly Spouse, & Seynt Marie, his modir. & 3if þei lyuen in pride of herte for nobeleie of blood, & kyn, & rentis, & richessis of þe world, & han indignacion [&] dispit of oþere pore men or wymmen, or in lecherie in ony degree, or in hate & enuye, or glotonye & dronkenesse & boldnesse in synne, & colouren & meyntenen it, and

Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

lyuen in riot, daunysinge & lepynge in ny3ttis, & slepen out of reson

on þe morwe, & forȝeten God & His drede & deuocion of preieris, whateuere here tonge blabre, here euyl lif blasphemeþ, & dispisiþ boþe

Jhew, here noble Spouse, & his modir, Marie, tresour of clennesse &
deuocion. And ȝif þei maken hem more bisi in herte & dede to be gaiе
in costelewe array of cloþis & keuerchers, perlis & ribanys, or siche
vanytes to maken here body fresch in likynge to mennes eisen, to

[176, col 2] coueiten hem, þan to gete virtuþes in here soule | to make it fair to þe
Holy Trinety & to Jhew, here worþieste Spouse, þei ben out of
charite, & þe deuelis panter to kacche men into synne of lecherie &
many moo, & holde hem þerinne, til Sathanas drawe hem boþe to helle.
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

& whateuer nobleie or dignyte þei han in þis world, be þei gentil men or wyrmen, for þis cursed lif þei ben cherlis or bonde wyrmen of synne, & fendis of helle, & gostly spouse brekeris or avoutreris, & lemmans of foule Sathanas, þat is foulere þan ony mesel or leprous in þis world. & but 3if þei amenden hem in þis world, þei schullen be of hem þat God spekiþ of in Jobis bok: “þei leden”, seiþ God, “here daies in lustful goodis & murþis of þis world &c, in a poynt of tyme, fallen down into helle.”

Suntyme curteisie & genterie was virtues lif, & honest in word &c dede & alle manere of berynge, &c suster of holynesse, but now it is turned into vanyte, & nysete, & knackis & iapis, &c is 3ate of synne of pride, of rebau dre, sleþe, coueitise, glotonye, dronkenesse, & lecherie, & meyntenynge of synne, & hord of wraþhe, & enviye, & bost, &

Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)
cursed swerynge, & wast of goodis, & robbynge of pore men, &
distroynge of londis & good Cristendom. O, 3e gentil wommen! þenkiþ
hou noble wommen, & clene, & stedefast han be before 3ow, as Oure
Lady, Seynt Marie, Marie Magdaleyne, Sussanne, Katerine, Margare,
[177, col 1] Anneys, Cicile, | & many moo, & take what goode ensaumple 3e may of
here mekenesse & holynesse. For whanne wyremen ben turnyd fully to
goodnesse, hard it is þat ony man passe hem in goodnesse; & hard þat
ony man passe hem in synne whanne þei ben turnyd to pride, & lecherie,
& dronkenesse.

I gesse wel þat zonge wyremen may sumtyme daunsen in mesure,
to haue recreacion and liȝtynes, so þat þei haue þe/ more þouȝt on myrȝe
in heuene & drede more & loue more God þerby, & synge honeste
songs of Cristis Incarnacion, Passion, Resurexion & Ascencion, & of ioyes
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)
of Oure Ladi, & to dispise synne & preise virtue in alle here doynge.

But nowe he þat kan best pleie a pagyn of þe deuyl, syngynge
songis of lecherie, of batailis, of lesyngis, & crie as a wood man, & dispise
Goddis maieste, & swere bi herte, bonys & alle membres of Crist, is
holden most merie & schal haue most þank of pore & riche; & þis is
clepid worschipe of þe grete solemnnyte of Cristismasse. & þus for þe
grete kyndenesse & goodnesse þat Crist dide to men in his Carnacion,
we dispisen hym more in outrage of pride, of glotonye, lecherie & alle
manere harlotrie, &, bi þis doynge, þe fend bryngeþ in iolite of body, &
myrþe, & likyne, & newe fyndynge vp of synne, instede of holynesse,
& gostly ioie, & herynge of God for His endeles charite, | mercy,
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

mekennesse & kyndenesse.

Lord, where is hat man or womman hat make hym so bisi to make his soule fair in virtuose to Goddis siȝtte as he make hym bisi aboute atir of body for siȝtte of men? Alas, hat so gret cost & bisynesse is sette abouten he roten body, hat is wormes mete, & a sak of drit & dust & aschis, but aboute he soule, made to [he] ymage of he Trinute, & he whiche soule Crist bouȝte so dere wiþ his precious herte blood, is no bisiness to clense it out of synne, but to brynge it into more synne boþ nyȝt & day. Litel þenk þes woode men & wommen on Cristis pouer & cold, & pouer of his modir, & what lif he lyuede in his world in so gret penaunce, & dispit, & wepynge for oure synnys, & what schameful deþ he suffrid at þe laste.
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

Þes lordis & ladies schulden suffre in here presence & courtis

no dispisynge of God bi wood swerynge, bi wordis of lecherie, be ofere

rebaudrie and vnresonable speche; for þei suffreden ony of here

servauntis to dispise oure erþely kyng, moche ponyschynge schulde come

& þei ben holden false & traitour to þe kyng. Hou moche more traitours &

false ben þes worldly [lordes] to Crist, Kyng of alle heuene, & alle erþe, &

helle, whanne þei heren sich dispit don to his maieste, & refreynen not

here servauntis þero? Certis, enseample of clennessse, honeste, &

holynesse cam sunyteyme | fro lordis courtis to þe comyns, & þan was holy

lif in worshipe among pore & riche. But now comeþ enseample of pride,

glotonye, lecherie, & [al] harlotrie fro lordis courtis to comyns, and
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

herefore regneþ synne & alle manere peple wipouten schame.

Þus þe fend blyndiþ men to clepe þis cursed hauntynge of arlotrie & synne gret worschipe of God, & to clepe deuotion of preieris, & sade mynde of Cristis pouert, penauunce, & deþ, & of þe day of dome, ypocrisie & folie. & suche men ben not worþi to dwelle in lordis courtis, laste þei dryuen away þe deuyl & his scole of synne & vanyte to displesynge of 3onge nyce folis, & bryngen in Crist into mennes soulis, & his scole of virtues & honeste, in þouȝt, worde, & dede, in plesynge of God & sauynge of mennes soulis.

“Heil, Marie”; þat is, “Wel be to þe, Marie”, or, “Ioie be to þe.”

For bi Eue cam sorowe, peyne & woo to mankynde, for sche tristed not sadly to Goddis word, but tristed to þe fendis gabbynge & coueitid ouermoche kunnynge & [dignyte]. But bi sad bilee, & mekenesse, &
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

charite of Marie cam ioie & saluacion to mankynde, for herbi [sche] consceyued Crist, as þe Gospel seijd. Perfore, flee lesyngis & pride, & holde sa[d]ly bileue of Goddis word, with mekenesse & charite, & þou schalt haue part of Maries ioie & blisse of þe blisse of heuene eueremore.

Marie, Cristis modir, was ful of grace; Seynt Steuene was ful of grace, as holy writt seijd, but lasse þan Oure Lady; & oure sweete Lord Jhesu was ful of grace aboue Steuene & Oure Ladi þerto. & so þer ben þre degrees of plente of grace: þe leste of þis plente was in Steuene, þe mydil in Oure Lady, but þe moste in Oure Lord, Jhesu Crist.

God þe Trinyte is wiþ eche creature bi myȝt, wisdom, & goodnesse to kepe it, for ellis it schulde turne to noȝt. But God is wiþ goode men of virtuouse lif bi grace, to approue & accepte here doyngis & helpe hem þerinne, to rewarde hem in blisse þerfore, & dwelliþ in here soulis as His owen temple, & makiþ hem ioifully dwelle in His seruyce, & suffriþ gladly alle dispitis & persecucion for His name. But God is in

108  herbi] þerby N  [sche]] seche CC  110  sa[d]ly] sadly CC; sad W O2 N; sadly CS  111  ioe] blessyng CS  blisse] þe blisse CS; blis N  112  grace] grace as holy writ seijd & CS; grace as holy wrytt seijd N  was ful of grace] also CS; was ful of grace N  113  as holy writt seijd] omitted CS N  Lord] omitted CS  114  Steuene] seynt steuen W O2 N  116  Crist] omitted W O2 CS
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

angelis & seyntis in heuene bi cleri schewynge of His Godhed to hem, & makynge hem to knowe alle þingis, & haue alle þat euere þei desiren,

wiþouten ony anoye or peyne.

“Blissed be þou among wymmen”; þat is, more þan ony oþer woman, for noon oþer was so sad in bileue, ne so meke, ne so chast, ne so goode in alle manere holynesse, & namely in brennynge charite. 3if þou wilt haue part of Maries blisse & Goddis blissynge, sue Marie in þis holy lif, [&] namely in þes seuene: feiþ, hope, & charite, & mekenesse, chastite, sobirnesse, & brynnynge desir of riþtwisnesse.

[179, col 1] | “And blissed be þe fruyt of þi wombe”; þat is, Jhesu Crist. For bi

124 euere þei] þei euere W; euer þei CS; euere þey N 125 ony anoye or peyne] any anoye or peyne W; any anoy or peyne O2; any nuye or peyne CS; peyne or nye N 126 wymmen] alle wymme W; alle wymmen N 128 so] omitted CS 129 sue] sue þou O2; sewe CS; sewe þanne N 130 holy lif] holynesse CS [+] in CC; & W CS N; and O2 feiþ] in feiþ N & mekenesse] mekenes W CS; mekenesse O2; meknesse N 131 chastite] & chastite N sobirnesse] & soburnesse CS riþtwisnesse] riþthulnes W; 132 þei] þe þe CS Crist] omitted N
Commentary on the Ave Maria (MS CC)

his mercy & grace comeb alle goodnesse, & namely bi his trewe
technge & wilful deþ & endeles myst, be whiche he schal reise alle men
at domesday, & zif blisse of heuene in bodi & soule to þo þat ende in
parfit charite. God ȝeue vs grace to þenke on Cristis mercy & riȝtwisnesse,
& Maries sadnesse in bileue & mekenesse, to make ende in parfit charite.

Amen
RULE OF THE LIFE OF OUR LADY

Rb 4  *sche was offrid into þe temple of bir fadir & bir modir*: This passive construction is closer to that found in the *Meditationes* (“fuit a parentibus oblata in templum” (Peltier 513, col. 1)) than the active statement “hir fadir & hir modir offryd hir in þe temple” (quoted from B1) found in B1 and B4.

Ra 8 / Rb 7  *Seynt Elizabeth, Joon Baptist modir / Seynt Eliȝabeth, of whom we synge of solemnely*: Both of the version A texts mistakenly attribute this vision to St Elizabeth, cousin of the Blessed Virgin and mother of John the Baptist, rather than St Elizabeth of Hungary. The version B texts follow the *Meditationes*, the variations found in B1 and B4 (“whos feste we syngen solemnely” and “qwas fest we syng solemply”, respectively) most closely replicating the *Meditationes*’ wording (“sancta Elisabeth, cujus festum solemniter celebramus” (Peltier 513, col. 1)).

Ra 15 / Rb 14  *Ffoure / Þre*: In the numbering of the precepts which the Virgin keeps, the majority of the version B texts again follow the logic of their source, stating that there were three precepts: to love God, to love one’s neighbour, and to hate sin. Only CM deviates, collecting the three aspects into a single law (“On”). Both of the version A texts divide the initial precept, to love God, into its four constituent elements: with all the heart, with all the soul, with all the thought and with all the strength. They both seem to treat the other two laws—to love one’s neighbour and to hate sin—as additional, and do not include them in the total. The biblical passages that form the basis of these precepts are
NOTES: RULE OF THE LIFE OF OUR LADY


Rb 19  and so I wol teche þee: The reading found in B1, “and so I wil þat þou do” is a literal translation of the equivalent phrase in the Meditationes (“et ita volo te facere” (Peltier 513, col. 1)); the other version B texts read “and so I wol teche þee”.

Rb 21  al fulnes of grace: O1 finishes at this point. The point at which this copy stops (insofar as it seems complete, semantically, and does not stop mid-sentence or part-way through a numbered list, for example) raises the question of whether it might have been deliberately excerpted. The collation of this part of the manuscript, however, suggests strongly that there was initially more of this text than there now is, as the fragment comes from the verso of the second extant leaf of an original gathering of eight which has subsequently lost its first, fourth and fifth leaves. The next item is imperfect at its beginning, which confirms the loss of copied material, rather than the deliberate removal of unwanted leaves.

Rb 21  al fulnes of grace: Of all of the manuscripts in both versions, only B1 includes a translation of the clause “sine qua nullus virtus in animam descendit” (Peltier 513, col. 1), which appears at this point in the Meditationes. B1 reads “al fulnes of grace, withouten qweche non virtu comeh into þe sawle.” The other manuscripts overcome the syntactical problems caused by leaving this clause out, by reordering and repeating the material from the preceding clause and generating a verb: “And after þat þis fulnes is comen” (quoted from O2)
Ra 23 / Rb 21  *it dwelliþ not stille in þe soule / it duelliþ not stille in þe soule*: There is an atypical reading in B1 (“No þis grace dwelleþ in þe sawle”), which usually provides the most literal translation of the *Meditationes* material (see notes to lines Rb 7, Rb 21–22, Rb 78, and Rb 85), but in this case the Latin “nec perseverat in anima” is better rendered in the other manuscripts.

Ra 24 / Rb 22  *but fletiþ awei as watir ... þat is vicis & synnes / but flowiþ as watir ... þat are vices & synnes*: The version B reading “hatiþ” seems to be that found in the *Meditationes* (“sed fluit ut aqua, nisi suos inimicos, id est, vitia et peccata habuerit odio” (Peltier 513, col 1.)), where there is no negative connected to the verbal phrase “habuerit odio.” The true meaning of the Latin is only retained in B1, however, where the “nisi” of the Latin text (neglected in all other version B texts) is present as “bot if.” The reading in version A, “hatiþ not”, on the other hand, seems further from the Latin, but constitutes the same threat: the grace which has been given will flow away, if the recipient does not hate vice and sin.

Rb 31  *Ffirst I askid grace ... to His seruice*: Each of these prayers is numbered in the outer margin, in red.

Rb 39  *He wolde kepe myne iȝen ... & Goddis sone in bir barme*: This list of physical faculties, which is not found in the version A manuscripts, is present in the fifth petition of the *Meditationes* (Peltier 513, col. 2). The list found in O2 and W (eyes, tongue, hands, feet and knees) is exactly that found in the source text. CM, B1 and B4 all have variations on
“myn eres þat I myght here hir” (quoted from B1) between the petitions for the conservation of the eyes and tongue.

Ra 42 / Rb 42  *þat blessid child / Goddis sone in bir barme:* “in her barme” appears in both of the version A manuscripts, although it is crossed out in B5 and does not, therefore, appear in the text. The variations in readings in the version B texts are also interesting: O2 records the same reading as that found in the version A texts (“barme”); CM uses the synonym “lappe”; B4 deploys “arme”; and B1 combines the CM and B4 readings (“armes & in hir lappe”). The *Meditationes* reads “gremio” for which both “lappe” and “barme” are suitable translations. “Arme” makes sense in context, but might also have resulted from a misreading of “barme.”

Rb 47  *Ne were [ye] not:* The MS reading in O2 is incomplete; other Rb copies suggest that “ye” has been left out between “were” and “not.”

Ra 48  *bifore siche preiers:* This clause is peculiar to Ra; it is not found in Rb nor in the *Meditationes.*

Rb 50  *And, over þat, “Þou trowist þat al þe grace þat I had”:* The framing section of this sentence “And, over þat”, as found in all version B manuscripts other than B1, is a literal rendering of the *Meditationes* (“Et iterum” (Peltier 513, col. 2)), but the beginning of the reported speech is missing the “Filia” of the equivalent passage in the *Meditationes.* B1 retains “filia” (“Doughter”) but offers an expanded rendering of the framing narrative (“And also she said to Elazabeth.”)
NOTES: RULE OF THE LIFE OF OUR LADY

Rb 54  [afflicioun]: All manuscripts and the source reading “affliction” (“afflictione” (Peltier 513, col. 2)) suggest that the reading in W and O (“affection”) is incorrect.

Rb 57  “And ouer þat”, sche seide, “wite þou forsoþe”: Nota Bene occurs level with this injunction, in the unbound margin.

Ra 62 / Rb 61  & haþ forȝete boþe good & yuel / and haþ forȝeten what he did or seide

anything before pleaseing to God: Again, version B reflects the reading found in the Meditationes (“et non recordatur se fecisse, vel dixisse alicium Deo gratum” (Peltier 513, col. 2)), and version A has a variation that makes sense in context, but does not resemble the source reading.

Ra 66 / Rb 65  Seynt Jerom: The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, from which the remaining part of the Rule derives, was traditionally attributed to St Jerome. See the introduction to this text and its sources for further information.

Rb 69  to take bir [mete]: This sentence is incomplete; evidence from the other manuscripts (in both Ra and Rb) suggests that the missing word is “mete.”

Rb 78  þat noon schulde be proude ne mysberynghe azens opere: The variation found in B1 (“non of hem sholde synne in any worde and þat non schuld brest oute into lawhing and þat none schuld do wronge or be prowde”) translates the phrase in the Meditationes (“ne aliqua ex eis in ullo sermonem peccaret, ne aliqua in risu vocem suam exaltaret, ne aliqua injurias aut superbiam contra parem suam exerceret” (Peltier 514, col. 1)). All other manuscripts agree,
in both version A and version B, that the virgin simply prevented her colleagues from being
proud or behaving badly towards one another.

Ra 83  *And for sche wolde neuere be lettid ... þenken upon goostly þinges: This statement is
not found in the source material, which is fairly represented by the equivalent passage in
version B. The message that the Virgin exemplifies here, where she separates herself from
the world in order better to concentrate on God, is a common recommendation. For
further information, see the notes to the *Treatise on Ave Maris Stella* (A), l. 51 ff.

Rb 85  *And every day an angel was seen speke to bir & was buxom to bir as his derlyng: The
reading in the *Meditationes* is that found in B1: “And of þe mete þat scho toke of þe angels
honde scho was feed and þilk mete þat scho toke of þe bishops of þe tempelle scho ʒafte it to
pore men Ever[y] day was an angel sene speke wit hir And as to his owne moder or sister
was obeschand to hir.” None of the other version B manuscripts retain the Virgin’s alms-
giving to the poor, nor the likening of the angel’s treatment of her to that befitting a
mother or a sister.

Ra 92  *And in þe same þeer ... sche was þo of þe age of sixty þeer & oon: Although the
quantification is implied rather than made explicit, this passage suggests that there were
fourteen years or fifteen years between Christ’s Ascension and the Virgin’s assumption. For
further information on the range of number of years given for the Virgin’s life on earth after
the Resurrection, see note to the *Fifteen Steads* devotion (P), l. 3, below.

Ra 96  *Seynt Denyse þat siȝ her conuersacioun in erþe, & was at hire diynge wilþ apostlis:
Reference to Pseudo-Dionysius, *On Divine Names* chapter 3, section 2 (Rolt 55): Pseudo-
Dionysius claims in this passage to have been present at the Dormition of the Virgin, along with the apostles. As Boenig notes, Pseudo-Dionysius’ “pseudonymous nature was unknown to medieval people, and they conflated him not only with [the] philosophical follower of St Paul [that is, Dionysius the Areopagite, the figure Pseudo-Dionysius was impersonating] but also with St Denis, the legendary evangelist of France” (23).

**Ra 102**  
*sche is liikned in holy writt to be cedre*: Ecclesiasticus 24:17 (“Quasi cedrus exaltata sum in Libano, et quasi cypressus in monte Sion”; “I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree on mount Sion.”)

**FIFTEEN STEADS AND FIFTEEN SORROWS DEVOTIONS**

**FIFTEEN STEADS DEVOTION**

3  
*lyved sche beer in ertz by xv yeris and sumwhat on the xvi*: Marx and Drennan, in the notes to their edition of the *Complaint of Our Lady*, explain that the tradition concerning the number of years that the Blessed Virgin lived on earth after Christ’s Ascension ranges from two years (in the *Transitus Mariae A* and *Transitus Mariae B*) to twenty-four years (in the *Legenda Aurea*). The fifteen-year period adopted by both this text and the *Complaint* probably derives from the *Revelations of St Bridget* (Marx and Drennan 137).
NOTES: FIFTEEN STEADS AND FIFTEEN SORROWS

5 steedis wher her dere belouye son ... than remembred sche: Schwamb breaks her sentence at “Passion”, but not at “wrytt.” I have chosen this punctuation based on the syntactic parallelism existing between the two incidences of “steedis” suggested by the use of “in þe whych.”

12 uppon the Mounte of Syon; ther had sche her dwellynge and her selle: The area on and around the Mount of Syon, near Jerusalem, is the traditional location of the Blessed Virgin’s home between Christ’s Ascension and her Assumption. The alternative location is Ephesus; this identification is based on Christ giving Mary into St John’s care at the Crucifixion and his well-publicised residency at Ephesus (Ashe 112).

15 wolle dayly go in bis barte: This text promises that meditatively following the Blessed Virgin around the sites of the Passion and dwelling devoutly on the event that occurred at each place is pleasing both to her and to her son; it effectively constitutes an act of actual pilgrimage. As Schwamb suggests, this devotion is very similar in many ways to the Stations of the Cross. Although the P devotion focuses on the places of the Passion (rather than the events of the Passion that dominate the modern Stations), it fulfils very much the same purpose. P guides the devout though a meditation on the Passion structured around the sites at which Christ suffered and allows this psychological journey to be made with significantly greater frequency than any actual act of pilgrimage might realistically permit.

18 The furste steede was wher oure Lorde Jhesu eet his laste supper ... prestis handes: Matthew 26:18–29; Mark 14:15–25; Luke 22:12–38. The account of the Last Supper, Agony and Betrayal extends in the Gospel according to St John from chapters 13 to 18. Because of the
extensive detail of this part of the Passion, it does not easily align with the account in this
text to the extent that the other Gospel accounts do.

24 The seconde steed was that hylle ... be swett water and blode: Matthew 26:30; Mark

26 The thurde steede was that gardayne ... and prisoned of the cruylle Jues: Matthew 26:36–

29 The iiii stede was the howse of Cayphas ... and he was cruely and in many folde skuornyd:

30 Bede sayth: Pseudo-Bede, De Meditatione Passionis Christi Per Septem Diei Horas
Libellus, Meditatio Horae Matutinalis, PL XCIV 563d–564c.

31 neþer lisse: “neþer” occurs in the inner margin with a caret. It is difficult to see this
correction, as the binding is tight, and the word is partially concealed by the binding.
Schwamb suggests “ne” rather than “neþer” for this reason.

32 skuornyd: The MED does not record “skuo*” spellings for “scornen”, although it does
record one “skou*” spelling, of which “skuornyd” might, theoretically, be an inversion.
“Skuornyd” and “skuornyng” (l. 37) are unlikely to be pure mistakes, because the same
idiosyncratic spelling appears twice, once in a preterite and once in a noun derived from the
same verb.
The fyfte steede was þat pretori or councel house ... holdyng his holy heed donne to þe erthe: Matthew 27:2, 11–14; Mark 15:1–5; Luke 23:1–6; John 18:28–40.

The vi stede was the house of Herrode ... and in skuornyng sent ayene to Pylate: Luke 23:7–11.

The vii stede was at the pillour ... and betyn to a pyloure: Matthew 27:26; Mark 15:15; John 19:1.

The viii stede was þat stret that is clepyd Lychostratos ... sayinge, "Hayle, Kyng of Jues!": Matthew 27:29; Mark 15:17–19; John 19:2–3, 13

Lychostratos: “Lithostratos” is the place in which Pilate has his seat of judgment, as the Gospel according to John records (19:13). Both “Lithostratos” and “Gabbatha”, the other “Hebrew” (Aramaic) name that John supplies in the same verse for this location, are descriptive of the place itself. “Gabbatha” describes the elevation of the site; “Lithostratos” refers to the tessellated pavement upon which Pilate’s judicial seat stood (Catholic Encyclopedia, “Gabbatha”, VI 328).

puttynge a rede into his hande; to his more scorne was gretyd of the Jues: Schwamb breaks this sentence at “hande”; I suggest the use of a semi-colon instead, as there is no subject for “was” without the first half of the sentence.

The ix stede was that strete in wych he bare þe crosse ... oute of Jerusalem towarde his deth: Matthew 27: 32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23: 25–33; John 19: 16–17.
The xth stede was euyn witbourne the zate of Jerusalem ... he teth losyde in his heed: In the Meditationes, Christ puts the Cross down because he is exhausted: the text goes on to explain carefully that Christ’s action does not suggest that he was hesitant about his death (Meditationes, chapter 78). Fewterer’s translation of Pinder’s Speculum Passionis says that Christ put the Cross down, but notes that some people say that he lay down beneath it in order to rest (STC 14533, f. 106v). The act of falling beneath the Cross found here, rather than putting it down or lying down under it, shows the affective impulse at work in this Passion narrative.

wber oure Lorde Jhesu was brought ... felle doune grovelyng: Schwamb breaks this sentence at “brought.” Just as at line 40, I advocate the use of a semicolon rather than a full stop, in order to retain the connection between the main verb in the second half of the sentence (“felle”) and its subject (“oure Lorde Jhesu”) in the first.

The xith stede was ther wher he was crucified ... presonyng of the devylle: Matthew 27:33–50; Mark 16:22–37; Luke 23:33–46; John 19:17–30.

The xiith stede was a lyttile from the crosse ... in the lappe of his dere mother, Mary: The Deposition of Christ is not covered in the Gospel accounts, but is a frequent episode in other Passion narratives and a popular subject in artistic representations of the Passion. See, for example, Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 81.

The xiii stede was the holy graue of God ... foughte for oure redempcion: Matthew 27: 59–60; Mark 15:46; Luke 23:53; John 19:41–42.
60  The xiii stede was þeras Oure Lorde appered ... whan he was new uppersyn from deth:

This detail, which J.A.W. Bennett notes “was commonly accepted in the later Middle Ages” despite its not being mentioned in the Gospels (“Pre-Reformation Devotion” 308 n.3), can be found in the Meditationes Vitae Christi (chapter 86) and many of the texts which derive from it.

63  The xv sted was the hylle ... alle his apostelys bodely farewelle: Matthew 28:16–20; Luke 24:50–53; Acts 1:4–11.

65  Ambrose sayth: The Myrrour or Glasse of Chrystes Passyon, Fewterer’s English translation of Pinder’s Speculum Passionis, also records this reference to Ambrose and Christ kissing the Apostles as a sign of peace, bidding them farewell, and then raising His hand in blessing (STC 14533, f. 154r). The description of Christ’s three actions towards His disciples immediately prior to His Ascension, along with the attribution to Ambrose, occurs in Ludolphus of Saxony’s Vita Jesu Christi, on which Pinder drew heavily (Ludolphus, Vita IV 251). I have not been able to find the original Ambrosian source to which these texts refer, however.

FIFTEEN SORROWS DEVOTION

whanne Symeon dyd say thus to þe ... of thy puryficacioun: Luke 2:22–35.

whanȝou dydstefle ... thorow deserete into Egypte: Matthew 2:13–15.


whan Johan þe Euangeliste brouȝte ... belouyde chylde was take: In many of the Passion narratives that derive directly or indirectly from the Meditaciones Vitae Christi (chapter 75), St John brings news of Christ’s arrest to Mary. In others, such as the Lamentation of Our Lady, Mary Magdalene is the bearer of this news. The Complaint of Our Lady, however, has the Virgin realise for herself what has probably happened to her son, without the involvement of a third party (Marx and Drennan 86, ll. 8–11).

when thy chylde with rude ropes ... and alle tolasschyd with skorges: Matthew 27:26; Mark 15:15; John 19:1.

when the hede ofthy chylde was crowned with thorne: Matthew 27:29; Mark 15:17; John 19:5.

blyn[d]yd: Although the MED lists a possible variant “blinne” for “blinden,” it suggests that it is an error. I suspect that this instance is an error, and have emended accordingly,

whan þou saweste thy chylde come thorow the cytte ... pressyd hym downe to the grounde: See note to P 46, above.
N O T E S : F I F T E E N  S T E A D S  A N D  F I F T E E N  S O R R O W S

92 borne the: the ascenders of the “b” of “borne” and the “h” of “the” have been embellished with banners, which read “aue” and “gracia” respectively.

99 unworli: This is an unusual form of “unworthy”: the MED lists it as a Northern variant (MED “unworthi, adj.”).

100 whych of thy meknes ... to bis mother: the young Virgin Mary’s desire to be allowed to serve the mother of the Messiah at his birth is indicative of her humility; it does not occur to her that she might be called upon to be the mother of the Messiah, and she wishes devoutly for an opportunity to be the lowest servant to the mother and her baby. This detail occurs also in the Revelations of St Elizabeth of Hungary, and subsequently in the Meditationes Vitae Christi (chapter 3) and in many of the texts that derive from the Meditationes, including the Rule of the Life of Our Lady (Ra 39–42; Rb 37–42).

103 meknes dyde bost of the in the begynnynge ... and contrary the in alle thynge: Genesis 3:15 (“Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus”; “I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel.”)

105 whan thou sawest thy chylde spoyled ouȝte of his clothis: The Gospel accounts do not dwell on the removal of Christ’s clothing, although all of them mention the parting of his clothing among the soldiers in accordance with the prophecy in Psalm 21: “They part my
NOTES: FIFTEEN STEADS AND FIFTEEN SORROWS


115 when thou sawest the partes of thy chylde ... myght be nombred: These details, while not mentioned in the Gospels, are in accordance with the prophecies of the Crucifixion found in Psalm 21: “all my bones are out of joint” (Psalm 21: 14) and “I may tell all my bones” (Psalm 21: 17). In many Passion narratives, including the Meditationes and the texts which derive from it, the process of crucifixion is fully expounded; a key detail in many of these narratives is the stretching of Christ’s body to make His hands and feet reach the pre-bored holes in the Cross, which results in His bones being drawn from their sockets. Woolf notes that “all the [English Passion plays] preserve the traditional detail that the Cross with the holes bored in it was too large for Christ’s body and that his limbs had to be wrenched in order to make them fit the holes” (Woolf, Mystery Plays 258).

126 when þou sawest thy chylde lyfte vppe with the crosse to suffer deth: This is one of two mechanisms for Christ’s crucifixion. In this version, Christ is nailed to the cross while it is on the ground and then the cross is lifted and placed into a mortice. In the alternative version, Christ is compelled to climb a ladder in front of a cross, and He is nailed to it where it stands. Both options are recorded, for example, in the Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 78.

128 his body: the ascenders of the “h” of “his” and “b” of “body” each have banners on them. The two of the three banners on the “h” read “auel” and “gracia.” The third is unreadable, but probably reads “plena.” The two banners on the “b” read “dom[inus]” and “tecum.”

so petyfully dyd crye with voyce lamentable ... forgeue them the whych put hym to deth: Luke 23:34; Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 78. In both the Gospel according to St Luke and the Meditationes, Christ’s asking God to forgive His tormentors occurs before He is given the vinegar and gall.

whan þou sawest the syde of thy dere chylde schorne with a scharpe spere: John 19: 24.

when thou dydest see thy swete chylde ly dede vppon thy knee: The Deposition of Christ and the resulting “Pieta” (Christ’s body lying dead in His mother’s lap) is not biblical; it was, however, extremely popular in art and Passion literature (Duffy, Altars 260); see note to P 55.

medyacioun: MS “medy-acioun”; the hyphen extends across a small erased area.

Ffinis dolorum Beatissime Virginis Marie: “The end of the sorrows of the most Blessed Virgin Mary.”

Master Johan Warde: See introduction to this text, page 53.
NOTES: DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH

A DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH ON THE COMPASSION OF THE VIRGIN

2 A deuoute doctour of the Chirch ... bis blessid modere [thys tretys]: CM includes the words “thys tretys”, which completes the sense of this sentence fragment.

3 Qwene Isabel of Frawns: The identification of “Qwene Isabel of Frawns” is impossible because of the lack of a source, which might provide either the answer or a timeframe within which to work. One candidate is Isabella of Aragon, Queen Consort of Philip III of France (r. 1270–71). It is possible that the reference might be to St Isabel of France (d. 1270), Philip III’s aunt. St Isabel founded a community of Poor Clares at Longchamps and it is for her that Bonaventura may have written his De Perfectione Vitae ad Sorores (Costello xx). Although not a Queen of France, she was a member of the French royal family; she was the daughter of Louis IX and Blanche of Castile.

6 after the raysynge of Lazare: The story of the raising of Lazarus can be found in John 11.

6 was sore envyed of the pryncys of þe Jwes for the doynge of that mervelous myracle: The reason given for the High Priests’ enmity towards Christ over Lazarus’ raising in the Gospel of St John is that they were worried that the people would believe in Christ because of such miracles and that they would lose their nation to the Romans as a result (John 11:47–48). Caiphas predicts that Christ will die “not only for the nation, but to gather together in one the children of God, that were dispersed” (“non tantum pro gente, sed ut filios Dei, qui
erant dispersi, congregaret in unum”) (John 11:52). In the Meditationes, Jesus’ good works in general, and the raising of Lazarus in particular, are the source of the High Priests’ jealousy (“ex bonis operibus Domini, maxime autem propter suscitationem Lazari” (Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 69 Peltier 593, col 1) [because of the good works of the Lord, but chiefly on account of the raising of Lazarus.])

7 the Frydaye next before Passion Sonday, which was the day of the sayd Lazarus raysynge: Passion Sunday is the fifth Sunday in Lent, exactly two weeks before Easter Day, so the Friday immediately preceding it is exactly a fortnight before Good Friday. The day on which Lazarus is raised is not mentioned specifically in the Bible (John 11), nor in the Meditationes (chapter 66).

9 the sayd princes maliciously comprised in theire counsell-hows dayly to dampne Oure Lord to deth: Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 69 (“collegerunt Pontifices et Pharisaei concilium, in quo Caipha prophetante, deliberaverunt ipsum agnum innocentissimum occidere” (Peltier 593, col 1) [the High Priests and the Pharisees assembled a council, in which, Caiaphas prophesing, they resolved to slaughter that innocent lamb.])

35 I praye yowe to purvey another meen ... sythe ye be allemyȝty: This first request is the only one that the Blessed Virgin makes on the subject in the Meditationes: “si sibi placebit, poterit de alio modo redemptionis sine morte tua providere, quia omnia possibilia sunt ei” (Meditationes Vitae Christi, Chapter 72; Peltier 595, col. 2) [if it is pleasing to him, that he will be able to find another way to provide redemption without his death, because all things are possible to him.]
NOTES: DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH

36 sythe ye be allemynty: The suggestion that God find another way of securing the Redemption of mankind occurs in many texts. Of all of the possible arguments to which the Virgin Mary has recourse when trying to protect her son from his gruesome death, the suggestion that God use His omnipotence is the most obvious. This suggestion occurs in the Meditationes (see note to l. 35 above) and in other, related Passion narratives including the Privity of the Passion (Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers I: 202). The same logic lies behind Christ’s tormentors’ taunts: “He trusted in God; let him now deliver him if he will have him; for he said: ‘I am the Son of God’” (Matthew 27:43).

76 ffor I shalle suffyr as many wondes as ther be bonys or ioyntes in a mannys body: Although the traditional devotions to the wounds of Christ focused on the five primary wounds (hands, feet, and side), the gruesome realism of affective Passion narratives ensured that the devout audience was aware of the other injuries to Christ’s body. See the Fifteen Sorrows devotion (S), for an example of the detail with which Christ’s physical injury was described. In a framing narrative for the “Fifteen Oes” devotion, also, the “woman solitary and recluse” asks Christ the exact number of His wounds during the Passion. He answers that, if the woman were to recite fifteen Pater Nosters and fifteen Ave Marias every day for a year, at the end of that year she would have worshipped every wound (Duffy, Altars 255). Operating on the assumption that every wound deserves both a Pater Noster and an Ave, the number of wounds suggested by this formula is 5475.

The equation of the number of wounds that Christ suffered during the Passion and the number of bones in the human body found here may be related to Psalm 21:18 (“dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea”; “They have numbered all my bones”). The Psalm as a whole was traditionally considered to prophesy the means of the Atonement. This Psalm prophesies several of the details of the Crucifixion narratives, including Christ’s crying out.
“why hast thou forsaken me?” (Psalm 21:1; Matthew 27:48; Mark 15: 34); His thirst (Psalm 21:16; John 19:35); the piercing of His hands and feet (Psalm 21:17; that is, crucifixion, in Matthew 27:35, Mark 15:24, Luke 23:33 and John 19:33) and the parting of His vestments and the casting of lots for them (Psalm 21:19; Matthew 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:33–34). Psalm 21 also contains another reference to bones, “all my bones are scattered”, (“dispersa sunt omnia ossa mea”, verse 15), which, in combination with the counting of the bones at verse 18, may have informed the choice of this analogy.

99 for your feyth: The difference between “for your feyth” in C2, and “and feyþfully” in CM is distinctive but, as with the addition of “thys tretys” in CM at line 4 above, only subtly changes the meaning of the text, and both readings make sense in context. In C2, the “feyth” is the Virgin's faith, and is the reason for Christ's promise to grant anything that she asks of him after his Crucifixion and Resurrection. In CM, “feyþfully” describes the nature of Christ's promise, not its motivation.

A VISION OF SAINT JOHN ON THE SORROWS OF THE VIRGIN

Ja 2 / Jb 1 / Jc 3 Saynt John þe Euangeliste / Seynt John þe holy Apostle / Seynt John þe Euangelyste: The figures of St John the Evangelist, St John the Apostle and St John of Patmos traditionally have been treated as single figure, with a single legend in the Legenda Aurea.
Notes: Vision of St John

Ja 8 / Jb 11 / Jc 12  Symeon of hir prophesyed ... thorow þi herte” / Symeon seyde ... swerde of sorow / Symeon profecyed ... be myne herte: Luke 2:35.

Ja 9 / Jb 12  sho bad loste hym ... amange þe doctoures / Y bad loost þe ... in Hierusalem: Luke 2: 42–50; Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 14. See also Jc 17.

Ja 12 / Jb 14  shew knew in spirite ... to by al mankynde / Y knewe in my spyryt ... deep for mankynde: As in the Complaint of Our Lady, the Virgin realises that her son has been taken captive (Marx and Drennan 86, ll. 8–11), rather than being told by St John the Apostle or Mary Magdalene. See note to the Fifteen Sorrows Devotion S 47, for a fuller discussion of this sorrow. See also Jc 23.

Ja 14 / Jb 16  sho sawe his blody body ... bis Fader bandes / Y sawe þe ... vpon þe crosse: Matthew 27: 35, 50; Mark 15: 24, 37; Luke 23: 33, 46; John 19: 18, 30; Meditationes Vitae Christi chapter 78. See also Jc 28.

Ja 16 / Jb 17  sho badde hym in bir lappe ... bis fresche woundes / þou were take downe ... alle fresche bledyng: Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 81. For a brief discussion of the Deposition in these texts, see note to line P 55. See also Jc 33.

Ja 17  beholdeyng: The “h” and “o” of “beholdeyng” are bitten together. This scribe habitually bites “d” and “e” together, for example, but not usually “h” and “o” (in words like “sho(w)”, “holy”, and “thorow”, for example).
NOTES: VISION OF ST JOHN

Jc 17  I had loste the þe space of iii dayes ..., founde þe yn the temple: Luke 2: 42–50; 
Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 14. See also Ja 9 / Jb 12.

Jc 23  I conceyved & knewe þat þou were take ... of þe crewelle Jewes: See note to Ja 12 / Jb 14.

Jb 27 / Jc 25  hoosoo praye to þe ... þe takyng of mysylf / whosoever daily say devoutly ... 
delyvere hym of hit: For this sorrow in particular, the reward offered for devotion to the 
sorrow is thematically appropriate. In return for the pity inherent in memorialising Christ’s 
capture and captivity, Jesus will free the devotee (and, in version B, his or her friends) from 
any captivity in which they find themselves. Literal thematic links between sorrow and 
reward are unusual in this devotion. The reward for praying for this same sorrow in version 
A (line 25 ff), for example, is more metaphorical than that found in versions B and C, as it 
is for release from disease (which also constitutes the first half of the reward in version B). 
For further information and examples of sorrow/reward linkages in other texts, see the 
introduction to the Fifteen Sorrows devotion (S).

Jc 28  I seygh the, my beste belovyd sone, bounde & Nayled to þe crosse: Matthew 27: 35; Mark 
15: 24; Luke 23: 33; John 19: 18; Meditationes Vitae Christi chapter 78. See also Ja 14 / Jb 16.

Jc 33  I receyved thi dede body ... ynto myne armes: Meditationes Vitae Christi, chapter 81. 
See also Ja 16 / Jb 17.
NOTES: AVE MARIS STELLA

TREATISE ON AVE MARIS STELLA

11  *man ... pat seyleþ in þe tempastes of þe see:* The image of the man set adrift on the sea of life, driven to and fro by the waves of temptation, is not uncommon, and is here specifically tied to the image of Our Lady as “stella maris.” For a discussion of the interpretation of this image as relating to Our Lady’s role as pole-star for the suffering soul, see the introductory material for this text.

24  *For Seynt Austeyne seiþ, of alle merueylis ... & resoun of man:* I have been unable to find a source for this material.

51  *Of þis þe Quene of Angelis ȝeueþ vs ensaumple, first, of priue conuersacioun:* The insistence on the Virgin’s seclusion and prayer is traditional, and can be found in the Apocrypha, in the writings of St Bernard, and in popular meditative treatises such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.* As they are recorded in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,* chapter three of the *Meditationes,* and the *Rule of Our Lady’s Life* (R), Mary’s occupations during her time in the temple are either educational or solitary. She provides guidance and example for the other virgins in the temple when she is with them, but most of her day is set aside for prayer and for her weaving (*Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* chapter 6; Peltier 513–14; Ra 67–88; Rb 65–86). St Bernard also notes in his third homily on Luke 1:26 that although the virgin’s chamber was blocked from the access of men, an angel could enter and, when he did, he found her at prayer (“Super Missus Est III”, *PL* CLXXXIII, 71c–72a, particularly
71d–72a “Clauserat itaque etiam illa hora suum super se habitaculum Virgo prudentissima, sed hominibus, non angelis. Proinde etsi ad eam potuit intrare angelus, sed nulli hominum facilis patebat accessus” [And thus indeed at that time the most prudent Virgin had closed the dwelling over herself, but to men, not to angels. Accordingly, although the angel was able to enter towards her, ready access lay open to no man.]

55 _he angel entrede into he chaumbre ... he Lord is wiþ hee_”: Luke 1:28 (“Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus”; “And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.”)

63 “O”, seiþ Seynt Ambrose, “take hede ... þe wordis of men”: Ambrose, _Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam Libris X Comprehensa_ §8, _PL_ XV 1555c “Disce virginem moribus, disce virginem verecundia, disce virginem oraculo, disce mysterio. Trepidare virginum est, et ad omnes viri ingressus pavere, omnes viri affatus vereri” [Learn by the behaviour of the virgin, learn by the modesty of the virgin, learn by the prayer of the virgin, learn by the mystery. It is maidens’ [lot] to fear, and to be frightened at the entry of all men, to fear the address of all men.]

Notes: Ave Maris Stella

vitare lasciviam: Maria etiam salutationem angeli verebatur” [Learn, virgin, to shun lascivious speech: Mary even feared the greeting of the angel.]

71 Now berip of byr dyscylyne ... ententilych in al þat sche bade berde of God: For the emphasis on the Virgin’s seclusion in order to concentrate better on God, see the note to line 51 above, and to Ra 83. I have not found a source for her participation in the “recordynge, & in receuyng of holy writte”, specifically.

84 “Domine, recogitabo tuam omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mee”: Isaiah 38:15 (“Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine animae meae”; “[Lord], I will recount to thee all my years in the bitterness of my soul.”)

96 “Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum”: Luke 1:38 (“Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum”; “Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word.”)

99 sche ros & went into þe mounteynes ... & deuoutlyche sche serued bir: The details which are emphasised here but are not found in St Luke’s account of the Visitation (1:39–56)—such as the Virgin’s journey by foot, not on horseback, and her humble servitude toward St Elizabeth—are, however, covered in depth in the Meditationes Vitae Christi (chapter 5).
NOTES: AVE MARIS STELLA

104  “Quanto maior es, humilia te in omnibus”: Ecclesiasticus 3:20 (“Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus”; “The greater thou art, the more humble yourself in all things”).

106  seyntes seyne, hat in so myche hat a mayden is more chaste, sche schuld be more humble: I have not been able to find a source for this quotation. The importance of humility to virgins is commonplace, however: see, for example, the note to line Ea 785.

107  “It hade noȝt ben plesynge ... grete mekenes”: Bernard, Homilia Super Missus Est I, § 5, (“Super Missus Est I”, PL CLXXXIII 58d–59b, particularly 59a “sine humilitate autem (audeo dicere) nec virginitas Mariae placuisser” [without humility also (I dare to say) not even the virginity of Mary would have pleased (God)]. This quotation, with the attribution to Bernard, appears also in Bonaventura’s De Perfectione Vitae ad Sorores in the context of a discussion connecting virginity and humility (Peltier 212, col. 2).

110  “Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue”: Luke 1 48 (“Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae”; “Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid”)
NOTES: AVE MARIS STELLA

111 “alle þe generaciouns of heuene & erþe schul blesse me”: Luke 1:48 (“ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes”; “for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed.”)

117 “Discite a me, quia mitis sum, & humilis corde”: Matthew 11:29 (“discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde”; “learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart.”)

124 Forþi seiþ Seynt Austeyne, “Omnis Christi actio, nostra debet esse instructio”: “Every action of Christ ought to be [for] our instruction.” Popular theological axiom, regularly attributed to Cassiodorus or to Gregory the Great, but variations upon which are also found in, for example, Alan of Lille’s De Arte Praedicandi (PL CCX 113c).

127 byndygliche: There is no attestation in the MED of this term, nor of any adverbial form descending from “binden” as this, from context, seems to do. “Bindingly” appears in the OED; the only attested occurrence is dated to 1851.

137 “Tollite iugum meum super vos ... animabus vestris”: A fuller version of the verse listed above at line 114 (“Tollite jugum meum super vos, et discite a me, quia mitis sum, et humilis corde: et invenietis requiem animabus vestris”; “Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek, and humble of heart; and you shall find rest to your souls” Matthew 11:29).
in pese is made His dwellynge place, as þe psalme seiþ: “In pace factus est locus eius”: Psalm 75:3 (76:3) (“et factus est in pace locus eius”; “And his place is in peace.”)

For an holi seynt seiþ þat noþinge ... as doþ humylyte: St Catherine of Siena, The Dialogue § 66: “... the devil’s pride cannot tolerate a humble mind, nor can his confounding withstand the greatness of my goodness and mercy when a soul is truly humble” (124).

On oper seynt seiþ, “Blessed be þe penaunce ... but onely humylite”: Bonaventure makes a similar point in De Perfectione Vitae ad Sorores, which he supports by means of a quotation from Ecclesiasticus. He reminds his correspondent that: “Sola enim humilitas est, quae divinam mitigat iram, quae divinam invenit gratiam” (Peltier 213, cols. 1–2) [For it is only humility, which alleviates the divine wrath, and which finds divine grace.] The supporting biblical quotation is from Ecclesiasticus 3:20: “Quanto magnus es, humilia te in omnibus, et coram Deo invenies gratiam” (“The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things, and thou shalt find grace before God.”)

Of þis virtu spekeþ Seynt Bernard ... beuene is geten?: I have been unable to find a source for this quotation.
Notes: Ave Maris Stella

172 As Crist seiþ ine Gospel: “Beati ... kyngdome of heuen[e]”: Matthew 5:3 (“Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum”; “Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”)

174 For holy writte seiþ, “Deus superbis ... He zueþ grace”: James 4:6 (“Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam”; “God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.”)

176 And Seynt Gregore seiþ, “Qui ceteras ... þat wiþ a lytel blast is blowen awey”: St Gregory, Homiliarum in Evangelia, Book 1, Homily 7 (PL LXXVI 1103a) “Qui enim sine humilitate virtutes congregat, in ventum pulverem portat” [Indeed whoever collects together virtues without humility, he carries dust in the wind.]

180 And also Seynt Gregorie seiþ, þat “He is more pore ... to byle wiþ his bones”: I have been unable to find a source for this quotation.

182 Seynt Ambrose seiþ, “Twoo þinges þer ben þat byfore alle oþer aswagen God ... o rote of mekenesse!”: I have not been able to find the source for this quotation.

185 Seynt Austeyne seyde to his frendis, “Pe first wey to God is lowynes ... but zif we haue mekenesse”: Augustine, Epistola ad Dioscorum, §22, PL XXXIII 442; “Ea est autem prima,
NOTES: ADV MARIS STELLA

humilitas; secunda, humilitas; tertia, humilitas: et quoties interrogares hec dicerem” [While
the first is humility the second is humility; the third is humility: and as often as you may
ask I will say this.]

189  Þe Gospel telliþ þat þe apostlis stryuen for dignite ... noȝt entre into þe kyngdom of heuene:
This is, essentially, Matthew 18:2–3, but note emphasis on meekness, rather than the
“conversion” of Christ’s original statement: “Amen dico vobis, nisi conversi fueritis, et
efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum” (“Amen I say to you, unless
you be converted, and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of
heaven.”)

192  Vpon þis word seiþ a seynt, “He þat is noȝt lowȝed ... kyngdome of God.”: I have not been
able to find a source for this quotation. It appears to be connected with Matthew 18, and
may be taken from a homily on that text.

199  As God Hymselfe seiþ, “Non queres ulcionem, nec memoreris iniurie ciuium tuorum”:
Leviticus 19:18 (“Non quaeeras ulctionem, nec memor eris injuriae civium tuorum”; “Seek
not revenge, nor be mindful of the injury of thy citizens.”)

206  Wherfore seiþ a seynt, “Nichil superbius ficta humilitate”; “Noþinge is more proude þan
feynt lowȝnes”: There is no reference in the Patrologia Latina to “nichil superbius ficta
humilitate.” There are, however, two references to the similar concept “nemo ficta
humiltate superbus” [[there is] no one [as] proud [as those who] feign humility]. One is to
Primasius Adrumetanensis’ commentary on the Epistles of St Paul to the Colossians (PL
LXVIII 656b), and one to an unknown author’s commentary on the same Epistles, which
seems previously to have been ascribed to Jerome (PL XXX 837b).

209 Seynt Jerom seth, “Humilitas est fundamentum ... of alle virtues”: Pseudo–Jerome,
Epistolae, Epistola IX Ad Paulam et Eustochium De Assumptione beatae Mariae Virginis, PL
XXIII 140a–b: “Prima virtus est fundamentum omnium virtutum et custos, humilitas ipsa,
de qua gloriatur” [The first virtue is humility itself, the foundation of all virtues and keeper
[of them], with regard to which it prides itself]. There is a similar comment in St Gregory's
Homiliarum in Evangelium, Book 1, Homily 7, PL LXXVII 1102b (“Scientia etenim virtus
est, humilitas etiam custos virtutis”) [[As] it is knowledge and indeed virtue, humility is
likewise keeper of virtues]. Bonaventura's De Perfectione Vitae ad Sorores has “Sicut enim
principium omnis peccati est superbia, sic fundamentum omnium virtutum est humilitas”
[“As ‘pride is the beginning of all sin’, so humility is the foundation of all virtues”] (Peltier
212, col. 1; trans. Costello 11)).

212 We reden of Seynt Antonie ... alle þes engynes: Legenda Aurea: “... dum in spirito
raptus esset, totum mundum laqueis se invicem connectentibus plenum vidit. Qui
exclamans ait: ‘o quis istos evadet?’ et audivit: ‘humilitas’” (Jacobus de Voragine 105) [while
he was taken in spirit, he saw the whole world tied to itself by snares. Who exclaiming says,
“Oh, who will evade these things?” and he heard, “humility”]; and Verba Seniorum V xv 3
Abba Anthony [...] said: “I saw all the snares of the enemy spread on the earth, and I said sorrowing: ‘Who will overcome these things?’ And I heard a voice saying: ‘humility.’”

This story of St Anthony and the quotations about humility from the Desert Fathers listed below are all recorded in the *Verba Seniorum*, a collection of wise sayings on key themes of Christian life and behaviour.

*And Dauid þe prophet seiþ ... & he dispised noȝt þe preyer of hem*. Psalm 101:18

(“Respexit in orationem humilium et non sprevit precem eorum”; “He hath had regard to the prayer of the humble: and he hath not despised their petition.”)

*And also he seiþ, “Et humiles spiritu saluabit”; “God schal saue þe humble in spirite”:* Psalm 33:19 (“et humiles spiritu salvabit”; “and He will save the humble of spirit.”)

*Kyng Dauid was so barde ebounde ... alle þe aduersitees*: King David’s song of thanksgiving recorded in 2 Samuel 22 contains many of the elements of this account of his deliverance from his enemies and from the “snares of death” (2 Samuel 22: 6) when he cried out to God for help.
ebounde: The MED notes that “e-” is a prefix found in past participles, particularly in early Middle English texts and in later texts from the south west. In the case of this scribe, whose dialect has been located in Warwickshire by the LALME (see manuscript description p. 98), it is probably indicative of a reading that has been preserved from the exemplar.

“Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum ... delyuer me fro alle þe engynes of my enemyes”: Psalm 130:1 (Domine, non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati sunt oculi mei”; “Lord, my heart is not exalted: nor are my eyes lofty,”) and Psalm 118:153 (“Vide humilitatem meam, et eripe me”; “See my humiliation and deliver me.”)

Samuel þe prophete seyde to Kynge Saule ... more worþ þan þou”: This comment is summarised from 1 Samuel 15:17 and 28.

“Deposuit potentes de sede ... enheiȝeþ þe meke”: Luke 1:52 (“Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles”; “He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble.”)
Notes: Ave Maris Stella

236  *An holy fader seth, “Humylite is the gate of blis ... reproue in his lyfe”: Verba Seniorum V xv 22* (Abba John the Dwarf). *PL LXXIII 958a:* "Dixit abbas Johannes Brevis: Quia janua Dei est humilitas; et patres nostri per multas contumelias acti, gaudentes intraverunt in civitatem Dei" [Abba John the Short said: “Because the door of God is humility; and our forefathers, through numerous indignities they suffered, rejoicing entered the city of God.”]

238  *Also, anoþer holy fader seth, “Alle owres a man ... noȝt lyue”: Verba Seniorum V xv 32* (Abba Pastor), *PL LXXIII 960d:* Dixit abbas Pastor: ... semper homo humilitatem et timorem Dei ita incessabiliter respirare debet, sicut flatum quem naribus attrahit vel emittit" [Abba Pastor said: “... a man always ought to breathe unceasingly humility and the fear of God, just like the breath that is drawn in or goes out through the nostrils.”]

242  *A holy fader asked anoþer, “Whoche is þe most syker ... more þan anoþer”: There is a similar situation involving Theophilus the Archbishop in the Verba Seniorum V xv 19, PL LXXIII 957c:* “Sanctae memoriae Theophilus episcopus Alexandrinus venit aliquando ad montem Nitriae, et venit ad eum abbas montis illius, et dixit ad eum episcopus: Qui amplius invenisti in via ista, Pater? Et respondit ei senex: Culpare et reprehendere meipsum sine cessatione. Et dixit ei episcopus: Non est alia via sequenda nisi haec” [Bishop Theophilus of Alexandra of holy memory came finally to the Mount of Nitria, and an abbot of that mountain came to him and said to the bishop: “What thing did you find further on that journey, Father?” And the old man replied to him: “To blame and to reprove myself without cessation.” And the bishop said to him also: “there is not another way to be followed than this.”]
Another holy father asked of another, “What shall I do ... be is noȝt in þe riȝt wey”: This story is attributed to Abba Zacharias in the *Verba Seniorum* V xv 17 (*PL* LXXIII 957b):

“Abbas Moyses dixit fratri Zachariae: Dic mihi quid faciam? Illae autem haec audientes, jactavit se pronus in terram ad pedes ejus, dicens, Tu me interrogas Pater? Dixit autem ei senex: Crede mihi, fili Zacharia, qui vidi Spiritum Sanctum descendentem in te, et propterea compellor interrogare te. Tunc tollens Zacharias cucullum suum de capite suo, misit illud sub pedibus suis, et conculcans eum, dixit: Nisi ita conculcatus fuerit homo, non potest monachus esse” [Abba Moyses said to Brother Zachariah: “[Will you] tell me [what it is that] I should do?” He then, hearing this, cast himself prone onto the ground at his feet, saying, “You ask me, Father?” However, the old man said to him: “Believe me, son Zachariah, who saw the Holy Spirit descend into you, and for this reason I am compelled to ask you.” Then Zachariah, taking his hood from his head, threw it under his feel, and trampling it, said: “Unless a man is caused to be despised thus, he cannot be a monk.”]

*Seint Macharye mette þe deuel ... may no myȝt baue aȝeynes þee: This story appears in the *Verba Seniorum* V xv 26 (*PL* LXXIII 958a–b). When the devil meets St Macharius and is unable to prevail against him, he complains: “Multam violentiam patior a te, o Macari, quia non praevalere adversus te possum. Ecce enim quidquid tu facis, et ego facio; jejunas tu, et ego penitus non comedo, vigilas tu, et ego omnino non dormio. Unum est autem solum in quo me superas. Et dixit ei abbas Macarius: Quod est illud? Respondit diabolus: Humilitas tua, per quam non praevaleo adversum te” [“Many wrongs I suffer on account of you, O Macharius, for which reason I cannot prevail against you. Lo, indeed, whatever you
do, I do; you fast, and I am not a glutton; you watch, and I never sleep. There is one thing only, however, in which you surpass me.” And Abba Macharias said to him: “What is that thing?” The devil responded: “Your humility, on account of which I cannot prevail against you.”]

255  *De deuel smote an holy man ... no lenger dwelle!*: This story is similar to an account in the *Verba Seniorum* (V xv 53), where an unnamed monk is not struck on the cheek by the devil himself, but by a person possessed by a demon (*PL* LXXIII 963c).

259  *An holy man seyde to anoþer, “Why be we traueled ... gostly armoure to þe soule”*: This account is an expanded version of one found in the *Verba Seniorum* V xv 58 (*PL* LXXIII 964a–b): “Interrogatus senex, quare ita inquietaremur a daemonibus, respondit: Quia arma nostra abjicimus, quod est contumeliam, et humilitatem, et paupertatem, et patientiam.” [An old man was asked, “why therefore are we harassed by demons?” and he responded: “Because we throw off our armor, which is contempt [of the world], and humility, and poverty, and patience.”]

259  *ebete*: see note to line A 220.

264  *An holy fader asked anoþer, “What was lowynes... aske foryeuenesse”*: From the *Verba Seniorum* (V xv 60), *PL* LXXIII 964b: “Interrogatus est senex, quia esset humilitas? Et ille
respondit: Si peccanti fratri in te ignoreris, antequam apud te poenitentiam agat.” [An old man was asked what humility might be, and he answered that person: “If you disregard a brother sinning against you, before he does penance in your presence.”]

266  *Anoter seynt seip hat, “Lowȝnesse is to do good to hym hat baþ done þe yuel”: This definition is taken from the *Verba Seniorum* (V xv 63), PL LXXIII 964c: “Frater quidam interrogat senem: Qui est humilitas? Et respondit ei senex: Ut benefacias his qui tibi malefaciunt” [A brother asks an old man: “What is humility?” The old man replied to him: “That you should do good to those who do ill to you.”]

267  *An holy fader seyde, “I haue leuer to be ouercome ... any oþer wiþ pride”: Verba Seniorum (V xv 74), PL LXXIII 966c: “Dixit senex: Volo magis vinci cum humilitate, quam vincere cum superbia” [The old man said: “I would rather be conquered by means of humility, than to conquer by means of pride.”]

268  *An oþer holy seynt seip, “Dispice noȝt hym ... more in hym or in þee”: From the Verba Seniorum (V xv 75), PL XXLIII 966c: “Dixit senex: Non condemnes astantem tibi, quoniam nescis utrum in te sit Spiritus Dei, an in illo” [The old man said: “Do not condemn the one standing near you, since you know not whether the Spirit of God is in you or in him.”]
An holy fader asked anoþer, “What is avaunsement ... beuene in þe oþer lyue”: I have not been able to find a source for this material.

_Benedicamus Domino:_ “Let us praise the Lord.”

Forþi seyntes seien, “Qui contempnunt humiliari ... mow noȝt be saued”: I have been unable to find a source for this quotation.

And Seint Bernard seiþ þat, “Lowȝnesse is wey ... mekenesse is wey to come to God”: Bernard, Epistola LXXXVII ad Ogerium, Canonicum Regularem, _PL_ CLXXXII 217a: “Siquidem humiliatio via est ad humilitatem, sicut patientia ad pacem, sicut lectio ad scientiam” [Accordingly, humiliation is the way to humility, just as patience is the way to peace, and reading is the way to knowledge].

**TREATISE ON ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET**

_Ea 2 / Eb 2_ Ecce uirgo concipiet, & pariet filium: Isaiah 7:14 (“Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son.”)
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCPIET

Ea 2 / Eb 3  wordis weren seide by Oure Lady / wordes were seyde by Oure Lady: “by”, in this context, means “about” or “concerning” (MED: “bi” prep. 9a); it does not express agency of the verb.

Ea 4 / Eb 5  Eche mayden ... God & man / iche gode mayden ... God & man: Millett explains that the spiritual pregnancy of virgins and the virtues which are the children thereof derives from characterising virgins as Brides of Christ; the virtues which this spiritual union begets are dependent upon the utter moral superiority of the figurative groom and the comparative purity of the bride herself. She suggests that this characterisation featured initially and most prominently in the writings of Origen in the second and third centuries, but that it is to be found in several other patristic authors, including Leander of Seville (Regula, PL LXXII 880b–c) in the sixth century and Pseudo-Bernard (De Modo Vivendi, chapter 22, § 65, PL CLXXXIV 1240b–c) in the twelfth century (Millett, Hali Meiðbad xl–xli). The exposition of this concept found in the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet is that found in Hali Meiðbad:

\[\text{3ef þe were leof streon, nim þe to him under hwam þu schalt i þi meiðbad temen dehtren ant sunen of gasteliche teames, þe neauer deie ne mahen ah schulen aa buiure þe pleien in heouene, þet beoð þe uertuz þet he streoneð in þe þurh his swete grace: as rihtwisnesse ant warschipe aþeines unþeawes, mesure ant mete ant gastelich strengðe to wiðstonde þe feond and aþein sunne, simplete of semblant [ant] buhsumnesse ant stilðe, þol[e]modnesse ant reowfulnesse of euch monnes sorhe, gleadschipe i þe Hali Gast ant pes i þi breoste of onde ant of wreaððe, of 3isceunge ant of euch unþeawes weorre, me[ok]elec ant} \]
miltschipe ant swotnesse of heorte, þe limpeð alre þinge best to meiðhad mihte. (20, ll. 15–26)

Ea 7 / Eb 7  praye / pley: Hali Meiðhad (above) confirms that “pley” is the correct reading (“aa biuore þe pleien in heouene.”) This image refers to Proverbs 8:30 (“Et delectabar per singulos dies, ludens coram eo omni tempore”; “and [I] was delighted every day, playing before him at all times.”)

Eb 23  Non solum concupiscere, set concupi welle, crimynosum est: “Not only to desire but to be willing to be desired is blameworthy.” This statement exists in the Augustinian Rule as “... quando proceditis, feminas videre prohibemini; sed appetere, aut ab ipsis appeti velle criminosum est” (Regula ad Servos Dei, PL XXXII 1380) [... when you go out, you are forbidden to see women; but to desire or to wish to be desired by them is blameworthy]. Millett’s note to Ancrene Wisse Part II, ll. 157–58, notes that the original quotation is from Augustine’s letter 211, § 10, but that the phrase “criminosum est” shows that this is taken from the version in the Augustinian Rule (Millett, Ancrene Wisse II, 55).

Eb 27  Alþouȝ þei wold noȝt consente to þe dede, ȝitte þei ben cause of synne of oþer: One of “Alþouȝ”, “þouȝ”, or “ȝitte” is superfluous in the manuscript reading. I have removed “þouȝ” because it was the most likely candidate of the three to be a scribal error (repeating, as it does, the second syllable of “alþouȝ.”)

Eb 29  Ecce mulier ... capiendas animas: Proverbs 7: 10 (“Et ecce occurrit illi mulier ornatu meretricio, praeparata ad capiendas animas”; “And behold a woman meeteth him in harlot's attire prepared to deceive souls.”)
Eb 30  *Melior est humilis nupta quam virgo superba:* There are two versions of this statement in Augustine: in *Enarratio in Psalmum 99*, § 13, *PL* XXXVII 1280 (“Melius est humile conjugium, quam superba virginitas” [humble wedlock is better than proud virginity]; and in *De Sancta Virginitate*, § 52, *PL* XL 426 (“facilius sequuntur Agnum [...] conjugati humiles, quam superbientes virgines” [Humble married people [...] more easily follow the Lamb [...] than proud virgins]).

Ea 26 / Eb 32  *Of such fool maydens ... hat is Jhesu Crist / And also Seynt Jerom ... her spouse*  

*Jhesu Crist:* Jerome, *Epistola XXII ad Eustochium*, § 5, *PL* XXII 397 “Istae sunt virgines malae, virgines carne, non spiritu: virgines stultae, quae oleum non habentes, excluduntur a sponso” [These are wicked virgins, virgins of flesh, not of spirit; foolish virgins, who not having oil, are shut out from the spouse.] This quotation is also used in John of Foxton (Friedman 187). The image derives from the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins and their lamps, which can be found in Matthew 25: 1–13.

Ea 31 / Eb 38  *Suche ben like ... roten bones / Syche maydens ben liche ... roten bones:* The image of the dissembling virgin as a sepulchre is from Matthew 23: 27–28, where it is used to describe the pharisees: “quia similes estis sepulchris dealbatis, quae a foris parent hominibus speciosa, intus vero plena sunt ossibus mortuorum, et omni spurcitia” (“you are like to whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful, but within are full of dead men’s bones, and of all filthiness.”)

---

86 For information on John of Foxton and his *Liber Cosmographiae*, see the introduction to this text, p. 84.
**NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET**

**Ea 38**  *Voluptatum amatores magis ... autem eius abnegantes*: 2 Timothy 3: 4–5 (“... voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei: habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes”; “… lovers of pleasures more than of God: Having an appearance indeed of godliness, but denying the power thereof.”)

**Ea 48**  *Sit may þei be like to þe appil ... but al blak syndris*: The Jewish historian Josephus describes a fruit that is found in the area around the Dead Sea, which looks like an apple on the outside, but the interior is full of dry seeds. The fruit later came to be called a “Sodom apple” because it was “thought to be filled with the ashes of that sinful city” (Ferber 13).

**Ea 55 / Eb 49**  *þe worme þat in paradys ... loþely deuel / þe worme þat schewed hir ... cursed fende*: Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, Liber Genesis, § 21, PL CXCIII 1072: “... genus serpentis, ut ait Beda, virgineum vultum habens...” [... the species of serpent, as Bede says, having a maidenly face...] Russell notes that, in High Medieval Art, the serpent’s having human attributes “symbolized the complicity in sin between human and Devil. In addition, misogynistic tradition emphasized Eve’s guilt more than her husband’s, so the serpent more often looked like Eve than like Adam” (211).

**Eb 56**  *heo synneþ noȝt ... sche is noȝt ȝitte at one wiþ hirselves*: Throughout Eb, the scribe uses both “heo” and “sche”, sometimes, as here, within the same sentence. The scribe’s dialect has been localised to Warwickshire by the *LALME*, and instances of “heo” are recorded in other Warwickshire manuscripts as well. “Heo” is more common, however, in the southern counties than it is in the midlands. This mixing of the two forms suggests “mischsprache”: the scribe usually copies the form that he or she finds in the exemplar
(“heo”), but occasionally a form with which he or she is more comfortable (“sche”) will slip in instead. See Benskin and Laing for further information on “mischsprachen.”

**Ea 62 / Eb 60**  
*Que nupta est ... placeat viro / Que nupta est ... placeat viro suo*: 1

Corinthians 7:34 (“Quae autem nupta est, cogitat quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat viro”; “she that is married thinketh on the things of the world, how she may please her husband.”)

**Ea 65**  
*Seynt John wiþ þe gilden mouþ*: “golden mouthed” is a literal translation of the epithet “Chrysostom”, which was given to St John “because of his dazzling effectiveness as a pulpit orator” (Kelly 4).

**Ea 66 / Eb 64**  
*Si non est nupta ... ex animo nupta / Si non est nupta ... animo autem nupta*:  
John Chrysostom, *Homelia in Matthaeum LII*, *PG* LVI 929: “... si non est nupta, voluntatem tamen nubendi habuit, corpore quidem virgo est, animo autem nupta” [...]if she is not married, but has had a desire to be married, in the body she is a virgin, in her mind, however, she is married.]

**Ea 73 / Eb 71**  
*Ffelicior michi videtur ... vni datura est / Ffilicior mibi videtur ... vni datura est*: Augustine, *De Sancta Virginitate*, Liber Unus, § 11, *PL* XL 401 (“felicior mihi videtur nupta mulier quam virgo nuptura: habet enim jam illa quod ista adhuc cupit, praezertim si nondum vel sponsa cuiusquam sit. Illa uni studet placere, cui data est: haec multis, incerta cui danda est” [a married women seems to me more fortunate than a not yet married virgin: she has indeed already that thing which the other wants, particularly if [she is] not yet
espoused to someone. That one strives to please one, to whom she has been given; this one [strives to please] many, unsure of to whom she will be given.]

**Ea99 / Eb 81**  
**Seynt Jon þe Euangelist ... as þe Gospel seiþ / Seynt Jon þe Ewangeliste ... as þe Gospel seiþ:** The reference to John’s rescue from the brink of matrimony can be found in the *Legenda Aurea* (de Voragine 56). John’s status as the beloved disciple is stated in John 19:26 (“Cum vidisset ergo Jesus matrem, et discipulum stantem, quem diligebat, dicit matri suae: Mulier, ecce filius tuus” “When Jesus therefore had seen his mother and the disciple standing whom he loved, he saith to his mother: Woman, behold thy son.”)

**Eb 84**  
*Caro autem non potest corumpi nisi fuerit mens ante corrupta:* Ambrose, *De Lapsu Virginis Consecratae*, Liber Unus, Caput IV, *PL* XVI 386a, “non potest caro corrumpi, nisi mens fuerit ante corrupta” [it is not possible for the flesh to be corrupted, unless the mind is first corrupt].

**Eb 85**  
*Sanctius est mori sine liberis, quam illicito coitu stirpem quaerere:* Augustine, *De Bono Conjugiali*, Liber Unus, Caput XVI, *PL* XL 385–86 “Ita satius est defungi sine liberis, quam ex illicito coitu stirpem quaerere” [thus it is preferable to die without children, than from illicit intercourse to strive for a lineage].

**Ea 82**  
*þat þei be more worschipid of oþere þat h:* “þat þei be more worschipid of oþere þat h” is given in the outer margin. The omission which resulted in this marginal correction was probably caused by eyeskip between the two instances of “oþere þat.”
But by man or womman ... coroun of maydenbod myȝt: This sentence in its original form seems to be corrupt. I have emended it as little as possible. I removed the second “but”, which is unnecessary and confusing, standardised the pronouns in order to have the subject remain “þei” throughout, and emended the unattested adjective “lechy” to an attested equivalent adjectival form “lech[er]y.”

Si inuitam me violaueris castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam / Si inuitam me violaueris duplicata est mihi corona castitatis: Legenda Aurea, “... non inquinatur corpus nisi de consensu mentis, nam si me invitam violari feceris, castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam” (de Voragine 31); [“The body is not defiled [...] unless the mind consents. If you have me ravished against my will, my chastity will be doubled and the crown will be mine” (Ryan I, 28).]

Maydenbod bodily & gostly is in [hem]: The original reading, “in þis”, left the relative pronoun without an antecedent. The alternative, “in [hem]” was suggested by the parallel construction at line Ea 102.

Whiche þoo maydenes schal be ... & spiritu / Also þe apostle techiþ ... & spiritu: 1 Corinthians 7:34 (“Et mulier innupta, et virgo, cogitat quae Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corporre, et spiritu”; “And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit.”) This quotation is also used in John of Foxton (Friedman 187).87

87 For information on John of Foxton and his Liber Cosmographiae, see the introduction to this text, p. 84.

496
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET

Ea 125  *F*irst, *h*oly *w*ritt *i*t reediþ & *n*oct *i*t *c*o*maund*ð* *... p*oo *h*at *d*d*eadly *s*ynned*: This sentence’s syntax is convoluted. The first layer of confusion is caused by the pronoun “he” in the first clause, which refers to the neuter, inanimate antecedent “holy writt.” The second part of the sentence, “for, if it commanded were, *þ*e doers *þ*e aþen ... *gi*lty *þ*e *w*ere *b*efore *G*od *a*s *þ*oo *h*at *d*d*eadly *s*ynned” is complicated by the repetition of the subject “þei” and the intrusion of the subordinate clause “as for Goddis biddyngis”, but is otherwise sound. The point is the difference between commandment and counsel, which St Paul himself draws upon in 1 Corinthians 7: 25 and which is quoted at Ea 129 / Eb 104 below.

Ea 129 / Eb 104  *F*orw*hy* bi *m*aydens *s*pekþ *þ*e *A*postle *... h*at *I* trewe *t*o *H*ym *b*e / *F*irst, *h*oly *w*ritte *c*omenedþ *i*t *... h*at *I* trewe *b*e *t)o *H*ym: 1 Corinthians 7:25 (“De virginibus autem praecexit Domini non habeo: consilium autem do, tamquam misericordiam consecutus a Domino, ut sim fidelis”; “Now concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord; but I give counsel, as having obtained mercy of the Lord, to be faithful.”) “cor 7°” is given in the outer margin as a reference for this text in both manuscripts.

Ea 139 / Eb 113  *aungels lyf / angelis life*: Reference to Pseudo-Jerome’s statement that living in the flesh but in a manner contrary to the flesh is not earthly, but angelic (Pseudo-Jerome, Epistola Ad Paulam et Eustochium De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis, PL XXX 126d–127a). The full quotation is used at lines Ea 283 and Eb 194.

Ea 140  *þat [took] oure kynde*: the original reading was “þat may oure kynde.” I am not certain from what the “may” results, unless it is caused by eyeskip to “þat maydens” at line Ea 144 below. I suggest “took” based on the equivalent reading at Eb 114, and on parallel statements at Ea 182 and Ea 184.
Jerome, *Epistola ad Eustochium*, § 21, *PL* XXII 408: “Statim ut filius Dei ingressus est super terram, novam sibi familiam instituit, UT QUI AB ANGELIS adorabatur in coelo, haberet Angelos et in terris” [Immediately as the Son of God had arrived upon the earth, He established a new household for Himself, in order that He, who had been adored by angels in heaven, would have angels also on earth].

Helye / Ely þe holy profete: The account of Elijah’s being taken up into heaven can be found in 4 Kings 2. The suggestion that it is his chastity which qualifies him for bodily assumption is not biblical. Elijah’s miracles, which are outlined briefly in this passage, can be found in 3 Kings 17-21 and 4 Kings 1.

þe þree felawes of Danyel / þe þree felowes of Daniel: The four named “children of Juda” in Daniel 1 are Daniel (Baltassar), Ananias (Sidrach), Misael (Misach) and Azarias (Abednego). The “three fellows of Daniel” were “certain Jews whom [Nabuchodonosor had] set over the works of the province of Babylon” (Daniel 3:12).
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET

Ea 174  

[It brent] so wodlich: The subject and verb appear to be missing from this clause, so I have provided them.

Ea 188 / Eb 146  

Inter natos mulierum, non surrexit maior Johannes baptista / Inter natos mulierum, non surrexit maior Johannes baptista: Matthew 11:11 (“non surrexit inter natos mulierum major Joanne Baptista”; “there hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than John the Baptist.”)

Ea 195  

Joon þe Euangelist His cosyn: John the Evangelist’s mother, Salome, was traditionally thought to have been the sister of the Blessed Virgin, and one of the women sorrowing with the Blessed Virgin at the foot of the cross (Matthew 27:56; and John 19:25).

Ea 198 / Eb 152  

for he lyued ... wipoute penaunce of deeþ / for he was ... wipoute peyne of deeþ: See the account of St John’s life and death in the Legenda Aurea (de Voragine 56–62).

Ea 201 / Eb 156  

Seynt Bernard seiþ ... forma virtutis / Seynt Jon Crissostom seiþ ... forma virtutis: Pseudo-Jerome, Epistola IX Ad Paulam et Eustochium De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis, PL XXX 140a: “qui matrem virginem ideo elegit, ut ipsa omnibus esset exemplum castitatis, in qua velut in speculo refulget forma virtutis” [who for His mother chooses a virgin, in order that she be to all an example of chastity, in whom the model of virtue reflects just as in a mirror.]

Ea 206  

Þouȝ it proued be ... þis þridde þat I hyȝt: The beginning of this section relies on the underlying structure that was established at lines Ea 122–25, where the three reasons...
that being a virgin can be proved to be pleasing to God are introduced: because holy writ
recommends it, because there are many examples of people near to God who were virgins
and because it is natural to love virginity.

_Ea 210 / Eb 161_ Qui potest capere ... take it / He hat may take his virtu ... capere, capiat:
Matthew 19:12 (“Qui potest capere capiat”; “He that can take, let him take it.”)

_Ea 216_ Vt scias virginitatem ... in radice perdiderat: Jerome, Epistola Ad Eustochium § 19,
_PL XXII 406: “Et ut scias virginitatem esse naturae, nuptias post delictum: virgo nascitur
caro de nuptiis, et in fructu reddens, quod in radice perdiderat” [And so you should know
that virginity is the natural state, [and] wedlock [only] after the fall: virgin flesh comes
from wedlock, and returning in the fruit that which had been lost in the root.]

_Ea 231_ Wherfore Bernard spekiþ ... seculo iam tenetis: This section entire, excluding the
translated passages, is given in John of Foxton (Friedman 186). The section is constructed
of quotations from: Bernard, Tractatus de Moribus et Officiis Episcoporum, PL CLXXXII
816c–d (“sola est castitas quae in hoc mortalitatis et loco, et tempore statum quemdam
immortalis gloriae representar” [Chastity alone, in this mortal place and (present) time, is
that which represents eternal glories]); Matthew 22: 30 (“In resurrectione enim neque
nubent, neque nubentur: sed erunt sicut angeli Dei in caelo” “For in the resurrection they
shall neither marry nor be married; but shall be as the angels of God in heaven”); and
Cyprian, Liber de Habitu Virginum, Chapter 22, PL IV 462a (“... futuri sumus jam vos esse
coepistis. Vos resurrectionis gloriam in isto saeculo jam tenetis, per saeculum sine saeculi
contagione transitis” [... [what] we are in the future you have initiated in the present. You
already hold the glory of the resurrection now in this world, [as] through the world you

500
pass without worldly contamination]. Unusually, the first two quotations are not separated by their translations; the section in which the first two quotations fall seems to have been taken as a block from Foxton and translated as a whole subsequently.

**Ea 243 / Eb 164**  
Seynt John seiþ ... virginitas ex nupciis / Seynt Jon Crissostom seiþ ...  

*virginitas nupciis*: The first section is from Jerome, *Epistola Ad Eustochium*, § 20, *PL* XXII 406–407: “Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines generant: lego de spinis rosam, de terra aurum, de concha margaritam” [I praise virginity, I praise wedlock, but because they bring forth virgins to me: I select roses from thorns, gold from the earth, pearls from shells]. The rest of the quotation is from Jerome, *Epistola Ad Pammachium Contra Jovinianum*, §2, *PL* XXII 495/213 (“Sed ita nuptias recipimus, ut virginitatem, quae de nuptiis nascitur, praeferamus. Numquid argentum non erit argentum, si aurum argento pretiosius est? Aut arboris et segetis contumelia est, si radici et foliis, culmo et aristis, poma praeferuntur et fructus? Ut poma ex arbore, frumentum ex stipula, ita virginitas ex nuptiis” [But just as we accept wedlock, so we prefer virginity, which is born of wedlock. Will silver not be silver, even though gold is more precious than silver? Or is the tree or the grain field insulted if to the roots and leaves, stalk and ears, the apple and fruit are preferred? As the apples from the tree, the corn from the stubble, so is virginity from wedlock.] The entire quotation, including missing “generant” and the erroneous attribution to “Johannes”, can be found in John of Foxton (Friedman 186).

**Eb 175**  
*apocolips*: MS “Gospel” is cancelled; “apocolips” is given in the outer margin as a correction.
Ea 254  so he[a] doþ: I have emended “he” to “heo” because it is more probable that “he” is a misreading of the singular, feminine form “heo” than a mistake for “sche”, which is the usual singular, feminine form in Ea.

Ea 256 / Eb 175  Hii empti sunt ex hominibus primicie Deo et Agno / Hii empti sunt ex hominibus primicie Deo & Agno: Revelation 14:4 (“Hi empti sunt ex hominibus primitiae Deo, et Agno”, “These were purchased from among men, the first fruits to God and to the Lamb.”)

Ea 261 / Eb 179  Quia sine macula ... ierit / Quia sine macula ... ierit uirgines enim sunt: Conflation of two neighbouring passages from Revelation 14: “sine macula enim sunt ante thronum Dei” (Revelation 14:5; “for they are without spot before the throne of God”) and “Hi sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit” (Revelation 14:4; “These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.”)

Ea 264 / Eb 183  Incorruoio proximum facit esse Deo / Incorrupcio facit proximum Deo: Wisdom 6: 20 (“inccoruptio autem facit esse proximum Deo”; “And incorruption bringeth near to God.”) Level with this line in the outer margin of Eb is “sap”, (Sapientia) serving as a marginal reference for the text.

Ea 270 / Eb 185  Seynt Austyn wiþ þis word ... pudicicie in pace est / Seynt Austeyne wittenesþ ... pudicicie in [pace] erit: Gennadius of Marseilles, Liber De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus, Chapter 55, PL LVIII 996b: “Virginitas utroque bono praecelsior est, quia et naturam vincit et pugnam. Naturam, corporis integritate; pugnam, pace castimoniae, quae pro solo amore pudicitiae in pace est” [Virginity is more lofty than both good things, for it
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPET

conquers both nature and the battle. Nature, by bodily chastity; the battle, by the peace of chastity, for the love of modesty alone is she in peace]. The quotation, including the brief Latin reference and summary, is also in John of Foxton (Friedman 186). Friedman notes that Gennadius’ Liber De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus “was widely attributed to Augustine in the Middle Ages”, thereby explaining the attribution (186n).

The Latin in this section is corrupt. I have amended it, drawing my suggestions for corrections from the original source and from the readings implied by the manuscripts’ own English translation.

Eb 192  *batel of temptacioun beo [ouercome]*: Sentence was syntactically incomplete. I suggest “ouercome” as a main verb here because it is used in the preceding sentence in the same context.

Ea 279  *And wip hirself ... lust wolde vse*: This sentence is very problematic. The sense seems to be that the maiden fights to supercede nature, and that chaste state in which she battles nature seems both against and above nature, in that she rejects that process by which she herself was made. She battles the enemy, lust, both within herself and by keeping watch for and repulsing the advances of those who would be lustful towards her.

Ea 283 / Eb 194  *Profecto in carne ... sed angelica / In carne ... set angelica [&] celestis*: Pseudo-Jerome, *Epistola Ad Paulam et Eustochium De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, *PL* XXX 126d: “Profecto in carne, praeter carnem vivere, non terrena vita est, sed coelestis” [Certainly, to live in the body without the body is not earthly life, but heavenly.]
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET

Ea 286  

*be aungel forbede Seint Joon ... oon Almyȝty God*: Revelation 22:8–9 (“Et ego Joannes, qui audivi, et vidi haec. Et postquam audissem, et visserem, cecidi ut adorarem ante pedes angeli, qui mihi haec ostendebat: et dixit mihi: Vide ne feceris: conservus enim tuus sum, et fratrum tuorum prophetarum, et eorum qui servant verba prophetiae libri hujus: Deum adora”; “And I, John, who have heard and seen these things. And after I had heard and seen, I fell down to adore before the feet of the angel, who shewed me these things. And he said to me: See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them that keep the words of the prophecy of this book: adore God.”)

Ea 291  

*Seint Jerom seiþ ... of kynde*: Pseudo-Jerome, *Epistola Ad Paulam et Eustochium De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis*, *PL* XXX 127a: “... in carne angelicam vitam acquirere, majus est meritum, quam habere. Esse enim angelum, felicitatis est: esse vero virginem, virtutis: dum hoc obtinere viribus virgo nititur cum gratia, quod habet angelus ex natura” [to acquire in the body the angelic life, is greater merit than to have it. It is fortunate, indeed, to be an angel: but to be a virgin is virtuous, since the virgin struggles to obtain with grace what an angel has by nature.]

Ea 305 / Eb 201  

*Seint Gregori by maydens ... meruit in celo / Seynt Gregorie seiþ ... sponsum habere in celo*: Gregory, *Dialogorum Libri IV*, *De Vita et Miraculis Patrum Italicorum*, et *de Aeternitate Animarum*, Liber Tertius, Caput 14, *PL* LXXVII 244b: “Quae quia sponsum fugit in terra, habere sponsum meruit in coelo” [She who flees a spouse on earth, deserves to have a spouse in heaven.] The Latin text in *Ea* is obviously corrupt and has been amended.

504
**NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET**

**Ea 315**  *lymbalt*: “Lymbalt” appears to be a compound noun (from OE “lim” [limb] and “healt” [lame, limping]), meaning “lame.” Neither the *OED* nor the *MED* record this noun, and there is no equivalent in *Eb*.

**Ea 318**  *Maledictus dolosus ... dicit Dominus*: Malachi 1:14 ("Maledictus dolosus qui habet in grege suo masculum, et votum faciens immolat debile Domino: quia rex magnus ego, dicit Dominus exercituum, et nomen meum horribile in gentibus"; “Cursed is the deceitful man that hath in his flock a male, and making a vow offereth in sacrifice that which is feeble to the Lord: for I am a great King, saith the Lord of hosts, and my name is dreadful among the Gentiles.”)

**Ea 343 / Eb 207**  *spekiþ Seynt Jerom... þi douȝteris spouse / Seynt Jerom spekeþ ... so noble a lord*: Jerome, *Epistola Ad Eustochium*, §20, *PL* XXII 407: “Quid invides mater filiae? Tuo lacte nutrita est, tuis educata visceribus, in tuo adolevit sinu. Tu illam virginem sedula pietate servasti. Indignaris, quod noluit militis esse uxor, sed regis? Grande tibi beneficium praestitit. Socius Dei esse coepisti” [Why do you, a mother, hate your daughter? Of your milk she is fed, she came from your womb, she grows in your lap. Attentive, you protected that virgin. You are indignant, because she does not wish a soldier to be her husband, but rather a king? The benefit that she presented to you is great. You are to be made an associate of God.]

**Ea 364 / Eb 221**  *Seyn[f] Bernard spekiþ ... schal aftir folewe / Seynt Bernard seip ... in euerlastynge ioye*: This section is from Bernard, *Epistola CXI ex Persona Eliae Monachi ad Parentes Suas*, *PL* CLXXXII 254a–255c.
Ea 373 / Eb 229  *Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me non est me dignus*: Matthew 10:37 (“Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus”; “He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.”)

Eb 236  *elles*: The “s” of “elles” seems initially to have been omitted, and is given in limited space and not with the usual letterform the scribe uses for terminal s.

Ea 398  *Þere I was aboute bisette ... heelyde of my sorewe*: The image of the compassionate traveler who takes pity on a wounded stranger, whom he houses and heals, is taken from the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10: 33-35).

Ea 414  *Þe riche man me techiþ ... wiþ hym to be pyned*: This image refers to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus the beggar (Luke 16: 19–31).

Ea 426 / Eb 251  *Non acquiescas carni et sanguini / Non adquiescas carni & sanguini*: Galatians 1:16 (“ut evangelizarem illum in gentibus: continuo non acquievi carni et sanguini”; “that I might preach him among the Gentiles, immediately I condescended not to flesh and blood.”)

Ea 430 / Eb 255  *Dimittite mortuos sepellire mortuos suos / Dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos*: Matthew 8:22 (“Jesus autem ait illi: Sequere me, et dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos”; “But Jesus said to him: Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead.”)

Ea 431 / Eb 258  *Renuit consolari anima mea*: Psalm 76:3 (“Renuit consolari anima mea”; “My soul refused to be comforted.”)
Proverbs 14: 13 ("Risus dolore miscebitur, et extrema gaudii luctus occupat"; “Laughter shall be mingled with sorrow, and mourning taketh hold of the end of joy.”)

Greet profyt ... how swete He is in Hymself: This section is constructed out of excerpts from two famous treatises on virginity: Ambrose’s De Virginitate (PL XVI 279–302b) and Jerome’s De Perpetua Virginitate Beatae Mariae, Adversus Helvidium (PL XXIII 193–216b). In particular, lines 449–53 and 475–84 are similar to chapter 6 of Ambrose, and lines 453–66 to chapter 22 of Jerome. For a discussion of the theme of the “molestiae nuptiarum”, see Millett, Hali Meiðhad xxx–xxxviii. Although this theme appears in Hali Meiðbad, the two passages concerning this theme are not similar enough to suggest a source-derivative relationship, especially as the theme is so popular in virginity literature from the third century onwards (Millett, Hali Meiðbad xxxiv).

mangglynges: Probably derives from “menglen” v., meaning “to intermingle, mix.”

hei myȝt not taast þe watir þat þe bacoun were soden ynne: Probably a reference to the custom of awarding a side of bacon to a couple who could swear that they had not argued or regretted their marriage for a year and a day, as practised at Dunmow, Essex, and to which the Wife of Bath famously refers in her Prologue, lines 217–218. See Shaver for the history and literary prevalence of this image (322–333).
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET

**Ea 500**  *Qui secundum spiritum sunt, que sunt spiritus, sentiunt*: Romans 8:5 (“qui vero secundum spiritum sunt, quae sunt spiritus, sentiunt”; “they that are according to the spirit, mind the things that are of the spirit.”)

**Ea 505 / Eb 267**  *Virgo cogitat que Dei sunt, ut sit sancta corpore, & spiritu*: 1 Corinthians 7:34 (“Et mulier innupta, et virgo, cogitat quae Domini sunt, ut sit sancta corpore, et spiritu”; “And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit.”)

**Ea 513 / Eb 275**  *Tota pulchra es, amica mea, & macula non est in te*: Song of Songs 4:7 (“Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te”; “Thou art all fair, O my love, and there is not a spot in thee.”)

**Ea 515 / Eb 276**  *Seynt Bernard spekiþ ... chaste & clene / Seynt Bernard seiþ ... in þe syȝt of God*: I have been unable to find a source for these quotations.

**Ea 520**  *Ostende michi faciem tuam, soror mea*: Song of Songs 2:14 (“ostende mihi faciem tuam”; “shew me thy face.”)

**Ea 522**  *a mayden þat of many was ypрайsyde ... myche fair to see*: I have not been able to find a source for this legend.

**Ea 526 / Eb 279**  *a mayden þat dwel Lid ... to my Lord is lyche / a mayden þat dwellid ... schuld baue harme þurȝ me*: The maiden is St Alexandra; her legend can be found in Palladius, *Historia Lausaica*, chapter 5, *PG* XXXIV 1015.
Seynt Jerom seiþ: “Þe fruyt of hir paradys filleþ; þe fruyt of wedlok filleþ þe erþe.

Jerome, Adversus Jovinianum Book 1, § 16, PL XXIII 246c: “Nuptiae terram replent, virginitas paradisum” [Marriage replenishes the earth, virginity [replenishes] heaven]. “Þe fruyt of hir” is the fruit of virginity: note the parallel with Ea 534 “Þe fruyt of maydenhod.”

Sicut lilyum inter spinas, sic amica mea inter fillias / Sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias: Song of Songs 2:2 (“Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias”; “As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.”)

The analogy of the petals of a lily with the six “wardens” of successful chastity occurs in several moral treatises. Both the Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen (a fifteenth-century prose translation of the Speculum Vitae) and the Man in the Moone (a seventeenth-century “popular treatise on practical morality” (Routh 337)) use the same analogy, although the specific “wardens” and the order in which they appear vary from version to version. In Ea, the six petals are: 1. moderation in food and drink; 2. occupation; 3. coarse clothing; 4. control of the senses; 5. discretion of speech; and 6. fleeing temptation. The list of “wardens” in the Man in the Moone is the same as in Ea, except that numbers two and three are reversed (Hilliwell 48–51). In Eb, the six petals of the lily are: 1. moderation in food and drink; 2. occupation; 3. meekness; 4. silence; 5. love; and 6. dread of God. The six petals in the Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen are: 1. bodily virginity; 2. clean thought; 3. meekness; 4. dread of God; 5. harsh living conditions; and 6. steadfastness (Nelson 192–94).

Both versions of the Treatise on Ecce Virgo Concipiet and the Myrour to Lewde Men and Women extend the analogy of the lily to include the three “corns” or grains of chastity.
which these six petals protect, although again the three analogies differ on what these three grains represent. In Ea, the three “corns” are the three reasons that a virgin should love God: as her Creator, her Saviour and her Spouse. In Eb, the three grains are the three rewards which true maidens earn (cleanness, joy and worship) and these three are briefly expounded. In the Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen the three grains are the three ways in which God is to be loved; with the understanding, with the mind and with the will.

Ea 552 / Eb 296  Seynt Jerom to maydens biddiþ ... quam oleum flammis adicere / Seynt Jerom seíþ to maydens ... quam olim flammis adicere: This quotation is constructed from two phrases in Jerome, Epistola Ad Eustochium, § 8, PL XXII 399: “sponsa Christi vinum fugiat pro veneno” [Let the spouse of Christ flee wine as though it is venom], and “Quid oleum flammæ adicimus?” [[Why] do we cast oil on the flames?].

Ea 557 / Eb 300  Lo[th] ... vnkyndely he synned / Loth ... cursedly he synned: The story of Lot can be found in Genesis, chapters 11–19. Some damage to the parchment in Ea suggests an attempt at an erasure. It effects the “th” of “Loth.”

Ea 563 / Eb 305  þe Wyse Man seíþ ... & tumultuosa ebrietas / þe Wyse Man spekeþ ... & tumultuosa ebrietas: Proverbs 20:1 (“Luxuriosa res vinum, et tumultuosa ebrietas”; “Wine is a luxurious thing, and drunkenness riotous.”)

Ea 565 / Eb 307  Seynt Jerom seíþ ... er þou be ful / Seint Jerom ... þi fastynge day: This quotation derives from two passages in Jerome, Epistola Ad Eustochium, § 17, PL XXII 404: “Sit tibi moderatus cibus, et nunquam venter expletus” [May food be moderate to you, and
at no time fill the stomach], and “Sint tibi quotidiana jejunia, et refectio satietatem fugiens” [May your fasts be of daily occurrence, and refreshment fleeing from satiety.]

**Ea 570 / Eb 312**  
_Þe holy man biddiþ ... inueniat ocupatum / byddeþ Seynt Jerom ... ocupatum inueniat:_ Jerome, *Epistola ad Rusticum Monachum*, § 11, *PL* XXII 1078 “Facito aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum” [Always be doing something, so that the devil finds you ever occupied.]

**Eb 318**  
*Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue:* Luke 1: 48 (“Quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae”, “Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid.”)

**Eb 323**  
*In silencio & spe fortitudo uestra:* Isaiah 30:15 (“in silentio et in spe erit fortitudo vestra”; “in silence and in hope shall your strength be.”)

**Eb 325**  
*Jeremye þe prophete seiþ ... salutare domini:* Lamentations 3:26 (“Bonum est praestolari cum silentio salutare Dei”; “It is good to wait with silence for the salvation of God.”)

**Eb 328**  
*Dauid þe prophete ... in lingua mea:* Psalm 38:2 (“Dixi: Custodiam vias meas: ut non delinquam in lingua mea”; “I said: I will take heed to my ways: that I sin not with my tongue.”)

**Eb 331**  
*boly writte seiþ ... mors & vita:* Proverbs 18:21 (“Mors et vita in manu linguæ”; “Death and life are in the power of the tongue.”)
Eb 334  *Crist seiþ ... cordis os loquitur*: Matthew 12:34 (“ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur”; “for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.”)

Ea 583 / Eb 335  *Omni custodia serua ... vita procedit*: Proverbs 4:23 (“Omni custodia serva cor tuum, quia ex ipso vita procedit”; “With all watchfulness keep thy heart, because life issueth out from it.”)

Ea 586  *Þe wardeyns of þe herte ben þe fyue wittis ... from yuel felynge*: *Ancrene Wisse* I, Part II, ll. 5–6 (“Þe heorte wardeins beoð þe fif wittes: sihðe ant herunge, smechunge ant smeallunge, ant euch limes felunge”). The five wits protecting the heart is a common topos. See, for example, Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* II, § 8, *PL* XXIII 310b–311b.

Ea 591 / Eb 339  *Loke now how þe lady ... þi face fair / heriþ how God spekeþ ... in Myn eres*: *Ancrene Wisse* I, Part II, ll. 735–748. (“Lokið nu hu propreliche ... ti wlite schene.”) Eb has a heavily condensed version of the material in the *Ancrene Wisse* and Ea, but bears little resemblance to either except in its use of the same quotations from the Song of Songs.

Ea 592 / Eb 339  *En dilectus meus ... amica mea*: Song of Songs 2:10 (“En dilectus meus loquitur mihi. *Sponsus*. Surge, propera, amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni”; “Behold my beloved speaketh to me: Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come.”)

Ea 593  *be[a] seiþ*: see note to line Ea 254.
**NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET**

**Ea 599 / Eb 345** *Surge propera ... in auribus meis / Veni ostende mihi ... in auribus meis: A conflation of material from both Song of Songs 2:10 (see note to lines Ea 592 / Eb 339 above) and Song of Songs 2:14 (“ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis: vox enim tua dulcis, et facies tua decora”; “shew me thy face, let thy voice sound in my ears: for thy voice is sweet, and thy face comely.”)*

**Ea 607** *Fforwhy it folewith ... & lyuelode of soule: Ancrene Wisse I, Part II, lines 748–818 (“Vnde et subditur ... ant liueneð of sawle.”) The image of the bride sent away from her lover to feed goats can be found in the Song of Songs 1:7. Jerome also writes briefly on image in *Epistola Ad Eustochium*, § 25, PL XXII 411: “Sis licet pulchra, et inter omnes mulieres species tua diligatur a Sponso, nisi te cognoveris et omni custodia servaveris cor tuum: nisi oculos juvenum fugeris, egredieris de thalamo meo, et pasces haedos, qui statuendi sunt a sinistris” [Although you may be beautiful, and among all women your beauty might be beloved by the Spouse, unless you are aware of and with all care protect your heart, unless you flee from the eyes of the young men, you will go out of my chamber, and will feed the kids, which will be set on the left hand]. Millett notes that this exposition of Cant. 1:7 shows a general (and sometimes also a specific) resemblance to the interpretations in Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, bk. 30, ch. 17, § 46, CCSL 143B. 1529, and Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, Sermo 35, § 2, Opera, I. 249–50, but is not exclusively based on them (Ancrene Wisse II, 91)*

**Ea 607** *vox tua dulcis & decora: Song of Songs 2:14 (see note to lines Ea 599 / Eb 345 above).*
Ea 624  *Si ignoras te ... & pasce edos tuos:* Song of Songs 1: 7 (“Si ignoras te, o pulcherrima inter mulieres, egredere, et abi post vestigia gregum, et pasce haedos tuos juxta tabernacula pastorum”; “If thou know not thyself, O fairest among women, go forth, and follow after the steps of the flocks, and feed thy kids beside the tents of the shepherds.”)

Ea 635  *Out of þi ... & liche his holy aungelis and hise hiȝest halewes*: *Hali Meiðbad* (“of se muche dignete, ant swuch wurō[s]chipe as hit is to beo Godes spuse, Iesu Cristes brude, þe lauerdes leofman þet alþe þinges buheð, of al [þe] worlt leafdi, as he is of [al] lauerd; ilich him in halschipe, vnwemmet as he is, ant þet eadi meiden his deorrewurðe moder; ilich his hali engles ant his heste halhen” (Millett, *Hali Meiðbad* 2, ll. 20–25.) This material from *Hali Meiðbad* is used to expand the material sourced from *Ancrene Wisse* that surrounds it.

Ea 652  *as Dyna dide ... outlawed of þat lond*: The story of Dina can be found in Genesis 34. The extract from the *Ancrene Wisse* that forms the basis of the text in Ea is expanded with a fuller version of Dina’s story, taken from an earlier section of *Ancrene Wisse I*, Part II, ll. 87–95 (“A meiden [alswa], Dyna het ... utlahen imakede.”)

Ea 668  *O pulchra inter mulieres*: Song of Songs 1:7 (see note to Ea 624 above).

Ea 674  *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*: Song of Songs 1:1 (“Osculetur me osculo oris sui”; “Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth.”)

Ea 678  *co[s]s[e]:* The source—*Ancrene Wisse I*, Part II, ll. 808–810—reads: “Ah ure Lauerd wið þis *cos*[s] ne cusseð na sawle þe luucð eþ þing buten him, ant te ilke þinges for him þe helpeð him to habben.”
NOTES: ECCE VIRGO CONCIPIET

**Ea 688**  *Semei, Dauifs þral ... & is to deef demed: Ancrene Wisse I, Part III, lines 714–743*  
(“Semei i Regum hefde deað ofseruet ... ant is to deað idemet.”) Most of the material from the first sentence (“þoruþ þat he aroos ... of þis wickid deede), however, is not from *Ancrene Wisse*. The story of Semei’s punishment can be found in 3 Kings 2:36–46.

**Ea 721**  *Perfore good maybe ... comoun folk worshipful hized: Ancrene Wisse I, Part III, lines 744–752*  
(“For-þi, mine leoue sustren ... ouer oþres cunnes folc wurðliche ieheht.”)

**Ea 732**  *On anoþir half undirstondiþ ... if it be wel kepte: Ancrene Wisse I, Part III, lines 753–759*  
(“On oðer half, understondeð ... al þer þe sawle lif is.”)

**Ea 743**  *Seynt Jerom seip ... to alle þat it heriþ: I have not been able to find a source for this material.

**Eb 350**  *Crist hymselfe seip ... quoniam dilexi[t] multum: Luke 7:47*  
(“remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum”; “Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much.”)

**Eb 352**  *he prophete seip ... oracionem meam: Psalm 114:1*  
(“Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet Dominus vocem orationis meae”; “I have loved, because the Lord will hear the voice of my prayer.”)  
Eb mistranslates the latter part of the quotation, replacing the Lord’s receptiveness to prayer with the reason that St Mary Magdalene was forgiven her sins from the previous quotation: “… & for I loued, Oure Lord herde my prayer.”
Eb 355  *be Wyse Man seþ, Loue is stronge as deeþ*: Song of Songs 8:6 ("quia fortis est ut mors dilectio"); “for love is strong as death.”

Ea 748  *Thamar ... with hym aloone*: The story of Tamar and Amnon can be found in 2 Samuel 13.

Ea 751  *Seynt Bernard seþ ... noȝt is for to drede*: I have not been able to find a reference for this quotation.

Eb 360  *be prophete seþ, “Initium sapiencie timor Domini”: Ecclesiasticus 1:16 ( “Initium sapientiae timor Domini”, “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.”)

Eb 363  *Confige timore tuo carnes meas*: Psalm 118:120 ("Confige timore tuo carnes meas"; “Pierce thou my flesh with thy fear.”)

Eb 363  *Seynt Bernard seþ ... þan doþ a loue drede*: I have not been able to find a reference for this quotation.

Eb 365  *Salomon seþ ... & liberabit eum a malo*: Ecclesiasticus 33:1 (“Timenti Dominum non occurrent mala: sed in tentatione Deus illum conservabit, et liberabit a malis”; “No evils shall happen to him that feareth the Lord, but in temptation God will keep him, and deliver him from evils.”)

Eb 368  *tempta[ciouns]*: “tempta” occurs at the end of a line; the scribe almost certainly intended “temptaciouns.”
Eb 369  *Seynt Bernard seiþ ... makeþ hym wyse:* I have not been able to find a reference for this quotation.

Eb 370  *Corona sapiencie timor Domini:* Ecclesiasticus 1:22 ("Corona sapientiae timor Domini"); “The fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom.”

Eb 379  *Qui sine macula sunt ante tronum Dei:* Revelation 14:5 “sine macula enim sunt ante thronum Dei” (Revelation 14:5; “for they are without spot before the throne of God.”) See also note to lines Ea 261 / Eb 179.

Eb 383  *Veni sponsa Christi, accipe coronam quam tibi deus preparavit in eternum:* These are the opening lines of an antiphon used for the *memoriae* of female saints.

Eb 389  *Secuntur Agnum quocumque ierit:* Revelation 14:4 (“sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit”; “These follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.”) See also note to lines Ea 261 / Eb 179.

Eb 393  *Seynt Paule spekeþ ... que preparavit Deus diligentibus se:* 1 Corinthians 2:9 (“Quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis qui diligunt illum”; “That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him.”)
Eb 406  *Gloria & honore coronasti eum, Domin[e]*: Psalm 8:6 (“Minuisti eum pauluminus ab angelis; gloria et honore coronasti eum”; “Thou hast made him a little less than the angels, thou hast crowned him with glory and honour.”) See also Hebrews 2:7.

Eb 410  *Honorificabit eum Pater meus*: John 12:26 (“Si quis mihi ministraverit, honorificabit eum Pater meus”; “If any man minister to me, him will my Father honour.”)

Eb 412  *Nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus*: Psalm 138:17 (“Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum”; “But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened.”)

Ea 763  *Ffor þe proude mayden God euer wiþstondiþ*, as Hymself seid: James 4:6 and 1 Peter 5:5 (“Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam”; “God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.”) The general warning against all proud people is here made specific to virgins.


Ea 778  *Pat oþir is defaute of Goddis loue ... paye God*: This section refers to the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins and their lamps from Matthew 25. See also note to lines Ea 26 / Eb 32.
Ea 785  Seynt Bernard seip ... as it schulde: The equation of the oil in the lamps with good works or virtues is common in virginity literature (see Millett, Hali Meiðhad 53). Although here the virtues in question are different to those in the source, the reference is to Bernard, De Moribus et Officio Episcoporum, chapter 3, § 9, PL CLXXXII 817a–b (“Castitas sine charitate, lampas est sine oleo. Subtrahe oleum, lampas non lucet”; [Chastity without charity is a lamp with no oil. Take away the oil; the lamp does not emit light.]) The identification of humility with the oil in the lamp is also to be found in Hali Meiðhad 22, ll. 27–39 (“For al meiðhad, meokelec is muche wurð; ant meiðhad wiðuten hit is eðelich ant unwurð, for alswa is meiden i meiðhad bute meokeschipe as is wi[ð]ute liht eolie in \a/ lampe.”)

Ea 792  Seynt Austyn to maydens ... plus accepi &c: This quotation is constructed from several phrases, all of which are taken from Augustine, De Sancta Virginitate, Bk 1, § 41, PL XL 420. See also Luke 7:47 (“Cui autem minus dimittitur, minus diligit”; “But to whom less is forgiven, he loveth less.”)

Ea 806  receyueþ to His mersy: The antecedent of “þat” is the “greet synners” of the preceding clause.
COMMENTARY ON THE AVE MARIA

2  *Heil be þou, Marie, ful of grace ... Jhesu Crist. Amen. So be it:* This treatise begins with the prayer as it existed prior to the sixteenth century. The petition, “Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death” was a later addition, authorised by Rome in 1568 (Peikola 278, n. 19).

6  *Heil be þou, ful of grace ... þou among wymmen:* Luke 1:28 (“Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus”; “And the angel being come in, said unto her: Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.”)

9  *Blissed be þou among wymmen & blessed be þe fruyt of þi wombe:* Luke 1:42 (“et exclamavit voce magna, et dixit: Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui”; “And she cried out with a loud voice, and said: Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.”)

12  *& men seyn þat popis graunte moche pardon þerfore. But hou euere it be of pardon:* The equivalent statement in CS has been deliberately scratched away. This clause in CS is slightly different to that found in all other manuscripts; I was unable to read it clearly, but Peikola suggests that the obliterated section reads “men seyn þat popis graunten muche pardoun herefore to þo þat seien hem, and” (Peikola 289). Peikola notes the replacement of the dismissive statement “hou ever it be of pardon” found in the other MSS with this non-
committal comment in CS, and suggests that the damage to the manuscript is more likely to be a post-Reformation reaction to the reference to “popis” than a pre-Reformation attempt to disguise perceived Lollardy (Peikola 289). Peikola also notes “five other similar short erasures in [CS, on ff. 78r, 120r and 202v], all of which have to do with passages where purgatory is mentioned”, to support the argument that the manuscript was modified in an attempt to conform to new standards of religious orthodoxy after the Reformation (Peikola 289). The beginning of the next phrase, “þis addynge to is trewe”, has been damaged in the process of obliterating the statement.

15 Here men and wommen, & namely gentil wommen: The special applicability of the content of this treatise to a specifically noble female audience is not uniform throughout the text. Several sections feature the behaviour of men and women, lords and ladies, or “men”, (meaning people generally, rather than males in particular) such as the paragraphs beginning at lines 34, 73, 84, 96 and 117. The paragraphs beginning at lines 15 and 43 maintain their emphasis on female behaviour. See also, however, note to line 57.

16 mekenesse, chastite, charite, sobirnesse & schamefæstenesse: The statements, “to be asschamyd of eche euyl speche, & namely of lecherie, & euyl contenaunce of synne, & ribaudrie, & vilen[ye]” each, in order, correspond to the virtues as they are listed here.

18 vilen[ye]: All manuscripts other than CC read “vilany” at this point where CC clearly reads “vilenþe.”

21 [&]: All manuscripts other than CC have a form of “&” here.
NOTES: COMMENTARY ON THE Ave Maria

28 And ȝif þei maken hem more bisi in herte ... Sathanas drawe hem boþe to helle: The structure of this sentence is convoluted. The argument is best demonstrated by removing the explicatory passages and by providing information to clarify the implied material: And ȝif þei maken hem more bisi [...] to be gaie in costelewe array [...] þan to gete virtues in here soule [...] þei ben out of charite, & [they are] þe deuelis panter [and they] kacche men into synne [...] & holde hem þerinne, til Sathanas drawe [both the trap and the captive] to helle.

41 “Þei leden”, seiþ God, “here daies in lustful goodis ... fallen doun into helle”: Job 21: 13 (“Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferna descendunt”; “They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell.”)

47 hord of wraþþe: Matthew prefers the reading from CS “hordam of wraþþe.” He was unaware of the other three manuscripts however, all of which agree with CC: “hoorde” (W), “horde” (O2) and “hord” (N).

50 Oure Lady, Seynt Marie, Marie Magdaleyne ... & many moo: CS omits the first “Marie” of this list, causing the “Seynt” to apply to Marie Magdalene, rather than to begin a recapitulation of Our Lady’s name.

57 zonge wymmen: N alone has “men” rather than “wymmen” at this point.

59 more &: Between “more” and “&” there is a “þ” which appears to have been lightly scratched out. The presence of the “þ” can be explained as eye skip between “more” and “more þereby.”
But nowe he þat kan best pleie a pagyn of þe deuyl: Matthew does not break the sentence here, despite a distinct change in tone and subject matter, from the praising of young women who enjoy themselves appropriately and virtuously, to the condemnation of men who sing bawdy songs, blaspheme, and swear oaths.

[þe] ymage: All other manuscripts use the definite article here, and it does improve the reading, so I have included it also.

[þe] lordes: Although it is possible that “worldly” is intended as a substantive, it is more likely that the noun has been left out in error, because all the other manuscripts suggest “lordes” here.

[al]: CC reads “hal” here. Please see p. 86 and note for a brief discussion of this situation.

laste þei: Between “laste” and “þei” there is a mark in pencil, which seems to correspond to a pencil note in the margin, reading “bot.” If this is a correction, it is either a suggestion from a well-meaning reader, or it is specific to this manuscript’s exemplar, as “bot” does not occur in any other manuscript at this point.

[sche]: Matthew silently emends to “sche.”
Seynt Steuene was ful of grace, as holy writt seith: Acts 6:8 (“Stephanus autem plenus gratia et fortitudine, faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo”; “And Stephen, full of grace and fortitude, did great wonders and signs among the people.”)

[&] namely: CC’s “in” ought to be an “&”, both by comparison with the other manuscripts and from context. Although the contraction for “in” and the Tironian “et” are very similar in this manuscript—the key difference being the bar across the “et”—on this occasion the scribe clearly indicates “in.”

feiþ, hope, & charite, & mekenesse, chastite, sobirnesse, & brynnynge desir of riȝtwisnesse:

Faith, hope and charity are the three theological virtues. “Sobirness” (temperance) and “brynnynge desir of riȝtwisnesse” (justice) are two of the moral virtues. Meekness and chastity are both connected with temperance: temperance is concerned with the restraint of pleasure, and chastity specifically with the regulation of sexual pleasure, while meekness is a cardinal virtue annexed to temperance, along with continence and modesty.
This glossary assumes a certain level of familiarity with Middle English. It is selective, and lists words where there is a multiplicity of meanings, where the orthography might prove problematic for a modern reader, or where the modern meaning of a word differs from its Middle English equivalent. I have included a few unusual or difficult instances of words which are ordinarily unproblematic. Up to three instances of each word for each text have been given, using the text siglum and line number for each entry. Because of the wide range of texts with their diverse orthography, and in order to avoid confusion about the forms actually to be found in the edition, I have attempted to represent all spellings as accurately as possible.

Latin words and phrases are translated in the notes to the edition. An Index of Proper Nouns follows the glossary. Cross references, particularly to the honorific titles of the Persons of God and of the Blessed Virgin, are provided in the course of the glossary.

PRINCIPLES OF ORGANISATION

Vocalic V/U is listed as U; consonantal V/U is listed as V. Consonantal I is listed with J, vocalic Y with I, and Yogh with non-consonantal Y. “Sch” and “sh” are listed together, as “sh.”

Noun and verb entries with multiple senses are divided internally according to those senses. Spelling variations and grammatical forms are listed with other forms of the same sense. Spelling variants within entries are given (where it is possible to make such a determination) in order of most-common to least-common spellings, not in alphabetical order.
Glossary

For ease of grouping, verbs are listed by means of an infinitive form. All infinitive forms for all senses are listed at the beginning of the entry. Where an infinitive does not actually exist in the edition, a hypothetical infinitives has been supplied. These hypothetical infinitives are uninflected forms of MED headwords. Line references between the definition and the first semicolon record instances of the infinitive.

Verb entries are organised according to the following order: infinitive, imperative, present participle, present 1sg., present 2 sg., present 3 sg., present pl., preterite, past participle. Unless otherwise specified, all forms are indicative. Where there are forms in the subjunctive marked “subj.” with indicative forms in the same sense, tense and number, I have marked the indicative forms “ind.”

Verbal nouns are to be found immediately following the verb from which they derive, regardless of the usual principles of alphabetisation. Cross references are provided where necessary.

Abbreviations

adj. adjective
adv. adverb
conj. conjunction
contr. contraction
cpv. comparative
err. error
fig. figurative
gen. genitive
imp. imperative
impers. impersonal
ind. indicative
int. interjection
mod. aux. modal auxiliary
n. noun
ord. ordinal
## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr.</td>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres. part.</td>
<td>present participle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pron.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ppl.</td>
<td>past participle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pt.</td>
<td>preterite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl.</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spec.</td>
<td>specifically</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj.</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>substant.</td>
<td>substantive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superl.</td>
<td>superlative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vbl. n.</td>
<td>verbal noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>second person singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>third person singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text Sigla

- **A**: Treatise on Ave Maris Stella
- **C**: Commentary on Ave Maria
- **D**: Doctor of the Church on the Compassion of the Virgin
- **Ea**: Ecce Virgo Concipiet, Version A
- **Eb**: Ecce Virgo Concipiet, Version B
- **Ja**: Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin, Version A
- **Jb**: Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin, Version B
- **Jc**: Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin, Version C
- **P**: Fifteen Steads (Places of the Passion) Devotion
- **Ra**: Rule of the Life of Our Lady, Version A
- **Rb**: Rule of the Life of Our Lady, Version B
- **S**: Fifteen Sorrows Devotion
### Glossary

#### A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Int. see o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abac</td>
<td>adv. away; putte ~ set back, hinder Ea 782.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abide, abide</td>
<td>v. to wait, stay D 85; Ra 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abjecte</td>
<td>adj. abject, humble S 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aboue(n), above, eboue</td>
<td>prep. above, superior to A 286; C 114; Ea 299; Eb 149, 408; S 4, 157; above, higher than Eb 398, 402; Ja 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aboute</td>
<td>adv. around Ea 339, 383, 398 etc; Eb 137, 234; P 10; S 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aboute, abought, abouȝte, abouten</td>
<td>prep. about, around P 11; S 65; around Eb 398; concerning C 74, 77; Ra 3, 82; Rb 2; ben ~ attend to, be concerned with Ea 78; sette ~ see sette.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acceptation</td>
<td>n. approval S 102.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accompt</td>
<td>v. to make accounts, keep records; acomtiþ pr. pl. Ea 463, 466.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accorde</td>
<td>v. to be compatible, suitable; accordiþ pr. 3sg. A 109.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accordyng(e)</td>
<td>adv. appropriately, suitably; ~ to in a manner agreeing with S 3, 150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aduenture</td>
<td>n. occurrence, experience D 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aduersites</td>
<td>n. pl. adversities, hardships A 223.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afer</td>
<td>adv. afar, at a distance Ea 580.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afere</td>
<td>v. to frighten, terrify; aferd ppl. Ea 747.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### affec(c)ioun

n. affection, devotion Ra 30; Rb 27; see note to line Rb 54.

#### afferme

v. to assert, declare; affermiþ pr. 3sg. Ea 270.

#### afor(e)

prep. before, in front of S 49; before, prior to D 14, 16, 51 etc.

#### aforce

v. to force, compel, and spec. rape, violate; aforcid ppl. Ea 749.

#### after, after

prep. following (in time), after A 275; D 64, 101; Ea 439, 556; Eb 90, 283; Ja 7, 17, 19; P 1, 12, 52; Ra 94; S 16, 107, 146 etc; according to A 97, 294; Ea 103, 352, 429; Eb 212, 250, 252 etc; Ja 3; Rb 33. 

#### after

conj. after D 6; Ea 149; Ja 1, 10, 38; Jb 2; Jc 3; ~ that after that (time) Ra 23, 59; Rb 21, 58; P 58; according to that which P 29. 

#### after

adv. at a later time Ea 89, 104, 215 etc; P 20, 30; behind, in pursuit Ea 627, 697, 719; P 46.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝenst(e), aȝeyne

prep. against A 115, 253, 261; Ea 8, 11, 104 etc; Eb 89, 91, 95 etc; Ra 82; Rb 79; S 24, 53, 133; in preparation for Ea 83; by comparison Ea 678.

#### aȝenst

prep. against A 115, 253, 261; Ea 8, 11, 104 etc; Eb 89, 91, 95 etc; Ra 82; Rb 79; S 24, 53, 133; in preparation for Ea 83; by comparison Ea 678.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝenst(e), aȝeyne

prep. against A 115, 253, 261; Ea 8, 11, 104 etc; Eb 89, 91, 95 etc; Ra 82; Rb 79; S 24, 53, 133; in preparation for Ea 83; by comparison Ea 678.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.

#### aȝeyne

adv. again, another time A 194, 201, 202; D 99; Ea 371, 395, 397 etc; Eb 243, 245, 246 etc; P 37; Ra 90; Rb 89.
Eb 10, 12, 16, etc; Ja 13, 22 26 etc;
Jb 3, 6, 18 etc; Jc 16, 37; P 11, 17, 30 etc; Ra 9, 16, 17 etc; Rb 13, 15, 16 etc; S 4, 5, 10 etc; substant. A 250; D 60; Eb 219, 246, 350.
al, alle adv. entirely, utterly Ea 42, 43, 46 etc; Eb 44, 45, 46 etc; Ra 61, 68; S 39, 63, 64 etc; ~ jif see if; ~ oonly see onely.
algeris adv. especially, particularly Ra 41.
also adv. also, as well as A 16, 39, 45 etc; D 92; Ea 138, 155, 192 etc; Eb 32, 49, 55 etc; Ja 27, 38; Jb 32; Jc 8; Ra 17, 62, 96; Rb 62; S 50; ~ soon as as soon as P 70.
alper-most adv. most of all A 21.
alpous conj. even though, although Eb 27.
alwe adv. in every way Ra 72.
amange see among(e).
amende v. to make amends, rectify Ea 340; amende(n) refl. pr. pl. subj. C 39; Ea 25.
amendes, amendys n. pl. amends, compensation D 72, 74, 79.
amyable adj. worthy of love or adoration A 8.
amyddis prep. in the middle Ea 170, 175.
amys adj. amiss, wrong Ea 454.
amys(se) adv. amiss, wrongly Ea 559; Eb 301.
among(e), amange, emonge prep. among A 2, 59; C 3, 7, 10 etc; Ea 100, 189, 469 etc; Eb 83, 147, 291 etc; Ja 11, 23; Ra 56; Rb 8.
amonges prep. amongst Ea 557.
angel, aungel, aungil n. angel Ea 290, 295; Ra 70, 87; Rb 68, 85; aungel, aungel(is), angelis gen. sg. Ea 36, 139 285 etc; Eb 113, 196; Rb 84; angelles, angellys, angelis, angels pl. C 123; Ea 33, 34, 142 etc; Eb 52, 117, 400; S 23, 60; spec. the Archangel Gabriel A 55, 61, 63 etc; spec. Lucifer A 130; Quene of ~ see Index of Proper Nouns.
angre, angry(e) adj. angry, incensed Eb 53; S 114, 122.
amgres etc see angur.
amguysch n. pain, anguish Jb 28.
amquysful adj. anguished, full of anguish A 84.
amgur n. anger, rage Ea 628; tribulation, trouble; angres, angris pl. Ea 485, 490, 545 etc.
anoye n. annoyance, irritation C 125.
anon(e), anoon adv. immediately, straightaway A 99; D 58; Ea 594, 781; P 69; Ra 104.
another, anoþer, anoþir pron. another A 232, 238, 242 etc; D 35, 57; Ea 413, 617, 663 etc; Eb 103, 257; P 10.
answere v. to answer, reply A 187; Ea 441; Eb 265; answerynge pres. part. Ja 11; answered, answerid, answeryd(e) pt. A 215, 260, 272; D 37; Ea 523, 530, 781; Eb 92; Ja 20; Jc 10; Ra 49; Rb 48; S 51.
answere  n. answer, reply  Eb 285.
antem  n. anthem, sacred song  Ja 41.
apocolips  n. apocalypse; spec. the
Apocalypse, the Revelation
according to St John  Eb 175.
apostle, apostel  n. apostle Jb 1, 5;
apostelys, apostlisse
pl. apostles  A 189;  Eb 100,;  P 64, 71;  Ra 97;  see
also Index of Proper Nouns.
appeare  v. to appear, become visible;
appered, appered(e)  pt. appeared  P
60;  Ra 70;  Rb 68.
apple, appil  n. apple  Ea 49, 50;  Eb
172;  applis  pl.  Ea 53, 461.
approue  v. to approve, find pleasing
C 119.
arey  v. to dress, decorate;
arey  imp.
sg.  Eb 341;  areyn  pr. pl.  Eb 25;
areyed  ppl.  Eb 32, 39.
arise, aryse  v. to rise upward, get up
Ea 287;  arose  pt.  Eb 133;  (of the
heart) to swell with emotion;
arose  pt.  A 92;  to rise from death
D 100;  to rebel;  arose  pt.  Ea 688.
arlotrie  see harlotrie.
arne  v. to have weapons, be prepared
for battle;  armyd  ppl.  S 50.
armes, ar(e)mys  n. pl. arms (of
body)  D 28;  Je 34;  S 116.
armour(e)  n. armour, sometimes incl.
weapons  A 261, 263.
aray  n. that in which one is dressed
C 29.
as  conj.  as  A 12, 32, 33 etc;  C 7, 10, 50
etc;  D 24, 53, 58 etc;  Ea 34, 36, 41
etc;  Eb 9, 25, 32 etc;  Ja  40, 41;  Jb 6,
26, 27;  Jc 2;  P 65;  Ra 18, 24, 28 etc;  Rb
16, 22, 25 etc;  S 50, 150, 163;  riȝt ~,
ryȝt ~ just as  A 239, 282, 286;  Ea 573,
648;  for ~ much ~ since, because  D
10, 24, 32;  also sone ~ see also.
ascape  see escape.
ascenion, assencioun  n. ascension  C 60;
P 12;  Ra 94.
ascende  v. to ascend, rise up;
asendyde  ppl.  P 2, 71.
aschame  v. to feel shame or
embarassment;  aschamed,
aschamyd  ppl.  A 257;  C 17.
a-syde  n. side, part  Ea 453.
ask, askid  etc  see axe.
askes, assches, aschis  n. pl. ashes
A 161;  C 77;  S 101.
aschamyd  see aschamed.
assente  v. to submit, yield;  assent  imp.
sg.  Ea 427.
as(s)oyle  v. absolve  Ja 22;  Jb 23.
assumpcioun, assumpcyoun  n. the
Assumption of Our Lady  Ja 2;  Jc 3.
aswage  v. to assuage, soothe;  aswagen
pr. pl.  A 183.
atir  n. attire, dress  C 74.
aungel  see angel.
auter  n. altar  Ra 29, 31;  Rb 26, 29.
avayle  v. to be helpful, be of use  D 66.
avauce  v. to advance a cause, help,
benefit;  avauceþ  pr. 3sg.  A 272.
avaunsement  n. profit, benefit  A 271.
avysement  n. consideration, forethought
Ea 742.
avoutreris  n. pl. adulterers  C 37.
avowe  v. to vow, swear;  avowed  ppl.  Ea
357, 661, 700.
awaite  v. to lie in wait; awaiteþ  pr. 3sg.  Ea 735.
awe  v. to threaten, overawe; awed  pt.  Ea 369.
awful adj. terrible  Ea 628.
awne  see own(e).
axe  v. to ask  A 187; askiþ, axeþ  pr. 3sg. ind.  Ea 519; Eb 195; aske  pr. 3sg. subj.  A 265; asked, askid, askyd, axide  pt.  A 242, 264, 271;  Ea 531; Eb 284, 350; Jc 9; Ra 30, 33, 35 etc; Rb 27, 31, 33 etc.

B

bacoun  n. bacon  Ea 489.
bad  see bidde.
baggis  n. pl. bags, sacks  Ea 339.
bandy, bandis  n. pl. shackles, fetters  A 223; Eb 135.
baptyme  n. baptism  Jc 39.
bare  see bere.
barne  n. lap  Rb 42.
barneteme  n. family, kin  Ea 323.
batayl(e), bateyl, batel, batail  n. battle, war  A 43; Ea 276, 296; Eb 191, 192; batailis  pl. C 63.
bathe  v. to bathe in liquid, drench; bathyde  ppl.  S 164.
be  prep. see by.
bede  v. to beg, demand; beden  pt.  Eb 225.
before, byfore  prep. in front of  A 266;  Ea 7, 72, 127 etc; Eb 8, 70, 181 etc; Jb 16; P 14; Ra 29, 31; Rb 26, 29, 37; prior to  A 269; C 50; D 8, 46, 83; Ea 104, 158; Eb 89; Ja 24; Jb 25; P 66; Ra 48; superior to, above  A 7, 77, 110 etc; Eb 393; in preference to  Ea 121, 190, 251 etc.
before  adv. earlier, previously  D 97; Ea 123, 680; Eb 244; Ra 64; Rb 32, 62; goon/passeþ/goþ  - surpass, excel  Ea 258, 269; Eb 173.
before-sayd  adv. previously mentioned  Ja 32.
begin  v. to begin, commence; begynneþ, bigynneþ  pr. 3sg.  A 3; Ea 1; Ra 1, 65; Rb 1.
begynnynge, bygynnynge  vbl. n. origin  D 24, 25; Eb 361; spec. the Creation  S 103.
belholde, biholde  v. to behold, to see and contemplate  Ea 519; S 60; beholde, byholde  imp. sg.  A 227; D 27; beholdeþing  pres. part.  Ja 17; byheld(e), byhylde  pt.  A 110, 217; Eb 319.
behoue  see bhoue.
belouyde, belovyd  adj. beloved, cherished  Jc 28; P 5; S 27, 48.
benigne, benynge  adj. benign, gentle  D 16, 95; S 136.
bere, beer  v. to carry  S 94, 101; A 178, 195; beringe, berynge  pres. part.  A 247; S 86; bere  pr. 1sg.  Ea 383; Eb 234; beriþ  pr. 3sg.  Ea 339; beren, beriþ  pr. pl.  A 42; Eb 462, 484; baar, bare  pt.  D 27, 28; Ea 401; P 43; borne  ppl.  P 45; S 90, 92; to give birth to  Eb 3; Ra 41; Rb 39; beryng  pres. part.  Ea 475, 478; bereþ, beriþ  pr. 3sg.  Ea 13; Eb 6; bar  pt.
GLOSSARY

beute n. beauty, physical attractiveness Ra 97.

by, be, bi, prep. for (a space of time) P 3; through, by means of A 15, 16, 27 etc; C 69, 85, 105 etc; D 57, 79; Ea 4, 146, 147 etc; Eb 5, 120, 128 etc; Ja 1, 5; Je 5; Ra 7, 59, 90 etc; Rb 6, 37, 58 etc; S 3, 13, 26 etc; about Ea 2, 129, 313 etc; Eb 4, 201, 221 etc; by (the agency of) C 64; D 59; Ea 90, 95; with respect to Ea 188, 256, 306 etc; Jb 22, 31; through Jc 13; - the morow in the morning P 33; fast - close to, near to Jb 7.

by v. to purchase, buy D 33, 36, 57; Ja 13; bouȝt pt. C 78; Ea 757; to earn, achieve; bouȝt ppl. Ea 487.

bicide v. to become, attain a state; become pr. pl. A 292, 293; become pt. A 62.

bidda v. to command; bidd(e), bidep, bydde, byddept. 3sg. Ea 210, 212, 426 etc; Eb 251, 312; bad(e) pt. Ea 169, 170, 287; to bid (farewell etc); bad pt. P 64, 68.

biddying n. command; spec.
commandment Ea 131; biddynsis pl. Ea 126.

byfalle v. to happen to, befall Ea 197; Eb 213.

byfore see before.

bygynner n. originator Eb 359.

bygynnynge see begynnynge.

biholde see beholde.

bihote v. to promise; bihote imp. sg. Ea 672; bihitip pr. 3sg. Ea 710.
bihoue v. to behove, require; behoueþ, byhoueþ, bihoueþ, bihouiþ impers. A 42, 130, 134 etc; Ea 454, 588; Rb 24.
bileve v. to believe (in something); byleue pr. pl. A 26.
bileue n. belief, faith C 107, 110, 127 etc.
bilie v. to rape; bileyn ppl. Ea 749.
bynd(e) v. to bind, tie Ea 169; Eb 32; bonde pt. Ea 172; bounde(n), boundyn, ebounde ppl. A 155, 220; Ea 173; Eb 134, 135; Je 29; P 28, 31, 38; to contain; bonde pt. Ea 148; to oblige; byndþ pr. 3sg. Ea 360; bounden ppl. Eb 218.
byndyngliche adv. bindingly, strictly A 127; see also note to line.
byneþe prep. beneath Eb 398.
binimen v. to take away, deprive; bynymmeþ pr. 3sg. A 166.
birþe n. birth, the act of giving birth Ea 476, 478.
bische v. to beg, pray; besch(e), byseche, bische pr. 1sg. D 44; Ea 435; Eb 260; S 5, 15, 26 etc.
biseme v. to appear, seem to be Ea 456.
bisette v. to afflict, harass; bisette ppl. Ea 398.
byschop(e) n. bishop; spec. the chief priest of the temple Ra 43, 44; Rb 44.
bisy, besy adj. busy, intent A 76; Ea 510, 524; C 28, 73, 74; Ra 14, 82; Rb 78.
bysile, bisily, bysily, bysyle adv. busily, intently A 78, 82; Ea 615; Je 4; Ra 75.
business, bysynes(se) n. effort C 75, 78; business, occupation Ea 449, 475.
bisprenge v. to sprinkle, fleck; bysprent ppl. S 8.
biteach v. to hand over, entrust; bitauȝt pt. Ea 200.
bipouȝt see beþenke.
bitoken v. to symbolise, mean; bitokeneþ pr. 3sg. Ea 304, 701, 705 etc.
bitter, bytter adj. bitter, grievous Ja 13, 17; S 38, 94, 138; bitter-tasting Ea 677.
bytwix, bitwix prep. between A 148; Ea 334, 748.
blabbe v. to blabber, speak carelessly; blabre pr. 3sg. C 26.
blasfeme v. to blaspheme; blasphemeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 304, 701, 705 etc.
blesse v. to bless Ra 83; blessid pt. Rb 80; blissed, blessed ppl. A 5, 167, 173; C 2, 3, 6 etc; to regard as fortunate A 112.
blessyng, blissynge vbl. n. benediction C 129; Eb 225; P 69.
blessid, blessed, blessyd(e), blissed, blyssed, blyssyd adj. blessed, holy D 5, 20, 39 etc; Ea 76, 440, 638 etc; Eb 400; Ja 17; Jb 3, 9; Je 1, 5, 6 etc; P 2, 17, 21 etc; Ra 42, 47; Rb 65, 88; S 6, 9, 33 etc; see also Index of Proper Nouns.
blessidnes n. blessedness, holiness Ea 292.
blinde v. to make blind; blyndip pr. 3sg. C 96; blynded pt. S 79.
blis(se), blysse n. bliss, happiness A 80, 236, 273; C 111, 120, 129 etc; Ea 8, 236, 256; Eb 8, 182, 396; state of bliss Ja 23; Jb 26; Jc 32.
blyssed see blessid.
blyssfulle adj. glorious, blessed Ja 2.
bocher n. butcher, one who slaughters; spec. executioner S 87.
body(e), bodi n. body, flesh C 30, 69, 75 etc; D 77, 78; Ea 57, 119, 153 etc; Eb 26, 54, 101 etc; Ja 14, 18, 31; Jb 22, 34; Jc 33; P 56, 62; Rb 58; S 9, 64, 66 etc; spec. Christ’s body at Communion P 21, 23.
bodily, bodely, bodili,  bodilyly adj. bodily, physical, of the body D 25, 26, 35 etc; Ea 15, 16, 86 etc; Jb 26; Jb 28; P 65; S 137.
boystersly adv. urgently, violently, boisterously.
boldnesse n. audacity C 23.onde adj. indentured C 36.onde etc see bynd.
bondis n. pl. ties, fetters Ea 173.
borde, boord n. plank, board Ea 394, Eb 242.
bordel n. brothel Ea 108; - hous house of prostitution Eb 93.
boref(e)n etc see bere.
borewe v. to borrow; borewilp pr. 3sg. Ea 82; borewed ppl. Ea 86.
bost v. boast, brag S 103.
bost n. boasting, pride C 47.
bosum n. bosom, chest; fig. embrace A 42, 145.
bot see but.
bote n. relief, remedy Ea 425.
bouȝte etc see by.
bounde etc see bynd.
bowe v. to submit to; bowilp pr. pl. Ea 637.
brayne n. brain S 79.
braunches n. pl. branches, spec. “a species or subspecies of a generic moral concept” (MED) A 184.
brache n. hole, breach Ea 551.
brake v. to break apart, tear, smash S 104; brake imp. sg. Ea 51; brake pt. S 87; broken ppl. S 118; to break a promise; brekilp pr. 3sg. Ea 719; brak pt. Ea 695;
broke(n) ppl. Ea 127, 698.
brakeris n. pl. those who break something; spouse - adulterers C 38.
brenne v. burn Ea 176, 397, 410 etc; Eb 245, 299; brennyng pres. part. Ea 153; brene pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 405; brenne pr. 3sg. ind. Ea 556, 786; brende, brennyd, brenn ft. Ea 150, 174, 396 etc; Eb 137, 244; brende, brennt ppl. Ea 397, 405, 656; Eb 132, 135.
brenynng vbl. n. intensity, fervour A 256.
brennyng(e), brennynde, brynnynge adj. burning, intense C 128, 131; Ea 12, 103, 801 etc; Eb 87, 249; Ja 28; Ra 54; Rb 53.
breris n. pl. briars, thorns Ea 488.
brest, breest(e) n. breast Ea 197, 346, 662; Eb 209; breestys pl. D 28.
breste v. to break, burst; brost ppl. Jb 18.
breþe v. to breathe A 149.
breþeren n. relatives, family members Ea 416, 657.
brid n. bride Ea 636.
bridel n. bridle, harness A 153.
bryght, briȝt adj. bright, shining Ea 549, 608, 614; S 32; briȝter cpv. Eb 381.
briȝttenes n. brightness, radiance Eb 382.
brymbles n. pl. brambles Ea 578.
bring, brynge v. to bring, lead C 79; Ra 60; bringing pres. part. Rb 60; bryngeþ, bryngeþ pr. 3sg. C 69; S 101; brought, brouȝt pt. Ea 783; S 48, 49, 117; ~ forth see forth.
broke see breke.
brond n. brand Ea 387.
brost see breste.
brought, brouȝt etc see bring.
burden n. burden, that which is borne S 91.
burye, birye v. to bury, entomb Ea 430; Eb 256.
burielis n. pl. graves, sepulchres Eb 38.
but, bot conj. but A 21, 60, 62 etc; C 11, 12, 44 etc; D 30, 46; Ea 7, 14, 15 etc; Eb 7, 16, 18 etc; Ja 10, 33; Ra 24, 80, 99; Rb 22, 51; S 25, 31, 40; except A 14, 19, 26 etc; D 63; Ea 47, 51, 184 etc; Eb 48, 234; Ra 18, 58, Rb 58; only A 178; Ea 79, 86, 293 etc; Eb 43, 77, 299 etc; Ra 60; Rb 59; ~ (ȝ)if unless A 180, 188, 277 etc; C 39; Ea 25, 304, 313 etc; Eb 199.
buxom, buxum adj. gentle, obedient Ra 88; Rb 85.
came etc see com(m)e.
captyvyte n. imprisonment, captivity Jc 26.
carde n. comb for carding fibre Ea 574.
care v. to care, be interested in; care pr. 3sg. Ea 492; care pr. pl. Ea 491.
carien n. carrion, dead meat A 119.
carnation n. the Incarnation of Christ C 67.
carpenter n. carpenter, spec. St Joseph, husband of the Blessed Virgin Mary A 151.
cast(e) v. to cast, throw A 260; Ea 170; Eb 299; casteþ, castiþ pr. 3sg. A 258; Ea 556; caste pr. pl. Ea 460; cast(e), caste pt. A 133, 245; Ea 172, 689; caste ppl. Ea 157; to consider, deliberate; castiden pt. Ra 98; to move eyes or heart, fig. to contemplate; caste pr. pl. subj. Ja 39.
cedre n. cedar tree Ra 103, 104.
cely adj. fortunate, lucky Eb 73.
certeyn adj. sure, certain Ea 78.
ceris adv. certainly C 91; Ra 49.
cese v. to cease, stop; cese imp. sg. S 41; cessing pres. part. Rb 79; cese pr. pl. S 25.
chaaf n. chaff Ea 252.
chayer n. chair P 40.
chare n. chariot Ea 152.
charytabely adv. charitably, kindly P 67.
charite, charyte n. charity, benevolence A 278; C 16, 33, 71 etc; Ja 25; Jb 25; P 19; Ra 75; Rb 73; S 144; in - for the sake of charity, as an act of kindness Eb 260.
chast(e), chaast(e) adj. chaste, continent A 107; C 127; Ea 98, 103, 279 etc; Eb 88, 222; S 59.
chasoun n. cause, root Ea 745.
chide v. to scold, complain; chidip pl. Ea 466, 483.
chil(e), chiyl(d)e n. child A 23, 190, 191 etc; D 24; Ea 389, 476, 478; Eb 3, 238, 239 etc; Ra 42; S 16, 28, 38 etc; chylde gen. S 139; chilre(n), chyldren, childer pl. A 274; D 24, 92; Ea 13, 166, 169 etc; Eb 6, 8, 15 etc; Ja 23; children gen. Ea 492.
chirch(e) n. church A 2, 274; Ea 120, 223, 267 etc; doctour of the - see Index of Proper Nouns.
chosen see chese.
cyrumsioun n. circumcision S 7.
cyt(te) n. city, walled town Ea 526, 656; S 73, 86; Eb 279.
clene adj. pure, spiritually clean C 50; Eb 20, 35, 52 etc; Eb 54, 69, 82 etc; Rb 74; clennest superl. Ea 261.
clennes(se), clan(n)es, clannesse n. purity C 27, 91; Ea 44, 278, 292 etc; Eb 139, 198, 223 etc; Jc 38; Ra 76, 106, 107; Rb 74; S 14, 70.
clere, cleer adj. shining, bright P 70; S 145; unrestricted C 123; S 32.
clere, cleer adj. shining, bright P 70; S 145; unrestricted C 123; S 32.
clue v. to stick or adhere to; cleuyd pt. S 107.
clue v. to break apart, split; clevyde ppl. S 155.
clippyngis vbl. n. pl. embraces Ea 19.
close v. to enclose, contain; closyd ppl. P 17; to enclose in a cell; closed, closid, closyd ppl. Ea 528, 531; Eb 282.
close *adv.* so as to be concealed, secretly D 13.
clot *n.* clout, lump Ea 712.
clothe *v.* to clothe, dress; clothyd(e) *ppl.* clothed, dressed P 36, 40.
cloþing(e), cloþynge, clothyng *vbl. n.* apparel Ea 81, 84, 85 etc; P 36.
cloþe, clo(o)þ *n.* cloth garment, cloth A 245; Ea 86, 173, 574; Eb 136;
clothis, cloþis, clothes *pl.* C 29; Ea 574, 576; P 38, 41; S 8, 106.
cloutes *n. pl.* cloths, wrappings, spec. humble or fragmentary pieces of cloth, rags A 148.
clowde *n.* cloud P 70; lowdes *pl.*

colde *adj.* cold, cool A 148, 152; S 62; distressing Ra 55; Rb 53.
coloure *v.* to falsify, misrepresent;
colouren *pr. pl. subj.* C 23.
colouren *pr. pl. subj.* C 23.
coloure *n.* appearance Ea 91, 93.
com(m)aund *v.* to command, prescribe, ordain; comaundiþ *pr. 3sg.* Ea 125; 
comandyd, comanded *pt.* A 127; Eb 111, 132; comanded 
com(m)e *v.* to come A 130, 134, 281 
e etc; C 87; D 19; Ea 231, 236, 369 
e etc; Eb 226, 367; Ra 60; Rb 59; S 
85; come *imp. sg.* Ea 601; Eb 346, 
385; come, com(e) *pr. 3sg.* A 15, 121; 
C 93, 133; Ea 590, 649; Eb 31, 327; Ra 
23, 58; Rb 21, 57; come *pr. pl.* Ea 
182, 417, 782; Eb 114; cam, cam(m)e, 
com(e), com(e) *pt.* A 15, 118, 182; C 
92, 105, 108; D 60; Ea 182, 653, 658; 
Eb 171; Rb 82; S 50; comen *ppl.* A 
184; Ea 167; Ra 23; Rb 21.
comynge *vbl. n.* arrival Ea 140, 187; Eb 
115, 324; Ra 100.
comford(e), comfort *v.* to comfort, soothe 
Ea 370, 419, 422; Eb 226, 247, 248; 
comfortiþ *pr. 3sg.* Ea 765; comforted, 
comfortid *ppl.* D 99; Ra 87.
comforde, comfort *n.* comfort, relief Ea 
391, 410, 590 etc; Eb 345; confortes, 
comfortis *pl.* Ea 432, 666; Eb 258.
comfortable *adj.* comforting, reassuring S 
35.
comyn, comoun, comune *adj.* common, 
shared Ea 108; - folk ordinary people 
Ea 731; - woman prostitute Eb 93.
comyns *n.* the common people C 92, 94.
commende *v.* to commend, praise;
comended *pr. 3sg.* Eb 104; comended 
ppl. Eb 103.
compassion, compassioun(e) *n.*
compassion, sympathy D 4; Ja 21, 29, 
35; S 6, 9, 93 etc.
compeny *n.* company, host; compenyes 
pl. Eb 400.
complaynt *n.* formal statement of 
grievance Ja 5.
comprehende *v.* to include, contain;
comprehendyd *ppl.* A 6.
comprise v. to contrive, plot; comprised pt. D 9.
compunccioun n. compunction, regret, remorse S 95.
conceyle v. to counsel, advise Eb 257; counseile, conseyl pr. 1sg. Ea 132; Eb 108; conseyleþ, conseileþ pr. 3sg. Ea 136, 441; Eb 57; conseyleþ, conseylen, conseyleþ, counseylen pr. pl. Ea 310, 316, 325; Eb 205, 216, 254; conseyled pt. Eb 111.
conceyue, conseyue v. to conceive (a baby) A 23; Eb 3; S 100; conseueþ, conseyueþ pr. 3sg. Ea 5; Eb 6, 15; conseyeued pt. C 109; conseved, conseued, conseyued ppl. A 91; C 9; Ea 13; S 68; to realise, find out; conceyved pt. Jc 23.
condiciouns n. pl. conditions, prerequisites D 73.
confessyoun n. the act of confessing one’s sins, confession Jc 21.
confortes see comforde.
confounde v. to confound, confuse; confoundeþ, confoundeþ pr. 3sg. A 166, 253.
conynge, kunnunge vbl. n. knowledge, understanding A 283; C 107.
conseyln, conseil n. advice Ea 60, 137; Eb 205, 250, 254 etc.
conseylen, conceylen etc see conceyl.
consideration n. opinion S 98.
consider v. to consider, take into account; considerynge pres. part. D 36.
consolacio(u)n n. consolation, comfort S 20, 84, 124.
constant adj. loyal, steadfast S 125.
constreine v. to force, compel; constreyne þ pr. pl. Ea 356.
conteine v. to contain, include; conteyn(e)d ppl. Ra 21; Rb 8, 19.
contemplacioun n. contemplation, religious meditation A 45, 54, 60; D 2.
conteneunce, cunteneunce n. attitude, demeanour C 17; Ea 34, 44; Eb 28.
contynuall, contynuuel adj. continual, unceasing D 21; Ra 54; Rb 53.
contrary v. to oppose, be contrary to S 104.
contrarye adj. contrary, opposite A 135; D 72.
contricioun, contricyon, contryclon n. contrition, remorse Ja 24; Jb 25; S 10.
conueniently adv. rightly, fittingly D 37, 42, 70.
conuersacioun n. way of life, conduct A 16, 47, 52 etc; Ra 96.
copour n. copper Ea 92.
corneles n. pl. grains Ea 549.
cornes n. pl. grains Ea 754; Eb 293, 295, 375; whete ~ see whete.
coroun see croun(n)e.
cosyn n. cousin, blood relative A 101; Ea 195.
cosse see cuss.
cost n. expense C 75.
costlewe adj. costly, expensive C 29.
coueiten, coueyte v. to covet, desire C 31; Eb 25; coueuyenge pres. part. Ea 761; coueyte þ, coueytýþ pr. 3sg. Ea 519,
GLoseary

525; Eb 75; couetif, coueyte(n) pr. pl. Ea 85, 392, 409; couetid pt. C 106; Ea 344; coueyted, couetid ppl. Ea 87; Eb 25.
couenable adj. appropriate, suitable A 53, 94.
couere v. to cover, protect; couert ppl. Eb 375.
couetyse, coueitise n. covetousness, greed C 46; S 157.
counceldhouse, cownseldhows n. praetorium D 10; P 32.
countrefete v. to fake, pretend; countrefeiteþ pr. 3sg. Ea 760.
crewelle see cruelle.
crye, crie v. to cry, call out C 63; S 146; crye pr. pl. S 24; cried pt. A 223; Ea 780; ~ mersy to plead for mercy Ea 692.
crying(e) vbl. n. proclamation A 30, 31.
cristen(e), crysten adj. Christian C 11; Eb 200; S 24, 148.
cristendom n. Christian people C 49.
cristismasse n. Christmas C 66.
croune v. to crown; crouned, crouned ppl. A 156; Ea 726; Eb 405, 407; P 41; S 78.
croun(n)e n. crown, diadem, often fig. Ea 98, 110, 191; Eb 69, 80, 95 etc; crounes pl. Eb 376.
cruel(le), cruelty, crewelle adj. cruel, unkind D 14; Eb 126; Jc 6; P 28; S 28, 69.
cubites n. pl. cubits (a unit of measurement) Ea 171; Eb 133.
culuer n. dove A 208; Ea 602, 672; Eb 152.
cuntenaunce see contenaunce.
cuntrey n. countryside A 59.
curiousnesse n. curiosity Ea 580.
curs n. curse, malediction Ea 318, 321.
curse v. to curse Ea 421; cursif pr. pl. Ea 466; cursyde pt. Ea 689; cursyde ppl. Ea 320.
cursed, curside adj. sinful, cursed C 36, 48, 96; Ea 50, 557; Eb 51, 52, 300 etc.
cursedly adv. wickedly, sinfully Eb 304.
curteisie n. courtly behaviour C 43.
cuss, cosse n. kiss Ea 674, 678; cussis, cussys pl. Eb 672, 676.
cusse, cussif etc see kisse.
custome n. custom, belief S 72.

D

daliaunce n. flirting, coquetry Ea 747.
dampnacioun n. damnation D 34; S 57, 166.
dampne v. to damn, condemn D 10; dampned ppl. Ea 412.
dar(e) see durre.
darknes, derknesse n. darkness, lack of light A 12; spec. moral darkness S 31, 36.
daunce v. to dance; daunsen pr. pl. C 57.
daunsynge vbl. n. dancing C 24.
deadly, dedyle, dediliche adj. deadly, mortal A 202; Ea 127, 193, 226 etc; Eb 7, 111.
debonertee n. mildness, kindness Rb 36.
decive v. to deceive, betray, delude; deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
dedeynen see disdeine.
deer see dere.
deep see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
ded(d)e, deed(e) see die.
ded(d)e see deth(e).
dede, deed(e) adj. dead Ea 31; Eb 38; Jc 33; P 57; substant. Ea 430, 431; Eb 256.
decive, deceyueþ pr. 3sg. A 121;
disseyued ppl. Ra 100.
declare v. to set out, expound Ea 630.
dede n. deed, action C 28, 44, 102; D 62; Ea 97, 656; Eb 20, 27; Ja 17.
**Glossary**

dese see dise.
desire, desyer, desyre v. to desire, long for S 100; Eb 26, 399; to request D 31; desyre pr. 2sg. D 57, 69, 82 etc; desiren pr. pl. C 124; desired, desyred pt. Ja 2; Jb 5; Jc 4.
desire, desyre, desi(e)r n. wish, desire C 131; D 101; Eb 80; Ja 3; Jc 5; Ra 29, 54; Rb 26, 53; desyres pl. Ea 667.
despenden see dispense.
despiraciuon n. despondency, spec.
lack of faith in God's mercy S 56.
despite see dispyt.
desposed see dispose.
destroie v. to destroy, obliterate;
dystroyeþ pr. 3sg. A 164;
distr(o)ied ppl. Ra 102, 105.
distroynge vbl. n. destruction C 49.
deth(e), deþ, deep, deede n. death C 82, 98, 134; D 4, 10, 13 etc; Ea 199, 392, 394 etc; Eb 154, 242, 332 etc; Ja 13, 24; Jb 15, 25; Jc 16, 21, 31; P 44, 63; S 47, 49, 54 etc.
deucl, devylye n. devil Ea 56; devyllies pl. S 25; spec. Satan A 166, 212, 223 etc; C 62, 100; Eb 314; P 55; S 54; deuelis gen. C 33.
deuocio(u)n, devocioun n. devotion, piety C 11, 14, 18 etc; D 3; Ra 54; Rb 53; S 96; devout or pious behaviour or ceremony, such as prayer A 45.
deuouete, deuowte adj. devout, holy D 2; Ja 41; Ra 8; Rb 6.
deuoutly, deuoutliche, deuoutlyche, deuotely, deuowtelye, devowtelye, devoutly(e) adv. devoutly, reverently A 33, 101; Ja 21, 30, 39; Jb 30; Jc 15, 20, 25 etc; Ra 12; Rb 11.
die, dye, deye, dy3e v. to die D 46, 50, 51 etc; Ea 7, 409, 413; S 92; deye pr. 1sg. Ea 387; dy3eþ pr. 3sg. Ea 478; dy3en pr. pl. Ea 413; dieþ pt. Ra 94; ded(d)e, deed, dead(e) ppl. D 86; Ea 150, 399, 656; Ra 104; P 52; S 162.
dyenge, diynge vbl. n. death D 95; Ra 97.
dighte v. to prepare, arrange; diȝte refl. pr. pl. Ea 21; to treat, behave towards; diȝt ppl. Ea 400.
dylfulle adj. doleful, painful D 4.
dysciplyne, dyscyplyne n. learning, study A 48, 71, 88.
discovere v. to reveal, disclose;
dyscouered ppl. D 14.
disdeine v. to scorn, hold in contempt;
dedeynen pr. pl. A 161.
dise, desese n. misfortune, disease Ja 26; Jb 29; dyseses pl. A 288; Eb 12.
dis pense v. to spend, pay out; dependen pr. pl. A 290.
dispyse v. to treat with contempt C 61, 63, 87; S 81; dispace imp. sg. A 268; dispyseþ pres. part. C 85; dispyseþ pr. 3sg. C 26; dyspyseþ pr. pl. A 279; C 68; dispyse þ pt. A 218.
dispyt, dyspyte, dispit, despite n. lack of pity, contempt C 21, 82, 90; Ea 458; S 52; contemptuous act Ea 355; Eb 215; dispitis pl. C 122.
dysplese v. to cause irritation, displeasure Eb 355; displesyd ppl. D 56, 81, 96.
displesynge vbl. n. irritation C 100.
dispose v. to be inclined, disposed;
desposed ppl. Eb 206.
disseye see deceive.
distr(o)ied, dystroyeþ see destroie.
dystrouble v. to alarm, upset;
dyuerse adj. diverse, varied, sundry A 13, 288; Ra 97.
doctour n. learned person, expert;
doctoures pl. Ja 11; ~ of the Chirch see Index of Proper Nouns
document n. learning, education S 35.
doynge vbl. n. act, deed C 61, 69; D 7; doyngis pl. C 119; activity, action Eb 18, 195; doynges pl. Eb 10.
domage n. injury, harm D 34.
dome n. judgment; day of ~ doomsday, the Judgment C 98.
domesday n. doomsday, the day of judgment C 135.
donge n. dung Eb 41; ~ hylle dunghill Eb 40.
dongheep n. dung heap Ea 32.
dost see dust.
double v. to double, multiply;
doubled ppl. Ea 111; Eb 95.
douȝter, douȝtir n. daughter A 20; Ea 343, 345, 353 etc; Eb 207, 208, 214 etc; douȝtiris gen. Ea 354;
douȝtren, douȝtres, douȝtris pl. Ea 327, 330, 336 etc; Eb 292, 304.
doun(n)e, doun, downe adv. down, in a downward direction A 145, 232, 234; Jb 17; P 35, 49, 56 etc; S 65, 89, 156.
doute v. to fear, distrust; douted pt. A 68.
dowue n. dove Ea 194.
draue v. to draw, stretch; drawne ppl. S 116; to lead, drag Ea 377; draue pr. 3sg. C 34; to rip into pieces Ea 158; to approach; drewe pt. D 21.
drede v. to dread, fear A 77; Ea 362, 753, 759; rede pr. 1sg. Ea 408; drediþ pr. 3sg. Eb 367; rede(n) pr. pl. C 59; Ea 25, 322, 407; dredde pt. A 70; rede ppl. A 41.
drede n. dread, fear A 239, 286, 287; C 25; Ea 405, 443, 473 etc; Eb 358, 361, 363 etc.
dredeful, dreful adj. full of dread A 62, 64; Ea 751, 752, 765 etc.
drye adj. dry Ea 152; dried out S 107.
dringe v. to drink, imbibe Eb 299;
drynken pr. pl. Ea 555; dra(u)nke pt. Ea 561; Eb 303.
drynkyngis vbl. n. pl. drinking, esp. excessively Ea 554.
drynke, drink, dringe n. drink; spec. alcohol Ea 9, 552; Eb 10, 296, 308.
drit n. dirt C 76.
drive v. to drive, propel; dryueþ pr. 3sg. Ea 43; dryuen pr. pl. C 100; droue pt. Ea 177; driuen, dryuen, dryuene ppl. A 12, 13; Eb 44.
dronkenhede, drunkunhed n. drunkenness Ea 565; Eb 307.
drop n. drop of liquid; dropses, dropis pl. Ea 421; Eb 250.
duellyng see dwellynge.
dure v. to endure, undergo; dured ppl. P 7.
Glossary

durre v. to dare; dar pr. 1sg. Ea 425; Eb 250; dar pr. 3sg. A 194, 195, 286; dare pr. pl. S 25.
dust, dost n. dust, dirt A 178; C 76.
dwelle v. to dwell, live A 134, 258; C 99, 121; dwelliþ, duelliþ pr. 3sg. C 120; Ra 23; Rb 21; dwellid(e), dwellid(e), dwellyd, duellid pt. Ea 161, 526, 529 etc; Eb 279, 283; Ra 6; Rb 5, 77.
dwellyng(e), duellyng n. dwelling place Ea 227, 299, 703; P 13.
dwellynge adj. dwelling, living A 142.

E
ease n. leisure Ea 569.
ebete see bete.
eboue see aboue(e).
ebounde see bynd(e).
ec(h), iche adj. each C 17, 117; Ea 4, 11, 174 etc; Eb 5, 13, 309; P 6; Ra 76, 99, 105; substant. A 49; - on each one, everyone Ea 424.
egge v. to urge, incite; eggid pt. Ea 163.
eggynges, eggyngis vbl. n. pl. urges, incitements Ea 297, 428, 433.
eye(n) n. eye Ea 716; Eb 395; Ja 39; Ra 86; iȝen, eyen, eyȝen, iȝen, yȝen pl. A 225, 230; C 30; Ea 646; P 35; Rb 40.
iefir, eyþer pron. each, either Ea 152; - to oþir one to the other Ea 470.
elacioun n. arrogance S 109.
elleccion n. choice S 3.
select adj. selected, chosen S 153.
elles, ellis adv. else, otherwise A 26; C 118; Ea 32, 51, 384 etc; Eb 236, 238; Ja 27.
emonge see amonge.
enclose v. to close inside something, enclose; enclosed pt. Eb 284.
encres v. to increase, make greater or larger S 166.
encres n. increase, growth D 3.
ende v. to come to an end, to make an end A 275; Ea 664; ende pr. 3sg. subj. A 277; eendiþ pr. 3sg. ind. Ra 65 spec. to die; ende(n) pr. pl. A 81; C 135.
ed(e)nde n. end, completion Ea 530; Eb 283; S 143; spec. death C 137; withoute(n) - eternally Eb 382, 386, 406 etc; P 74.
end(e)lesse, end(e)les adj. without end, eternal A 273; C 71, 134; Ea 377; S 33, 56, 166.
enemy(e) n. enemy, adversary A 41, 42; Ra 18; Rb 17; enemy(e)s, enmyes pl. A 158, 203, 228; Ea 277, 379; Eb 233, 243, 303; Jb 29; Ra 25; Rb 22.
enforce v. to drive, compel; enforciþ refl. pr. 3sg. Ea 294.
engynes(sse) n. pl. contrivances, traps, mechanical device used in warfare A 212, 214, 215 etc.
enheic v. to exalt, honour; enheicþew pr. 3sg. exalts, honours A 234; enheijþed pt. A 230; enhyȝed ppl. A 225.
eny see any.
enpresse v. to paint, depict; enprentid ppl. Ea 226.
ensample  n. example, model A 15, 36, 51 etc; C 52, 91, 93; Ea 123, 144, 180 etc; Eb 120, 143, 159; for example Ea 186.
entendaunce  n. diligence, care P 16.
entendaunt  adj. attentive, heeding Ea 803.
entent  n. intention, will D 18; Ea 23; Eb 342; attention A 72; Ra 81.
ententiliche, ententilych  adv. intently, earnestly A 33, 74.
entermete  v. to intervene, interfere;
entirmete  refl. pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 711.
entre  v. to enter (a space) A 191, 193;
entre  n. entry, arrival A 62;
admittance, access A 27.
evie  v. to envy, begrudge;
evied  ppl.
enuy(e), envye  n. envy, jealousy C 22, 47; Ea 735; enmity, harm S 29.
envous  adj. envious, jealous S 149.
er  prep. ere, before Ea 97, 567; Eb 245.
er  n. ear Eb 396;
eren, eeres  pl. Ea 604, 685, 717; Eb 347.
erth(e), erþe  n. earth, ground, dirt A 119; Ea 149, 250, 712; Eb 169, 171; P 35, 72; the earth, world (usually in implied opposition to heaven) A 18, 112, 120 etc; C 89; Ea 143, 198 224 etc; Eb 118, 203, 211 etc; Ja 6; P 3; Ra 2, 96.
erþely, erþeliche  adj. earthly, secular C 87; Ea 285, 714; Eb 196, 211, 342.
escape, ascape  v. to escape, flee from A 222; ascapet, ascapid(e)  pt. Ea 394, 396; Eb 242.
eschewe  v. to shun, avoid Ea 752;
eschewe  imp. pl. A 67; eschewede  pt. Ra 84.
ester  n. Easter P 61.
ete  v. to eat;
evene  v. to compare by analogy or metaphor; euened  ppl. Ea 41.
euer(e)more  adv. perpetually, constantly C 111; Ea 480; Ra 55, 77, 80 etc; Rb 54; for eternally, perpetually Eb 224.
euer(e)  adv. ever, throughout time A 24, 134, 141 etc; D 23, 76, 78; Ea 7, 263, 266 etc; Eb 22, 80, 87 etc; Ja 29, 37; Jb 32; Ra 63; Rb 63; S 56, 58; always, continually Ea 98, 102, 115 etc; Eb 311, 313; Ra 81, 83; Rb 77; as generalising agent in combination with pronouns C 13, 35, 124; Ea 263; for forever, perpetually Ea 425.
euery, euerech, eueryche  adj. every D 9, 77, 101; Ea 4, 453, 677; Jb 15; P 3, 8, 9; Ra 87; Rb 76, 85.
euerylastyng  adj. everlasting, eternal A 80; Eb 264, 321, 407; S 20, 112.
euyll(e), yuel  adj. evil, wicked A 195, 260; C 17, 26; Ea 28, 560, 587 etc; Eb 28, 35; S 71; subst. A 196, 197, 203 etc; Ea 228, 352; Eb 213, 359, 367 etc; Ra 37, 62; yeuls  pl. Jb 23; -thewed  see thewe.
euyn  adv. right, just, directly P 47.
excellencye  n. high rank, superiority S 2.
excess  n.  that which exceeds moderation S 137.
expresslych  adv.  expressly, clearly A 127.

F

face  n.  face, facial expression  Ea 56, 452, 518 etc; Eb 50, 51, 281 etc; Jb 16; P 49; S 52, 120; facis  pl. P 72.
ffader, f(f)ather, fadir, fadyr  n.  father A 158; D 25, 26; Ea 182, 329, 358 etc; Eb 218, 228, 230 etc; P 25; Ra 6, 11, 12; Rb 4, 10, 11; fader, fathers  gen. Ja 16; P 73; holy - father of the Church, saint, holy man A 236, 238, 242 etc; see also Index of Proper Nouns.
faile, fayle  v.  to fail, falter, give way Ea 383, 543; Eb 235; Rb 60; S 83; failyng  pres. part.  Ea 498; feyled  pt. A 25.
fayn(e)  adv.  gladly, willingly  Ea 312; P 45.
fai(e)r, faire, furry, feir(e) feyr(e)  adj.  fair, beautiful C 31, 74; Ea 49, 51, 81 etc; Eb 8, 42, 51 etc; S 58; substant.  Ea 602, 626; fairer  cpv. Ea 458, 613; fairest, fayrest  superl. Ea 222, 223, 299 etc.
fairhed  n.  beauty, fairness  Ea 224, 330, 332 etc.
fairness(e), feynes  n.  beauty, fairness A 132; Ea 537, 773; Eb 289; Ra 99.
faith, feiþ, fayth, feyth  n.  faith, belief A 183; D 100; C 130; S 125.
falle  v.  to fall, drop, often fig.  Ea 353, 403, 804; falle(n), falliþ  pr. pl. C 41; Ea 450, 588, 804; fel, felle, fylle  pt. A 130; Ea 149; P 48, 71; S 87; fallen, ful  ppl. A 213, Ea 448; to be appropriate to; falleþ, falliþ  pr. 3sg. A 64; Eb 78; fallen, falliþ  pr. pl. Ea 449; Eb 376; to sin, to fall morally Ea 807; fe(e)l  pt. Ea 562; Eb 304; to happen, occur; falliþ  pr. 3sg. Ea 482.
fals(e)  adj.  false, deceitful Ea 320, 663; Ra 93; subst. C 88, 89; false, fake  Ea 156, 168, 498; Eb 131.
fantome  n.  illusion  Ea 43; Eb 44.
fast  adj.  secure  Ea 736; S 125; quick, rapid; faster  cpv. Eb 300; close to Jb 7.
fast  adv.  quickly, rapidly D 21; tightly, securely Eb 134.
faste  v.  to attach, fasten; fest(e)  pt.  Ea 394; Eb 242; fastned, festned  ppl.  Ea 42, 727.
faste  v.  to fast, abstain from food Ea 790; faste  pr. 1sg. A 250; fasteþ  pr. 2sg. A 250.
fastyng  adj.  pertaining to abstinence from food  Ea 567; Eb 309.
feble  adj.  weak, fragile  Eb 43.
feblenes  n.  feebleness, weakness  P 48.
fede  v.  to feed, nourish  Ea 621; f(f)ede  imp. sg.  Ea 627, 645, 646 etc; fedde, feddest  pt.  Ea 346; Eb 209; Ra 87; fedde  ppl.  Rb 84; S 139.
f(e)l  see falle.
feend(e)  see f(f)ende.
f(e)rid  see fere.
feet  see fote.
feiȝt v. to fight, do battle with A 42, 261; fȝtȝ pr. 3sg. Ea 280; fȝtȝ pl. Ea 277; foughte pt. P 59.
feyled see faile.
fete v. to dissemble, feign; feynen, feynþ refl. pr. pl. Ea 34, 54, 455; Eb 51.
feynt(e) adj. feigned, pretended A 121, 207.
feyntly adv. deceitfully, in a feigned manner A 205.
feir(e) etc see fai(e)r.
feirnes see fairness(e).
feiþ see faith.
fel(l) etc see falle.
fel adj. evil, wicked Ea 388.
felawes, felawis, felowes n. pl.
companions Ea 147, 165, 412; Eb 128; Ra 82; Rb 78.
felawschip, felawsche(e)p, felyschippe
n. fellowship A 46; Ea 282, 307, 480 etc.
feld n. field, pasture Ea 670.
fele v. to feel, experience Ea 21, 502;
felynge pres. part. D 53, 89; felþ
pr. pl. Ea 485.
felyng(e) vbl. n. touching, feeling Ea 587, 648, 650.
feliciteit, felcyte n. felicity, joy S 20, 135, 159.
felyschippe see felawschip.
felonye n. deceit, villany, sin A 206.
felowes see felawes.
f(f)ende, fend, feend(e) n. fiend,
demon Eb 51; fandes, fendis
pl. C 37; Eb 53, 240; S 30; spec. Satan A 115; C 69, 96; Ea 10, 35, 55 etc;
Eb 11; S 103; fandes, fendis gen. C 106; Eb 140, 312.
fer adj. far Ea 92.
fere v. to frighten, terrify A 287; fereþ
pr. 3sg. A 286; feerid ppl. Ea 454.
fere n. fear, terror S 29.
ferre adv. fairly, beautifully Eb 39.
ferthe see fourþe.
feruently adv. fervently, ardently Jb 4.
fest see faste.
fest(e) n. holy celebration, feast Ea 83, 86.
fete see fote.
fiters n. pl. fetters, chains P 31.
fifte, fyft(e), fifþe ord. fifth Ea 742; Eb 348; Ja 16, 30; P 32.
fȝtȝ see feiȝt.
fille v. to fill Eb 403; filde ppl. Eb 397, 401.
fylle see falle.
filþe n. filth Eb 276, 380.
fylthy adj. filthy, corrupt S 71.
fynde v. to find, discover A 82, 126, 140;
Ea 51, 735; Rb 90; fynde 1sg. Ea 146;
Ja 1; fynde pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 572; Eb 314; fyndþ pr. 3sg. ind. Ea 219;
fynden pr. pl. Ea 468; fo(u)nde pt. A 58, 66; Ea 300; Ja 10; Jc 18; founden
ppl. Ea 133, 386, 391 etc; Eb 108, 238; Rb 71.
fyndyne vbl. n. discovery; - vp discovery
by means of deliberate action, invention C 70.
fyr(e), fiyr, fure, fier n. fire Ea 149, 175, 176, etc; Eb 133, 134, 135 etc; Ja 28; Jb 31.
**GLOSSARY**

ffirst, firste, fyrst(e), furste *ord.* first
A 47, 51, 185; C 7; D 32; Ea 125, 147, 180 etc; Eb 17, 23, 104 etc; Ja 7, 22; Jb 10, 22; Je 11; P 18, 61, 66; Ra 33; Rb 31; S 11, 48.

flawme *n.* fire, burning mass Ea 171.

fle(e) *v.* to run away, flee from A 134; Ea 480, 554; Eb 298; S 27; flee *imp. sg.* C 109; flecep, fleip *pr. 3sg.* Ea 307, 745; Eb 203; fleen *pr. pl. subj.* Ea 405; fle, fleep *pr. pl. ind.* Ea 409, 734; flede, flowe *pt.* Ea 696; Eb 244; flowe *ppl.* Ea 408, 736.

fleme *v.* banish, exile; flemed *ppl.* Ea 657.

fles(s)ch, flesch(e), fleisch(e) *n.* flesh (of the body) A 39, 40; Ea 17, 21, 29 etc; Eb 11, 36, 66 etc; Ra 4, 59; S 7, 63, 67 etc.

fleschely, fleischly *adv.* physically Ea 368; Eb 248.

fleschly *adj.* bodily, physical Ea 178; Eb 174; ~ frendis relations, worldly friends Eb 253, 265.

flete *v.* to flow, float; fletip *pr. 3sg.* Ra 24.

floc, flok *n.* flock Ea 321, 641; flockis *pl.* Ea 627.

flour, flowre *n.* flower, blossom; floures *pl.* Ea 538; Eb 289; *fig.* the best example of something Ea 224, 542, 550; S 14.

flowe see fle(e).

flowe see fle(e).

flum *n.* river; ~ Jordan see Index of Proper Nouns.

fole, foly see fool.

folie *n.* foolishness, folly C 99.

folowe, folewe, folew *v.* to follow, come after Ea 440, 670, 714 etc; Eb 390; folowe *imp. pl.* Ea 641; Eb 252; folowest *pr. 2sg.* Ea 644; foloweth, folweip *pr. 3sg.* Ea 607; Jc 2; folowen, folweip *pr. pl.* Ea 263; Ra 9; folewed *pt.* Ea 697; to obey Ea 426; Eb 251, 388, 391; folewid *pt.* Ea 422.

fonde see fynde.

fondyngis *n. pl.* trials, temptations Ea 9.

fool *n.* fool, idiot; foles, folis *gen.* P 36; fo(o)lis *pl.* C 101; Ea 296, 309, 325 etc.

fool, fole, foly *adj.* foolish, imprudent A 68; Ea 26, 29, 37 etc; Eb 374.

foot see fote.

ffor *prep.* for A 36, 76, 92 etc; C 11, 20, 36 etc; D 2, 7, 10 etc; Ea 20, 23, 43 etc; Eb 79, 102, 127 etc; Ja 22, 23, 25 etc; Jb 15, 18, 21 etc; Jc 2; P 54, 59; Ra 44, 100; S 4, 5, 9 etc; as being, to be Eb 233; concerning, with regards to Eb 226; (with inf.) to, in order to Ea 76, 78, 95 etc; Eb 79; Jb 5, 34; Ra 36, 84; Rb 18; ~ euere see euer(e); ~ euermore see euer(e)more.

ffor *conj.* because, as A 7, 10, 16 etc; C 13, 86, 105 etc; D 24, 32, 56 etc; Ea 14, 43, 46 etc; Eb 5, 17, 44 etc; Ja 32; P 17, 48; Ra 22, 56, 83 etc; Rb 51, 80; ~ cause because of, as a result of P 19, 48.

forbede *v.* to forbid, prohibit; forbede *pt.* Ea 286.

forbere *v.* to endure, suffer; forbere *pr. pl.* Ea 752.
Glossary

for do v. to overcome, defeat Ea 139, 433.

foresake v. to forsake, abandon Ea 480; Eb 228; foresake imp. sg. Eb 338; forsake pr. 1sg. Eb 259; foresakip pr. 3sg. Ea 432; forsake, forsaken pr. pl. A 292; Ea 499; Eb 342, 390; forsake(n) ppl. Ea 365, 380, 710; Eb 222.

forgete v. to forget; forȝeten pr. pl. subj. C 25; forgete, forgeten ppl. Ea 634, 643; Ra 62; Rb 61.

forȝeue, forgive v. to forgive, pardon A 197, 265; S 147; forȝyueþ pr. 3sg. Ea 806; forȝaf pt. Ea 692; forȝeuen, forȝyue(n) ppl. Ea 800, 803; Eb 351.

forgevenes, forgyfnes, forȝeuenesse n. forgiveness, pardon A 265; S 80, 109, 121 etc.

forme see fo(u)rne.

forsoþe adv. truly, certainly A 175; D 37, 42, 55 etc.; Ea 218, 415; Jb 33; Rb 48, 57.

forth(e), forþ adv. forth, onwards from a point Ea 781; Ra 21, 92; brought - brought forward S 87; bryngeþ - to produce, yield; spec. to give birth to Ea 6, 348; Eb 15; wipouute - externally, on the outside Eb 50.

f(f)orþi adv. therefore, for that reason, consequently A 69, 124, 278; Ea 82, 216, 435 etc.; Eb 4, 37, 48 etc.

forthinke v. to regret; forþpinkip, forthingeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 763; Eb 79; forþpinkip pr. pl. Ea 806.

forward n. contract, promise Ea 693, 694, 695 etc.

f(f)orwhy adv. for which reason, on account of which Ea 127, 129, 135 etc.

forwith adv. forthwith, immediately P 69.

fote, foot n. foot (of body) A 157; Ea 152, 170; S 265; feet, fete pl. A 100, 154, 245; P 20, 51; Rb 41; S 88, 129.

foughte see sceint.

foulerere adj. cpv. fouler, more revolting C 38.

founde etc see fynde.

foundment n. foundation, source A 210.

fo(u)rme n. likeness, form Ea 205; P 21.

fournys n. furnace, fire Ea 169, 171.

fourtenþ(e), fourteniþ ord. fourteenth Ra 89; Rb 5, 88.

fourþe, ferthe, ferþe, fourte, furþe ord. fourth Ea 579; Eb 322; Ja 14, 27; Ra 38; Rb 36.

fre adj. free, at liberty Ea 490.

fredam n. freedom, liberty Ea 802.

frely adv. freely, without restriction Ea 710, 806.

frende n. friend, loved one Eb 341; frendis, frendes, frendis pl. A 185; Ea 313, 336, 363 etc.; Eb 233, 243, 265, etc.; Ja 27; Jb 28.

frendeliche adv. lovingly, caringly Eb 274.

fressche, fresche adj. pleasant C 30; new Ja 18.

fresche adv. freshly, newly Jb 18.

frete v. to adorn, embellish; frettiþ pr. pl. Ea 453.

froward adj. different, contrary Ea 617.
fruyt, frute n. offspring, progeny C 3, 10, 132; Ea 313, 534, 536, etc; Eb 288; fruit, produce Ea 43, 47, 219; Eb 43, 48.

ful see falle.

ful(le), full adj. full, replete A 13, 57, 206 etc; C 2, 6, 112 etc; Ea 566, 567; Eb 39, 52, 308; P 35; Ra 47; Rb 47, 76; S 81; entire, complete Ea 160; Eb 22, 69; Ja 31; Jb 34; Jc 16; true Ea 336, 363, 378; Eb 233; at þe ~ to the fullest extent Ea 149.

ful(le), full adv. very Ea 135, 184; Ja 14, 16, 17 etc; Jb 10; P 7, 17, 67; Ra 76, 80, 87; S 66, 67, 91.

fulfylle, fulfille v. to fulfill, satisfy, accomplish Ra 33; Rb 31; S 111; fulfylde ppl. A 38; to endow, imbue; fulfilled ppl. Ea 774;.

fully adv. entirely C 70; Ea 332; Eb 402.

fulnes(se) n. abundance, plenty Ra 23; Rb 21.

fure see fyr(e).

furste see first.

furþe see fourþe.

G

gabbynge vbl. n. deceit C 106.

gaic adj. elegant C 28.

galle n. gall, bile S 138.

garlondis n. pl. garlands Ea 453.

gates see gate.

gaudes n. pl. joys Ja 40.

gedir, gadere v. to gather together Ra 20; Rb 18; gedir imp. sg. Ea 811;

gederip pr. 3sg. A 177.

gedir pr. 1sg. Ea 249; gederip pr. 3sg. A 177.

gect n. goat Ea 628, 649; gect pl. Ea 641, 642, 644 etc.

generaciouns n. pl. generations of people A 112.

genterie n. nobility C 43.

gentil adj. noble of rank or birth C 15, 35, 49; Ra 98; gentilest, genteliste superl. Ea 167; Eb 130.

gesse v. to conclude, deduce; gese pr. 1sg. C 57; gessedyn pr. pl. subj. Ea 481.

gete v. to get, obtain C 31; Ea 679; getip pr. 3sg. Ea 80; geten ppl. A 172; to beget, conceive; ygete ppl. Ea 470.

gif, gyf, v. to give Ja 35; Rb 13; yeue, yeve, ȝeue A 36, 203; Jb 24, 34; Jc 15; Ra 14; ȝeue impr. sg. C 136; Ra 107; ȝyuynge pres. part. Ea 185; gyf pr. 1sg. Jb 10; yeueth, ȝeueþ, ȝyueþ pr. 3sg. A 51, 162, 175 etc; Ea 120, 341, 508; P 16; ȝyuyn pr. pl. subj. Ea 407; ȝiuen, ȝeue, ȝyue pr. pl. ind. Ea 325, 459; Rb 83; gave pt. D 28; ȝave, ȝaf(e), ȝaue A 36, 144; P 20, 69; Ra 68; Rb 66, 81; ȝiuen, ȝoue, ȝeuen ppl. Ea 157; Ra 59; Rb 59; ~ sook see sook.

gilden adj. golden; Seynt John wiþ þe gilden mouþ see Index of Proper Nouns and note to line Ea 65.

gylour n. deceiver, beguiler Ea 107.

gilty, gilti adj. guilty, sinful, blameworthy Ea 127, 695; Ra 49; Rb 49.

glad(e) adj. joyful, merry Ea 603; Ja 39.

gladde v. to cheer, encourage Ea 590.

gladly adv. willingly C 122.
gladnes n. delight, pleasure  Ea 6; Eb 401.
gladschipe n. joy, delight  Ea 10.
glorifynge vbl. n. praise  Eb 399.
gloteny, glotonye n. gluttony, intemperate appetite for food or drink  C 22, 46, 68 etc; S 141.
glowynge adj. burning, incandescent  Ea 421.
go(o)denes, goodnesse n. goodness, excellence  A 37; C 54, 67, 118; Eb 48, 119, 314 etc.
godhed n. divinity  C 123.
good n. property, possessions  Ea 23; goodis pl. C 41, 48; Ea 46, 471.
goodly adv. properly, rightly  D 56.
go(o)stly adj. spiritual  Ea 4; Eb 5.
governe v. to govern, rule over;  gouvernynge pres. part.  P 73.
gouernyr n. that which or one who governs, controls  Eb 359.
gratton, gratast see great.
grau n. grave, sepulchre  P 58; graues pl. Ea 31.
gravelle n. gravel, stones  S 89.
grauunt, grauunt v. to grant, allow, permit  D 42, 48, 56 etc; Ea 488; Jc 20; graunnt(e), grauunt imp. sg.  D 39, 44; S 132; grauunt pr. 2sg.  D 30; graunte pr. pl.  C 12; graunte pt.  Eb 349; grauntyd, grauntyd ppl.  D 90, 97.
greate, gre(e)te, greet, gret(e), grett adj. great, significant, important  A 19, 30, 31 etc; C 66, 67, 75, etc; D 12, 99; Ea 112, 296, 312; Eb 215, 223, 226 etc; Ja 16, 21; Je 9, 11; Ra 29, 53, 61 etc; S 3, 18, 29 etc; gretter, grattast cpv. A 105; Eb 148; grettest, grettest superl. A 25; P 9; much, copious  Rb 27, 52, 57.
greeme n. anger, resentment  Ea 659.
grene adj. green  Ra 104.
grete v. to greet; grete imp. sg.  Ja 37; grette pt.  P 68; A 100; C 5; gretyd, grette ppl.  P 42; A 90.
grete n. great thing, high or noble action  Ea 209.
gret(ely), grettlych adv. greatly  Ea 337; Eb 220; Ja 2; P 17, 59.
greve v. to cause grief, harm  D 18; greueþ pr. pl.  Ea 309, 311; greuiþ refl. pr. pl.  Ea 467; greued ppl.  Ea 164.
greues n. pl. annoyances, pains  Ea 485.
grym(me) adj. angry, stern  Ea 628, 629.
grymly adv. sternly  Ea 682.
groue v. to grow; growip, growep, growth, grouwep pr. 3sg.  Ea 49, 539; Eb 42, 172; Ra 103.
grovelyng adv. groveling, prostrate  P 49.

H

hayle, heyle, heil int. Hail  A 4, 57; C 2, 6, 104; P 42.
hailynge adj. hailing, raining hail  Ea 544.
hailsid see heilse.
hailsing see heilse.
halde see holde.
half  n. one of two contrasting positions; on anopir - on the other hand  Ea 732.

halse  v. to embrace; halsynge  pres. part. embracing  S 67.

halewe  v. to dedicate, consecrate  Ea 707; halwed  ppl. Rb 56.

halwing, halowyngne  vbl. n. blessing, hallowing  Ra 57; Rb 55.

halewes  n. pl. saints, holy ones  Ea 640.

halowȝe  see holwe.

hande, hond(e)  n. hand  A 154, 157;  Ea 169, 460; Eb 134; P 41, 69, 73;  Rb 69, 84;  handes, handis, handys, hondis  pl.  Ea 193; Eb 151;  Jc 31;  P 22, 24, 51;  Ra 71; Rb 41; S 129; ryȝte - fig. denoting position of responsibility as immediate deputy  P 73.

handel  v. to caress, fondle  Ea 18, 19.

hand(e)mayden  n. handmaiden, helpmeet  A 97, 111;  Ea 771; Eb 320.

hard(e)  adj. difficult  C 54;  Ea 135, 138; Eb 110, 112; cruel  Ea 388, 477; uncomfortable  Ea 574, 791; so - so much difficulty  Ea 396.

harde  adv. tightly, cruelly  A 220.

harlot  n. rogue, scoundrel  Ea 339.

harlotrie, ariotrie  n. base behaviour C 69, 94, 96.

harme  v. to harm, injure  Ea 532;  harmen, harmep  pr. pl.  Ea 447, 581; harmed  pt. subj.  Ea 337.

harm(e)  n. injury, wrong  Ea 339, 390, 589;  Eb 127, 138, 240;  harmes  pl.

hastely  adv. with haste, quickly  Ea 523.

hate, haten  v. to hate, depise  S 150;  Ra 18, 27, 37; Rb 17, 35;  hatest  pr. 2sg.  Ea 345; Eb 208; hatip  pr. 3sg.  A 164;  Ra 24, 38; Rb 22;  hate  pr. pl. subj.  Ea 409;  hatid  pt. Rb 35.

hatereden  n. hatred, enmity  Rb 24.

hatten  see hote.

hatter  see hote.

hauntyngne  vbl. n. exercise, act  C 96.

he  pron. pl. they  Ea 259.

hed(e), heed, heued(e)  n. head  Eb 136, 143, 372;  P 35, 50;  S 64, 78, 104;  heuedes  pl.  Ea 174.

hede  n. heed, attention; take - pay attention to  A 63, 128, 149;  Ea 631.

heie  v. to exalt; heisȝed, hisȝed  ppl.  Ea 722, 725, 731;  Eb 320; to rise up; hisȝe  imp. sg.  Ea 601, 612.

hyȝynge  vbl. n. exaltation  Ea 727.

heisȝe, heȝe, heȝȝe, hiȝe, hyȝ  adj. high; heisȝe  cpv.  Ea 557; spec. superior, morally high  A 93, 131, 184;  Ea 134, 211, 254 etc;  Eb 109, 197, 198 etc;  Rb 60; hiȝest  superl.  Ea 303, 639; - prest see prest.

heisȝenes(se); hiȝenes(se)  n. exalted position  A 62;  Ea 190, 635, 728;  Eb 148.

heȝpe  n. height  Eb 133.

heyle  etc see hayle.

heilse  v. to greet, salute; hilsid  pt. Rb 81; hilsid  ppl. Rb 82.

hailsing  vbl. n. salutation  Rb 81, 82.

he(e)lde  etc see holde.
he(e)le n. comfort, consolation Ea 391; salvation Eb 326.

hele v. to comfort, console; heelyde pt. Ea 402.

helpe v. to help, assist C 120; Ea 358, 444; helpe imp. sg. S 29, 53, 79 etc; helping pres. part. Ja 39, 41; helpeþ, helpiþ pr. 3sg. Ea 71; Eb 364; helpen pr. pl. Ea 581; Eb 259; helpide pt. Ea 804.

helpyng(e) vbl. n. assistance Ea 503.

help(e) n. help, assistance A 46; Ea 390, 413, 443 etc; S 23, 40.

heo pron. sg. she Ea 254, 276, 593; Eb 56, 57, 77 etc.

herafter adv. after this point P 6.

herbi adv. by this means C 108.

here, heer n. hair Ea 174, 452; Eb 136.

here v. to hear, listen to Ea 17, 197, 581 etc; Eb 396; S 160; here, herþ imp. sg. A 71, 119; Ea 645; Eb 339; here pr. 1sg. Ea 593; heren, herþ pr. pl. C 90; Ea 717, 744; herd(e) pt. Ea 617; Eb 353; Ja 15; Jc 6, 8; Rb 76; herd(e) ppl. A 74, 103; Ra 46; Rb 46.

heryng(e) vbl. n1. hearing, spec. as one of the senses Ea 580, 586, 647.

herfore adv. for this reason C 95.

heres pron. pl. gen. their Ea 85.

herynge vbl. n2. praising, glorifying C 71.

herken v. to listen attentively, pay attention Ea 589; herken,
herkenþ imp. sg. Ea 593, 615, 616 etc; herkenþ pr. pl. Ea 629.

herkenynge vbl. n. listening Ea 620.

hertly, hertliche adj. devout, heartfelt Ea 673; Eb 348; Ja 22; Jb 25.

hertily, hertliche adv. seriously, earnestly Ea 45, 349.

hete n. heat, warmth A 153.

heþen adj. pagan, heathen Eb 132.

heued(c) see hed(c).

heuonly, hevynly, heueneliche adj.

heavenly, celestial

heuy adj. grievous, distressing S 91.

hewe n. complexion Ea 608.

hide v. to hide, conceal; hyde pr. pl. Ea 55; hydeþ refl. pr. pl. Ea 728; hid(de) ppl. Ea 56, 630, 722 etc.

hidynge vbl. n. concealment Ea 727.

hidelis n. pl. hiding places; in ~ in secrecy, in private Ea 729.

hiderto adv. hitherto, up to this point Rb 64, 87.

hidennes n. concealment Ea 727.

hiȝe see heiȝe.

hyȝynge see heic.

hyȝt see hote.

hyȝte see hote.

hyle v. to cover A 182.

hoge adj. intense, huge Jb 21.

hokir n. disdain, contempt; ~ scorne derisive scorn Ea 619.

holde v. to hold, grasp, often fig.; holde imp. C 110; holding pres. part. P 35; holdþ, holdeþ pr. 3sg. A 196; helde pt. Ea 806; to catch, trap C 34; to support a position or idea, consider;
holdeþ, holdeþ pr. 3sg. A 122; Eb 88; helde, heeld pt. Ra 49; Rb 48;
holden ppl. C 65, 88; Ea 90; to maintain, keep Ea 135, 136, 212 etc;
holde, holdiþ  imp. sg.  Ea 613, 683, 684 etc; holde refl. pr. 3sg. subj.  Ea 708; holdiþ refl. pr. 3sg. ind.  Ea 550; halde, holdiþ refl. pr. pl.  Ea 52, 58, 95 etc; heelde pt.  Ea 694; holde ppl.  Ea 704; to exclude, keep away; holdeþ pr. 3sg.  Eb 358.

holeschip  n. chastity, purity  Ea 277.
holwe, halowȝe  adj. hollow, empty  Ea 783; Eb 43.

honest(e)  adj. honourable  C 43, 59; Ea 569; Eb 311.

honeste  n. honesty  C 91, 102.
honger, hungir  n. hunger, starvation  A 152; Ea 158.
hongre  adj. hungry  Eb 123.
hony  n. honey  Ea 487, 596, 671 etc.
hoof(e)  adj. whole, complete  Jc 21; chaste, pure  Ea 225, 551.
hoohled  n. completeness  Ea 114.
hoosoo  see whoso.
hord  n. store, hoard  C 47.
hore  n. whore  Ea 654.

horeous  n. brothel  Ea 762.
hote  v. to name, designate; hyȝt pr. 1sg.  Ea 208; hatten ppl.  Ea 168.
hote, hoot(e)  adj. hot  Ea 169, 171, 414 etc; Ja 28; Jb 31; hatter cvp. Ea 556

houre, owre  n. hour, time  D 16, 52, 89; Jc 31; S 54, 167; alle owres at all times  A 239.

household(e)  n. household, family and servants collectively  Ea 449, 491.

how(e), hou  adv. how, in what way  A 76, 79, 104 etc; C 13, 50, 88; D 21; Ea 64, 123, 124 etc; Eb 62, 193, 339; Jc 8; P 44; Ra 90; S 49, 51.
hugely  adv. greatly, intensely  Jb 10.
humblenes  n. humility, lowliness  A 135.
hungir  see honger.
husbo(u)nde, husbande  n. husband  A 151; Ea 65; Eb 63, 203; husbondis pl.  Ea 483.

iche  see ech(e).
ydel, idil  adj. idle, purposeless  Ea 568, 572, 580 etc; Eb 310, 331, 338, etc; Ra 80.
ydelnes, ydylness, ydilnesse  n. idleness  Ea 569; Eb 311; S 131.

if, yf, ȝif, ȝef, yeff  conj. if  A 74, 108, 134 etc; C 20, 28, 86 etc; D 13, 40, 45 etc; Ea 106, 109, 126 etc; Eb 91, 94, 213 etc; Ja 39; Jb 28, 30; Jc 26; Ra 108; al - even if, although  Ea 59, 89; but - see but.
iȝe(n), yȝen  see eye.
ygete  see gete.
yliche  adj. alike, similar  Ea 15.
ilk  adj. said, same, very  Jc 36, 37.
ymaad  v. ppl. made (of to make, build)  Ea 529.
ymage  n. image, type  C 77; S 77.
impe  v. to plant, establish; ymped ppl.  Ea 214.
ympne  n. hymn  A 3.
in, in(n)e, yn(ne)  prep. in  A 2, 5, 7 etc; C 20, 22, 23 etc; D 2, 3, 23 etc; Ea 7, 10,
GLOSSARY

12 etc; Eb 10, 18, 20 etc; Ja 3, 4, 5 etc; Jb 2, 6, 7 etc; Jc 5, 7, 8 etc; P 4, 5, 14 etc; Ra 6, 10, 12 etc; Rb 5, 10, 11 etc; S 20, 35, 36 etc; on A 255; P 3; at A 12, 62; C 24, 41; D 13; P 6, 8; Ra 1, 96; S 7; in, within A 7, 131, 134 etc; C 31, 35, 39 etc; D 10, 20, 59; Ea 29, 42, 45 etc; Eb 8, 36, 42 etc; Ja 7, 10, 12 etc; Jb 1, 10, 13 etc; Jc 8, 10, 18 etc; P 6, 8, 15 etc; Ra 8, 11, 16 etc; Rb 8, 22, 23; S 16, 60, 123 etc.
in adv. by means of, with Rb 32.
indignacion n. scorn, contempt; have ~ of be scornful of C 21.
inmacioun n. information, that through which one becomes informed A 124, 283.
inne-dore adv. inside, indoors Ea 706.
insensible adj. unconscious D 53, 88.
instaunce n. urging Jb 30.
into, ynto prep. into A 28, 56, 58 etc; C 33, 42, 45 etc; D 28; Ea 108, 140, 450; Eb 115, 122, 123, etc; Ja 16; Jc 12, 31, 32 etc; P 2, 22, 33 etc; Ra 5, 60, 90 etc; Rb 4, 58, 59 etc; S 28, 31, 32; until Ra 6; Rb 5.
inward(e)ly adv. inwardly, within oneself P 7, 8, 25.
ypraised see preise
ypocrisie, ypocrisy e n. hypocrisy C 98; Ea 34.
ire n. ire, anger S 122.
ytemptid see tempte.
yuel see euylle.
ywriten see write.

J

jangle v. to chatter, talk idly; iangeli pr. pl. Ea 629.
iangelyng vb. n. chatter, idle gossip Ea 620, 646, 702.
iapis n. pl. immoral or indecorous acts C 45.
joy(e), ioy(e) n. joy, happiness A 80, 146; C 71, 108 111 etc; D 54, 89, 99; Ea 338, 377, 380 etc; Eb 231, 232, 241 etc; Jc 4; S 134; ioyes pl. Eb 182, 389; Jc 7; spec. the Joys of Our Lady C 60; S 82.
joie v. to rejoice; joy pr. pl. S 60.
joyfulle, ioyeful adj. joyful, happy Eb 402; Ja 3; S 23.
ioufully adv. joyfully, happily C 121.
joine v. to connect, join; ioyned ppl. A 65.
joyntes, ioyntes n. pl. joints (of the body) S 118; D 77.
iolite n. indulgence, gratification C 69.
juge, iuge v. to judge, deem A 83; jugyd ppl. S 49.

K

kacche v. to catch, entrap C 33.
kan see can.
kene adj. cruel Ea 164, 388.
kepe v. to keep, protect A 162; C 118; Ea 123, 209, 210 etc; Eb 101, 102, 110 etc; Jc 36; Ra 15, 30, 44 etc; Rb 28, 40, 44; S 66; kepe imp. sg. Ea 584, 587, 685 etc; Eb 336; S 165; kepynge pres.
Glossary

part. Ea 587; P 34; kepif, kepeþ
pr. 3sg. Ea 118, 447, 551; Eb 295;
kepen, kepif pr. pl. Ea 57, 446;
Eb 54; kepe(n) refl. pr. pl. Ea 417;
Eb 344, 382; kept, kepid pt. A
116; Ea 693; Eb 120, 125, 140; Jb
18; Ra 15, 20; Rb 14, 18; kept(e)
pl. D 13; Ea 542, 585, 739.
kepyng(e) vbl. n. protection Ea 579,
584; Eb 336.
kepe n. attention, heed; take - take
notice, pay attention Ea 623.
keper n. keeper, protector A 211.
keuercchers n. pl. veils, women’s
headcloths C 29.
kydde n. kid, young goat Ea 649;
kiddes, kyddis pl. Ea 627, 648, 645
etc.
kyn n. family, relatives C 20; Ea 329,
335, 336 etc; Eb 222; kynnes pl.
Ea 428.
kynde n. nature, natural inclination A
25, 193, 285 etc; Ea 138, 140, 160
etc; Eb 114, 191; tribe, clan Eb
130.
kynde adj. natural, instinctive Ea 359;
S 163.
kyndely adv. in accordance with
nature, according to nature Ea 124,
162, 209 etc; Eb 125.
kyndylle v. to light, kindle Jb 31.
kisse v. to kiss; cusse imp. sg. Ea
674; cussib pr. 3sg. Ea 678; kysse
pr. pl. Ea 459; kyssed pt. P 9, 66;
kyste ppl. P 28.
kissynges vbl. n. pl. incidences of
kissing Ea 19.
kithe v. to make known by speech or
writing; kipe pl. Ea 389.
knackis n. pl. tricks, jokes C 45.
kne(e) n. knee Ea 460; S 162; knees,
kneys pl. P 26; Rb 41.
knele v. to kneel, fall to the knees;
knelynges vbl. n. pl. obeisance P 42.
knitte v. to fasten; fig. to establish a
bond; knittþ pr. 3sg. Ea 476.
knowe, knawe v. to know, perceive,
understand C 124; Ea 282; Ja 20; Jc 4;
knavynge, knowyng pres. part. Ja 13;
Jb 15; knowe pr. 1sg. Ea 378, 383,
782; Eb 232, 235, 236; knowist,
knowest refl. pr. 2sg. subj. Ea 626, 631;
knowe, knowest pr. 2sg. ind. D 22; S
42; knowep, knowip pr. 3sg. A 129;
Ea 315, 486; knew(e) pt. A 128; D
11; Ja 12; Jb 14; Jc 23; Rb 77; to - to
be known P 11.
knownen adj. known, familiar Ea 481.
kunnunge see conynge.
labore n. labour, travail A 73.
laboure v. to labour, struggle; laborynge
lady(e), leuedy n. lady, mistress A 33, 34;
Ea 591, 637; Ja 38; ladies pl. C 84;
see also Index of Proper Nouns.
ladischip n. the status or condition of a
high-born woman Ea 643.
lambren see lombis.
lamentable adj. lamentable, piteous D 4,
lamentacioun n. lament, expression of grief D 13.
lamp, laumpe n. lamp, light Ea 785, 786; S 36; laumpes, laumpis pl. 
Ea 30, 783, 784; Eb 37.
langage n. language, tongue Ea 700.
lappe n. lap (of a person) Ea 346; Ja 17; Jb 17; P 57.
lasse see lesse.
laste v. to continue; lastþ pr. 3sg. 
Rb 64.
laste adj. last, final D 88; P 19; subst. end, last moment C 83; Jc 18.
laste see lesse.
lastynge adj. continual, perpetual Ea 439, 443.
lastingli, lastyngly adv. enduringly, permanently Ra 25; Rb 23.
lauumpes see lamp.
law n. law, decree Ra 14, 15, 31 etc; 
Rb 13, 14 28 etc; S 111; spec.
Judaic Law Ea 303, 304; Eb 199; 
olde ~ Judaic Law Ea 145, 146, 302; Eb 119, 198.
lawȝ v. to laugh Ea 462.
lec(c)herie, lechery n. lechery, 
lascivious behaviour C 17, 22, 33 etc; Ea 17, 582; Eb 141.
leccherous adj. lecherous, lascivious 
Ea 564, 570, 577; Eb 306, 311; Ra 101.
lechour n. lecher, lecherous person Ea 105.
lede v. to lead, guide Jc 32; led ppl. 
P 33; to conduct, pass (one’s life, 
time) leden pr. pl. C 40; Ea 36; ledde 
pt. Ea 558.
leef n. loved one, beloved Ea 520, 541, 551 etc.
leef, leuer adj. eager, desirous Ea 660; 
pleasing, agreeable Ea 665; better, preferable Eb 285; me is ~ I would rather, I would prefer Ea 531.
leefis see leue.
leesip see lese.
lef, leuer adv. rather, preferably A 267.
lefte see leve.
legenede n. story, spec. of a saint Ra 91; 
Rb 90.
leyde see ly.
leiȝe, liȝe n. flame, fire Ea 557; Eb 133.
lemman n. lover, beloved Ea 594, 599, 
602 etc; lemmans pl. C 38.
lerger see longe.
lepynge vbl. n. dancing, skipping C 24.
leprous adj. afflicted with leprosy; subst. 
leper C 38.
lere v. to teach, educate; lerþ pr. 3sg. Ea 
430; Eb 273; lerid ppl. Rb 72.
lerne v. to learn, acquire knowledge C 15, 18; Ea 440; Ra 14; lerne, lernþ imp. 
pl. A 118, 120, 139; lerne pr. pl. A 
122.
lernyng vbl. n. learning, education Rb 78.
lese v. to make loose, to free; lose imp. 
sg. S 71; lowsed pt. Ea 172; losyde 
ppl. P 50.
lese v². to lose, misplace Rb 61; le(e)siþ, 
lesen, losen pr. pl. Ea 89, 98, 105 etc; 
Eb 80, 90; lost pt. Ea 220; lo(o)ste, 
lorne ppl. Ea 367; Eb 224; Ja 9; Jb 12; 
Jc 17; S 38, 40.
lesnyngis vbl. n. pl. lies, falsehoods C 63, 109.
lesse, lasse adj. cpv. less, fewer A 158; C 113; D 18; Ea 71, 301; Eb 70;
seten ~ by see seten.
lesse, laste conj. lest, for fear that C 99; - than for fear that D 72.
lessoun(e) n. something to be learned or learned from A 75, 283; Ea 414, 810; the act of reading A 54, 87.
lest(e) adj. superl. least, lowest S 99, 100; D 30; Ea 329, 472; Eb 136; subst. C 115.
lete  v'. to permit, allow; let(e), lete imp. sg. D 41, 46; Ea 611, 780; Eb 257; S 30, 40; leteþ pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 718.
lete  v². to believe, consider; lete pt. Jc 7; as ye ~ as you pretend to, as you act Ea 375.
lette  v. to prevent, hinder D 34; Ea 545; lett<e> pr. 3sg. Ea 340; lette pr. pl. subj. Ea 362; Eb 219; lette, lett<e> pr. pl. ind. Ea 295, 376; Eb 232; lettid pr. subj. Ea 312;
lettid, letted pt. ind. Ea 338, 343; Eb 207; lettid ppl. Ra 83.
letterd adj. literate A 75.
leve  v. to leave, depart from Ea 437, 668; Eb 262; S 42; leue imp. sg. Ea 664; Eb 256; leue(b) imp. pl. Ea 435, Eb 260; lefte, leften pt. Ea 399, 655; Ra 11; Rb 10; leuyde, lefte ppl. Ea 398; Eb 246; S 131.
leve n. permission to depart; take ~ leave, abandon S 42.
leue n. leaf (of plant) Eb 295; leefes, le(e)ues pl. petals, leaves Ea 549, 754; Eb 376.
leuedy see lady(e).
leuer see lef.
ly v. to lie (down) S 162, 164; leyde ppl. A 148; Jb 17; P 57; to be prostrate or kneel for the purposes of prayer; leyde refl. pt. P 72.
lyberte n. liberty, freedom S 72.
liche see like.
licke v. to lick; licked ppl. Ea 488.
lif(e), liif, lijf, lyf(f)e, lyve, lyue n. life A 44, 86, 162 etc; C 26, 36, 43 etc; D 100; Ea 36, 135, 139 etc; Eb 12, 111, 113 etc; Ra 1, 4, 66; Rb 1, 3, 65; S 27, 42, 55 etc; lyves, lyues gen. Ea 530; Eb 283; S 143; lyues pl. Eb 197.
lifynge see lyuyng(e).
lifte v. to lift, raise; lyfte, lyft(id) ppl. Ea 153; Jb 3; S 127.
líc see leíce.
lyght, lyt<e> lišt, lyȝt n. light A 11, 14, 15 etc; S 36, 144; aungels of - angels of heaven Ea 34.
liȝt adj. little, insignificant Eb 210.
liȝt adv. little, lightly Ea 348, 349.
liȝtyly adv. lightly, easily A 197.
liȝtnesse n. joy, frivolity C 58.
like  v'. to compare, liken; likeneþ pr. 3sg. Ea 538; Eb 289; likened, liikned ppl. Eb 41; Ra 102.
like  v². to please; likand, likyng pres. part. Ea 473; Rb 73; likide ppl. Ra 36.
liking, likyng(e) vbl. n. pleasure C 30, 70; Ea 17, 19, 331 etc; Eb 18; Ra 13; Rb 12; likynges, likyngis, lykyngis,
lykyngges pl. Ea 21, 433, 434 etc; Eb 52, 55.
like, liche, lyche, lyke adj. similar to Ea 31, 32, 49 etc; Eb 38, 39, 49.
lyke adv. similarly; - as as though S 50; just as D 73; Ja 41.
likyngly adv. appropriately, fittingly Ea 65.
liknes(se) n. appearance Ea 39, 194, 226.
lily, lily(e) n. lily Ea 538, 540, 549 etc; Eb 289, 290, 293 etc; S 14.
lim(e) n. lime, mortar; - and stoon stone masonry Ea 529; Eb 282.
lime v. to coat a surface with whitewash; lymed ppl. Ea 31.
likyngly adv. appropriately, fittingly Ea 65.
liknes(se) n. appearance Ea 39, 194, 226.
lyke adv. similarly; - as as though S 50; just as D 73; Ja 41.
likyngly adv. appropriately, fittingly Ea 65.
liknes(se) n. appearance Ea 39, 194, 226.
lily, lily(e) n. lily Ea 538, 540, 549 etc; Eb 289, 290, 293 etc; S 14.
lim(e) n. lime, mortar; - and stoon stone masonry Ea 529; Eb 282.
lime v. to coat a surface with whitewash; lymed ppl. Ea 31.
liþer adj. wicked, treacherous Eb 303.
lyue, lyve see lif(e).
lyue v. to be alive A 241; D 86; Ea 115, 139, 285 etc; Eb 20, 22, 80 etc;
liuyng(e), lyuynge, liuyng pres. part. Ea 153;
loche v. to lock; lockyd, loken ppl. Ea 532; P 30.
loke v. to look Ea 455, 660; S 53; loke imp. sg. (spec. pay attention to, consider)
longe adv. long, spec. in duration Ea 347, 348, 779; Eb 123; lenger cpv. A 258.
loþe v. to loathe, hate; loþiþ pr. pl. Ea 484.
loþely adj. loathsome, repulsive Ea 56, 314.
loþe v. to loathe, hate; loþiþ pr. pl. Ea 484.
loþely adj. loathsome, repulsive Ea 56, 314.
Glossary

loueþ pr. 3sg. Ea 374, 678, 800; Eb 230; Ra 22, 36; Rb 20; loue,
louen(e), loueþ pr. pl. C 59; Ea 39, 494; Eb 239, 354, 356 etc; loued pt. subj. Ea 375, 380; loud, loued, luffyeđe pt. ind. Ea 368; Eb 83, 224, 349 etc; Rb 34; S 155; loued ppl. Ea 608; Eb 143, 152, 317.
louyng(e) vbl. n. love, adoration Rb 31, 80, 83.
loue, luf(e) n. love A 36, 144, 262 etc; D 11; Ea 102, 278, 438 etc; Eb 13, 127, 227 etc; Ja 24, 28; Jb 25, 32; Ra 23, 33, 73; S 67, 163; beloved one A 95; Eb 514, 673; loueres pl. Ea 185; - drede fear born of love Eb 365, 373; ~ Book, Book of - see Index of Proper Nouns.
loue adj. humble, unpretentious Eb 87.
loued adj. beloved A 9; Ea 100.
louely adv. in a loving manner Ea 145, 512, 681.
louelongyng n. lovesickness, yearning for love Ea 596.
lovyngly adv. lovingly, in a loving manner P 67.
lowde adj. loud Ja 15.
low(e) adj. low, humble S 99, 110; lower cpv. Ea 301.
lowen etc see loue v².
lownes, lowynes(se), lowȝenesse n. lowness, humility A 49, 50, 121 etc.
lowȝlich(e), lowȝlyche adv. humbly A 96, 101, 150.
lowsed see lese.
luffyde see loue.
lustful adj. pleasurable C 41.

M

madschip n. madness, recklessness Ea 404, 696.
madenhode see mayde(n)hode.
mayde, mayden, meyden, n. maiden,
virgin A 20, 25, 52 etc; Ea 5, 68, 76 etc; Eb 3, 5, 6 etc; Ra 3, 47; maydyns,
maydenes, maydens gen. Ea 56, 214, 300 etc; Eb 50, 69, 91; S 140; maydens,
maydenes, maydens, madens pl. A 64; Ea 14, 15, 16 etc; Eb 16, 17, 21 etc; ~ Mayde, Maiden see Index of Proper Nouns.
mayde(n)hode, maydenhod, maidenhod,
maydenhed(e), maydenhote,
madenhode n. virginity, maidenhood Ea 1, 13, 24 etc; Eb 1, 15, 48 etc.
maieste n. majesty C 64, 90.
mayntene v. to maintain, keep A 163; meyntenen pr. pl. subj. C 23.
meyntenynge vbl. n. perpetuation, persistence C 47.
maystris n. pl. masters A 293.
man n. man, person, humankind A 11, 26, 76 etc; C 63; D 65; Ea 12, 61, 81 etc; Eb 14, 257, 283 etc; Jc 38; Ra 79; Rb 76, 81; S 2; man(n)es, mannys gen. A 116; D 40, 77, 78; Ea 11; Eb 13, 42, 49 etc; men pl. A 2, 53, 59; C 11, 12, 14 etc; Ea 14, 50, 111 etc; Eb 16, 128, 132 etc; Ra 85; Rb 7, 82, 90; mennes gen. pl. C 101, 103; Ea 31, 48, 428; man, male person C 54, 55, 73; Ea 95, 138, 239 etc; Eb 32, 78, 113 etc; men
GLOSSARY

pl. A 65, 67, 68; C 15, 21, 35 etc; Ea 104, 186, 187 etc; Eb 89, 90; Ra 98; mennes, mannes gen. pl. C 30; Ea 480; Eb 26, 38; Ja 1; mystery - see mystery; Wise - see Index of Proper Nouns.

man(e) n. manner, way, type A 6, 44, 220 etc; C 44, 69, 95 etc; D 17, 23, 61 etc; Ea 340, 584, 665 etc; Eb 336, 359, 376 etc; Ja 22, 26; Ra 99, 103; maneres pl. A 30, 47; manners, behaviour;
maneres pl. Ea 4, 6, 761; Eb 5, 277.

mangglynges vbl. n. pl. intermingleings, interactions Ea 467; see also note to line.

manhede, manhod n. manhood, humanity Ea 182; Eb 144.

manyfolde n. abundance, multiplicity;
in - in various or many ways P 32.

marbylle adj. marble S 62.

marcy see mercy.
margarites n. pl. pearls Ea 250.

marie v. to marry, wed; married ppl. Ea 337, 341.

mark n. outward sign, token Ea 84; mark to indicate position or measurement; markes pl. S 116.

masse n. mass, eucharist P 14.
mater(e) n. matter, topic A 61, 87.

meane, meen n. means, manner of achieving an end D 35, 57; S 121; meanes pl. Jc 5.

mede n. worth Ea 24, 70, 94 etc; Eb 68, 91, 112 etc.

medecyn n. medicine; for - for medicinal purposes Ea 556.

medeful adj. worthy Ea 124; Eb 102, 104.

medyacioun n. mediation, intermediation S 167.

mediatioune n. pl. meditations, spiritual contemplations A S 167.

meyden see mayde.

meynten etc see mayntene.


mek(e)ly, mekeliche adv. meekly, humbly A 101, 288; Ea 10; S 51, 147.

mek(e)nesse, mekenes(se), mekenese, mekenesse n. meekness, humility A 109, 111, 113 etc; C 16, 53, 72 etc; Ea 767, 771, 775 etc; Eb 9, 316, 319 etc; P 9, 19; Ra 38, 75; Rb 36, 72; S 60, 100, 103; Mother of - see Index of Proper Nouns.

mekil, mychil, mychel adj. great, powerful Eb 411; Ra 107; Rb 54.

meledies n. pl. melodies, music Ra 85.

membres n. pl. body parts C 64.

memorye n. commemoration, memorial Jc 15, 19, 25 etc.

men see man.

mendement n. correction, amendment Ea 791.

mene v'. to mean, signify Ea 704; to intend; ment ppl. Ea 288.

mene v*. to complain, make complaint;
mene imp. sg. Ea 604

mensioun n. mention, reference Ra 91.

mercy, marcy, mersy n. mercy, clemency
GLOSSARY

merie adj. cheerful, jovial C 65.

merite, meryte n. merit, worthiness

merites, merytes pl. S 59, 93, 165 etc.

meroure see myrrour.

meruylis n. pl. marvels, wonders A 24.

meruelouse, merueylous, mervelous adj. admirable, marvellous A 8, 22; D 7.

mesel n. leper C 38.

mesurable adj. moderate, temperate Eb 308.

mesure n. moderation A 78; C 57; Ea 8, 566, 743; Eb 10, 296.

mete v. to judge, appraise; mette imp. sg. Ea 803.

mete v. to encounter, meet; mette pt. A 247.

mete n. food, meat A 161; C 76; Ea 9, 157, 552 etc; Eb 10, 296, 308; Ra 71, Rb 84.

meteles adj. meatless, without food Eb 124.

mewe v. to stir, incite; moued pt. Ea 481.

myche, moche, muche adj. much, many A 13, 20, 321 etc; C 12, 87, 88; D 11, 24, 32; Eb 327, 331, 373 etc; Ra 29, 61; Rb 26; great Ea 635, 641; as - as equivalent to Ea 700.

myche(l), mochel, mochil adv. much,
greatly A 221; Ea 309, 326, 447 etc; Eb 103, 142, 349 etc.

mychil, mychel see mekil.

mydel, mydil adj. middle, centre A 190; Eb 134; subst. C 116.

mydnyȝt n. midnight Ra 28; Rb 25.

myȝt n. power, force C 117, 134; Ea 98, 144, 146 etc; Eb 119, 129; will, intent Ea 103, 106, 362; Eb 88, 91.

mylde adj. gentle, humble A 118; S 113.

myldeliche adv. meekly, humbly Eb 12.

mildnes n. gentleness, meekness Ea 11.

mynd(e) n. mind, intellectual faculties Ja 29; Ra 62; Rb 61; consideration A 76, 82, 196 etc; C 98; Ea 774; Eb 62; Ja 25; Jb 32, 33; P 16.

myrde n. mire, swamp Ea 43, 45; Eb 42, 46.

myrrour, meroure n. mirror Ea 204, 454, 455; Eb 155, 160; fig. memory, imagination D 20.

misbere v. to behave improperly or insultingly; misberyn(n)ge pres. part. Ra 82; Rb 79.

myschefes n. pl. problems, misfortunes Eb 247.

misdo v. to do wrong, harm, mistreat;
mysdon(e) ppl. Ea 345, 605.

mysese, myssyse n. pain, suffering A 291; Ea 382.

mispaye v. to anger, displease Ea 622.

misseie v. to insult, speak ill; mysseie pt. A 202; myssyde ppl. A 201; Ea 482.

myssyse see myssese.

misspende v. to use improperly, waste;
myspendyd(e) ppl. S 81, 131.
**GLOSSARY**

**myspendynge vbl. n.** wasting, squandering S 80.

**myster n.** profession, trade; - men tradesmen Ea 465.

**moche see myche.**

**mochel, mochil** see myche(ⅰ).

**moder(e), mother, modir(e), modyr(e)**

*n.* mother A 21, 23, 28 etc; C 19, 27, 81 etc; D 5, 12, 16 etc; Ea 3, 200, 203 etc; Eb 218, 228, 230 etc; Ja 20, 37; Jb 3, 20, 21; Jc 9, 14, 19 etc; P 57, 61, 64; Ra 6, 8, 11 etc; Rb 5, 10; S 35, 101; *moders, modris* gen. Rb 56; S 152; *moders* pl. S 163; - of God see Index of Proper Nouns.

**moderfulle adj.** motherly S 163.

**moderly, modirly** adj. motherly D 12, 15, 96; S 66.

**mole n.** mark, blemish Ea 514.

**more, moo adj.** cpv. more, greater A 10, 11, 17 etc; C 7, 34, 52 etc; D 15, 23; Ea 9, 20, 90 etc; Eb 112, 213, 249; P 41, 62; Ra 63; Rb 62, 63; S 4, 98, 141; many - see many.

**morne v.** to mourn, grieve D 15.

**mournynge vbl. n.** grief, mourning Ea 435; Eb 260; love-longing, yearning Ea 597.

**mornynge** vbl. n. mourning Ea 435; Eb 260; love-longing, yearning Ea 597.

**mornyng n.** dawn, daybreak P 61.

**morntiid n.** dawn, daybreak Ra 67.

**morow, morwe n.** morrow, the next day C 25; P 33.

**mortalle adj.** mortal, deadly; spec. of sin: the seven sins that lead to eternal damnation unless rectified through the sacrament of confession S 134.

**mother see moder.**

**moued see meve.**

**mounteyn(e)s n. pl.** mountains A 100; Ra 103.

**mournyng see morne.**

**mouth, mowth(e), mouþ(e)** n. mouth Ea 20, 65, 675 etc; Eb 49, 334; P 34, 50, 67; S 2, 139; *mouþis* pl. Ea 48.

**murþe n.** mirth, joy C 58, 70; *murþis* pl. C 41.

**nay int.** no Ra 52.

**naile v.** to nail, attach by means of nails; *nayled, neyled* ppl. A 157; Ja 15; Jc 29; P 51.

**naylynge** vbl. n. the process of nailing S 120;

**naylles, neyles** n. pl. nails A 157; S 129.

**nakyd, naked, nakid adj.** naked, bare Ea 351; Eb 212; P 38.

**name n.** name Ea 723, 725, 811; names pl. C 14; Eb 131; spec. as indication of acting on someone’s behalf C 122.

**namely adv.** specifically, namely C 15, 17, 128 etc; Ea 579, 746; Rb 14.

**narew adj.** narrow, small Ea 528.

**natiuite, natuyyte n.** nativity, birth D 91, 94; Ra 91, 93; Rb 90; S 8, 17.

**naturalle adj.** natural, proper D 11.

**neddre n.** snake, serpent Ra 104.

**nede n.** necessity, requirement Ea 445, 790.

**nede adj.** needy, in need A 181; necessary

---

564
GLOSSARY

Eb 333.

nede adv. of necessity, inevitably;
must ~ be required, obliged Ea 668.

nedys adv. necessarily, inevitably D 12, 40, 45 etc.

neiȝ, nyȝ, nye adv. necessarily, inevitably
D 12, 40, 45 etc.

neiȝe v. to come near to
Ea 283;

neyȝeþ pr. pl. Ea 578.

neiȝ(e)bore n. neighbour
Ra 18, 36; Rb 16, 33.

neyled see naile.

neyles see naylles.

ne(i)þer, no(u)þer conj. neither, not
D 53; Ea 237, 666; Eb 136 P 31.

ner see nor.

nere adj. cpv. closer, more near Eb 113; see also note to line.

nese see nose.

neuerethelasse, neuerþeles(se) adv.
nevertheless, however D 98; Ea 3, 183.

new adv. newly, recently P 62.

newe adj. novel C 70; new Ea 141, 237; Eb 115.

next prep. immediately following D 8;
Ra 93; S 158; beside Ea 141, 261, 265 etc; Eb 110, 115, 179; near to Ea 134, 222, 263.

nyce adj. foolish, ignorant C 101;
wanton, lascivious Ea 620; Eb 28.

nyȝ, nye see neiȝ.

nyȝhe, prep. nigh, near S 45, 67.

nysete n. foolishness, stupidity C 45.

nobelec(e), nobele(e), nobley n. nobility,
noble behaviour or birth C 20, 35;

noble, nobyle adj. noble, worthy A 8, 17;
C 27, 50; D 85; Ea 1, 298; Eb 214;
noblest superl. Ea 223.

nobely adv. nobly, in a noble manner P 59.

nɔȝt n. nothing, naught A 181; C 118.

nɔȝt see not(t).

noyse n. noise, shouting A 53; nois(ks) pl.
Ra 84; disturbance, trouble Eb 307.

nombre v. to count, number; nombr(ed)
ppl. S 119.

none, noon n. none (a canonical hour) Ra 68, 69; Rb 67, 68.

nor, ner conj. nor D 63, 89.

norische v. to nourish Ea 361; norisch(þ)
pr. 3sg. A 40; norischid pt. Ea 194,
347; norisch(e)d ppl. Ea 385; Eb 237.

norischynge vbl. n. the act of fostering,
raising Ea 475.

nose, nese n. nose A 240; Ea 647; P 50.
note v. to note, commit to memory;
notyde ppl. P 1.

not(þ), no(u)ȝt adv. not A 26, 59, 62 etc;
C 90, 99, 106; D 14, 30, 37 etc; Ea 15,
29, 59 etc; Eb 4, 7, 17 etc; Ja 33; Jb 18;
P 46; Ra 22, 24, 47 etc; Rb 20, 21, 47;
S 25, 41.

nɔþer see ne(i)þer.

nouȝt, nowȝt n. nothing Ea 467, 492.

nouȝt see not(t).

nouþer see neiþer.

nunne n. nun, female religious Ea 699;
nunnes pl. Ea 661, 702; nunnes gen.
pl. Ea 705.
o, a  int. oh A 63, 67, 119 etc.; C 49; D 49; Ea 387, 388, 669; Jb 20; P 44; Ra 47; Rb 46; S 2, 13, 22 etc.

o see one.

obduracioun n. hard-heartedness, impenitence S 56.

oblacione n. offering, sacrifice Ja 7.

oblige v. to pledge submission, promise; oblische refl. pr. pl. Eb 270.

oc(c)upacio(u)ns n. pl. occupations A 73; S 101, 126.

occupie v. to be involved in an activity, occupy; ocupied(e) refl. pt. Ra 68, 69; Rb 67; ocupied ppl. Eb 311, 314.

of prep. of A 3, 4, 5 etc; C 2, 3, 6 etc; D 1, 2, 3 etc; Ea 5, 6, 8 etc; Eb 8, 10, 11 etc; Ja 5, 7, 8 etc; Jb 1, 3, 4 etc; Jc 1, 2, 3 etc; P 1, 13, 18 etc; Ra 1, 4, 8 etc; Rb 1, 3, 7 etc; S 2, 4, 6 etc; by (indicating agent of an action) A 25, 90; C 5; D 6; Ea 82, 87, 100 etc; Eb 18, 25, 89 etc; Ja 19, 30; Jb 15; Jc 24; P 28, 42, 55; Ra 5, 87, 93; Rb 4; off, from A 15, 46, 121 etc; D 25, 33, 60; Ea 488; Jb 17; P 56; Ra 22, 30, 70; Rb 2, 20, 68 etc; S 25, 144; out of, from Ea 181, 184, 215 etc; Eb 6, 48, 107 etc; Jb 23, 27, 29; Jc 27; concerning, about A 51, 116, 122 etc; C 3, 40; D 1; Eb 1, 28, 60 etc; Ja 8, 32; Ra 4, 9; Rb 3, 7, 8 etc; S 9, 103.

of adv. of, about A 71, 128, 212 etc; C 71; Ea 26, 37, 44 etc; Eb 33, 45, 279 etc; Ra 55, 66, 80 etc; Rb 65, 78, 80 etc.

offence n. transgression, spec. against God, sin S 141; offenses pl. Jc 38.

offende v. to offend, sin against S 11; offende pr. pl. S 71; offendy ppl. A 83.

offerre v. to offer, present S 16; offríp pr. 3sg. Ea 321; offren, offríp pr. pl. Ea 322, 323; offred pt. Jc 12; offríd ppl. Ea 269; Rb 5; Rb 4.

offrynge vbl. n. that which is offered, sacrifice Ea 259.

ofte(ne), adv. often, regularly A 12, 187; Ea 324, 369, 448 etc; Eb 225, 327; - tyme(s) frequently, many times A 152; Ra 12; Rb 11.

ofyn, oftné adv. often, regularly S 139; - tymes frequently, many times P 14

on prep. on, in A 14, 55, 61 etc; D 50, 100; Ea 149, 151, 156 etc; Eb 133; Ja 6; P 26, 40, 43 etc; Ra 66, 103; Rb 65; S 86, 87; in, within P 3, 4; during C 25; about C 58, 80, 136; Eb 100; Ja 25.

on(e), o, oo(n) adj. one A 3, 66, 167 etc; D 30, 61, 63; Ea 60, 289, 371 etc; Eb 7, 58, 76 etc; P 10; Ra 95; subst. Ea 79, 667, 668.

one v. to unify, make one; onéþ pr. pl. A 183.

only, oon(e)ly, onelich(e), onelyche adj.
sole, single, only A 19, 169, 215 etc; D 46; Ea 235, 371.

only, on(y)liche, onelich, oonly adv.
only, solely A 15, 222, 226; Ea 93, 576, 402 etc; Eb 24, 75, 342 etc; alle -
alone, solely D 26.

ony see any.

oonys adv. once Ra 79.

open v. to make open; open imp. sg. Ea 780.

openyng vbl. n. the act of opening something Ea 686.

openly adv. clearly, without disguise Ea 690.

oppose v. to question, interrogate; opposeynge pres. part. Ra 79.

openly vbl. n. the act of opening something Ea 686.

openly adv. clearly, without disguise Ea 690.

oppose v. to question, interrogate; opposeynge pres. part. Ra 79.

openly vbl. n. the act of opening something Ea 686.

openly adv. clearly, without disguise Ea 690.

oppose v. to question, interrogate; opposeynge pres. part. Ra 79.

openly vbl. n. the act of opening something Ea 686.

openly adv. clearly, without disguise Ea 690.

oppose v. to question, interrogate; opposeynge pres. part. Ra 79.

openly vbl. n. the act of opening something Ea 686.

openly adv. clearly, without disguise Ea 690.
outhese  v. to select; outhosen  ppl.  Ea 258.
outlaue  v. to banish, exile; outlawid, outlawed  ppl.  Ea 657, 734.
outpasse  v. to go out, depart; outpasse  pr. pl.  Ea 621.
outputte  v. to expell, banish; output  ppl.  Ea 30.
outrage  n. excess, immoderation  C 68.
outake  v. to exclude, exempt; outake  ppl.  Ea 660; superficially  Ea 485.
outtirly  adv. on the outside, outwardly  Ea 728.
outward  adj. superficial  Ea 626, 729; directed outwards  Ea 646.
outward  adv. outwardly, to the outside  Ea 660; superficially  Ea 485.
outwendynge  vbl. n. departure, travel  Ea 658.

own(e), owen, awne  adj. own (often emphatic)  A 82, 230, 291 etc; C 121; D 27, 66, 93 etc; Eb 304; Ra 63; Rb 62; P 48; S 63, 65, 67 etc.

owre(s)  see houre.

pagyn  n. role in a pageant, dramatic role  C 62.
pay  v. to render payment; payed  ppl.  Jb 2; to please, satisfy  Ea 135, 451, 457 etc; payed  pt.  Ea 776; payed  ppl.  Ea 776.
payne  v. to take pains, strive; peyneþ  refl. pr. 3sg.  Ea 79; peyne  refl. pr. pl.  Ea 451; to cause pain, distress; pyned  pt.  Ea 559; pyned  ppl.  Ea 418, 425.

paynes, payn(e), peyne  n. pain  A 81; C 105, 125; D 89, 93; Ea 25, 412, 447 etc; Eb 154, 238, 240; S 36, 93, 108 etc; paynes, peyne  refl. pr. pl.  Ea 776; payed  pt.  Ea 776.
paynefuly  adv. carefully, painstakingly  Ea 78.

paynfulle, peyneful, peynfull  adj. painful  A 79; D 17, 34, 41 etc.

paradys(e)  n. Garden of Eden  D 59; Ea 55, 229, 230; heaven  Ea 153, 536; Eb 122.

parfit, parfiȝte, parfyte, perfight, perfyȝte  adj. perfect  C 136, 138; Ea 209; Eb 184; Ja 24; Jb 25; P 15; Ra 22, 76, 101; Rb 20, 74; S 10, 11, 19 etc.
parfitely, perfyȝtly  adv. perfectly  Ea 439; S 3.

parte  v. to separate, divide; partide  ppl.  Ea 438.
part(e)  n. part, portion  C 111, 129; D 78; Ea 222, 472, 737; Ra 107; part of the body, limb; partes  pl.  S 115.
party n. section, portion Ea 223, 260.
partener n. partner, companion S 20.
passe v. to pass, leave; passeþ pr. 3sg. Eb 49; passeþ pr. pl. Ea 48, passed, passid pt. Ea 199; Eb 153; passed ppl. A 96; to travel through Ja 8; passide pt. Ea 152; to overcome, escape from A 214, 215; to surpass C 54, 55; passeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 331; Eb 197, 289; passed, passid pt. A 96; to travel through Ja 8; passide pt. Ea 152; to overcome, escape from A 214, 215; to surpass C 54, 55; passeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 331; Eb 197, 289;
passed, passid pt. A 96; to travel through Ja 8; passide pt. Ea 152; to overcome, escape from A 214, 215; to surpass C 54, 55; passeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 331; Eb 197, 289;
pasen pr. pl. Ea 269.

passion, passyon n. suffering; spec. the Passion A 79; C 60; D 17, 21, 80 etc; Ja 29; Jb 32; Jc 13; P 5, 18; S 10, 17, 19.
peace, pe(e)s, n. peace A 141, 142, 282; Ea 279, 705, 706 etc; S 33.
peces n. pl. pieces Ea 159.

penalite n. punishment, hardship S 18, 68.
penaunce n. penance A 167, 251, 252; D 75; pain, suffering C 82, 98; Ea 199.
people, peple, puple n. pl. people A 53; C 95; Ea 485; P 48; Ra 45; Rb 45; S 24, 149; - of Israel see Index of Proper Nouns.

perdur(e) adj. enduring, permanent A 81.
perelle n. peril, danger S 161; perelis, perilys pl. A 12; Ea 404.
perelous adj. perilous, dangerous A 43.

perfection, perfeccyon n. perfection Jb 26; S 143.

perfectly see parfitely.
perilys see perelle.

periseche v. to perish, die A 12; Ea 395; Eb 244; perische pr. 1sg. Ea 392.
perlis n. pl. pearls C 29.

perse, perce v. to pierce Jc 13; S 17; percyd pt. S 79; persyd(e) ppl. Jb 12; P 53.

perseuerant adj. persistent, enduring S 125.
petyfully adv. pitifully S 146.
pylgryme n. pilgrimage S 38;
pilgrimagis pl. P 4.
pillour, pyl(l)oure n. pillar P 37, 39; S 62.
pyne n. see pyne.

pyt(t)e n. pity D 12; Eb 13; Jb 19; S 62, 69, 163; Lady of - see Index of Proper Nouns.

pyttyfulle adj. merciful S 29.
pytuously, pytewously adv. piteously Ja 17; P 49, 57.

pleie, pley v. to act, play a role C 62; to play, enjoy oneself Eb 7; pleye pr. pl. Ea 461.
pleies n. pl. entertainments, diversions Ra 85.

pleines n. pl. entertainments, diversions Ra 85.

plener(e) adj. full, complete Jc 21, 22.
plenty, plente n. plenty, abundance S 76; completeness, perfection C 115.

pleasance n. satisfaction, spec. of God Ea 524; P 17; Rb 33.

plese(n) v. to please, satisfy, appease Ea 22, 61, 65 etc; Eb 58, 63, 76; plesynge pres. part. A 94, 108, 276; Ea 207, 260; Eb 110, 278; Ja 38; Rb 55, 62; plesip, plesép pr. 3sg. A 278; Eb 103; plesen pr. pl. Eb 100.
Glossary

plesynge vbl. n. satisfaction, appeasement C 102; Ea 6.

plesure n. pleasure S 142; will, request D 103.

poynnt n. point, moment (of time) A 12; C 41; in - just about to Eb 81; episode, detail; poyntes pl. A 79.

polishe v. to polish, buff; polischide ppl. polished, buffed Ea 42.

ponischyng see punysching.

popis n. pl. popes, pontiffs C 12.

porely adv. humbly A 100.

pouert(e) n. poverty A 290, 291; C 80, 81, 98.

power n. power, strength A 35, 248, 250; Ea 330; Eb 126, 332; governance Ja 31; Jb 34.

pray(e) etc see prey.

prayer, praier etc see preyer.

preceptes n. pl. precepts, commands S 25.

prache v. to proclaim A 31; prechide pt. Ea 187.

prechour n. preacher Ea 192; Eb 150.

precyous, prec(i)ous, preciouse adj. precious A 154, 171; C 78; Ea 250, 744; Eb 169, 171, 172; P 23.

preelecte adj. pre-elect, chosen in preference S 13.

prey, pray(e) v. to pray A 32; D 101; Ea 7, 437, 792; Eb 263; Ja 34; pray imp. sg. S 9; preiynge, praynge pres. part. A 157; Ja 30; Ra 69; praye pr. 3sg. subj. Jb 30; pray(e), pray(e)s, prayer(ers) pr. 3sg. ind. Ja 22, 23, 25 etc; Jb 22, 24, 27 etc; prayde, preyde, preyed pt. A 202; Eb 362; Jc 4; P 25; to ask, beg Ea 406; pray(e) pr. 1sg. D 26, 35, 39 etc; preide pt. Ea 416.

preiynge, praying(e) vbl. n. the act of praying Ra 54; Rb 53, 58, 70; S 122.

preyer, prairer, prairier(e) n. prayer A 16, 218; Ea 717; Eb 354; Ra 35, 37, 38 etc; Rb 33, 35, 36 etc; preyers, prairers, prairier(e)s, prayer(e)s, preieris pl. A 31, 32; C 25, 97; Jb 6; Je 5; P 73; Ra 32, 48; Rb 29, 67; S 71, 160; the act of praying Ra 68, 72; Rb 68, 77.

preise v. to praise, laud C 61; Ea 362; Rb 40; praisynge pres. part. Ea 610; preyse, praise pr. 1sg. Ea 248; Eb 168; preyseþ, praiseþ pr. 3sg. Ea 768; Eb 318; preise pr. pl. Ea 251; ypraisye, praisyd ppl. Ea 522, 761.

preysynge vbl. n. praise, commendation Eb 48; preysyneses pl. Ea 47.

prelat n. religious superior, prelate Ea 733.

prese n. crowd, throng P 48.

presence n. presence, company C 84; Ea 423.

preserve v. to preserve, save; presereue imp. sg. S 55, 70.

preson etc see pryso(u)n.

prest, preest n. priest; prestis gen. P 24; heiȝe - high priest Ea 303, 304; Eb 198, 200.

presume v. to presume, act presumptuously S 25.

pretori n. praetory, praetorium, hall or palace P 32.

preve v. to prove by test or practice;
Glossary

preued refl. pt. Ra 72; proved pt. Rb 70; to prove by argument or authority; proved, preued ppl. Ea 206, 207, 208; Eb 142.
price n. price, payment P 54; excellence, worth Ea 254.
prike v. to prick, scratch Eb 362; prickeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 577.
prime n. prime, a canonical hour P 33.
princes, pryncys n. pl. head priests D 7, 9.
principale adj. main, principal Ja 5.
principaly adv. mainly, principally Eb 362.
prisoune v. to imprison; imprisoned ppl. P 28.
presonyng vbl. n. imprisonment P 55.
pryson, prisoun, preson n. prison, gaol D 84; Ea 529, 532; Eb 123, 283; Jb 29; Jc 26.
pryue, pryue, priu(e)y adj. privy, private A 41, 47, 51 etc; Ea 357; intimate, close Ea 128, 141, 186 etc.
pryuyly adv. privately, secretly Ra 99.
procure v. to get, procure; procure imp. sg. S 18; to lure, entice; procure pr. pl. Ea 403.
profete see prophet(e).
profite v. to improve, profit; profitid, profitide pt. Ra 77; Rb 75.
profyte n. profit, advantage, benefit A 271, 289; Ea 446; proffettis pl. S 81.
promitte v. to promise; promytte pr. 1sg. D 100.
prophecie v. to foretell, prophesy; prophesyd, prophecyed pt. Ja 8; Jc 12.
prophet(e), profete n. prophet A 216, 229; Ea 3, 155; Eb 2, 120, 122 etc; spec. Isaiah A 84.
proprely adv. truly, actually Ea 7.
proued see prove.
prowes n. courage, valour Ea 293.
psalme n. Psalm A 142; psalmes, salmes pl. Ra 74; Rb 73.
punysching, ponischynge vbl. n. punishment C 87; Ra 59; Rb 58.
puple see people.
puryficacioun n. ceremony of purification after childbirth, churching S 16.
purpos n. purpose, intent Eb 20, 192; Ra 100.
purpure n. purple clothing, spec. that of a king or emperor P 40.
purvey v. to ordain, arrange D 35.
put(te) v. to put, place, set Ea 107; Eb 92; put imp. sg. S 72; puttyng pres. part. P 41; putteþ pr. 3sg. A 234; putte, puttiþ pr. pl. Ea 316; Eb 170; put(t), putte pt. A 72; S 138; put(te) ppl. A 231; Ea 782; Eb 123; ~ to deth killed, executed S 148.
putte n. pit Ea 156.

Q

quakynge adj. quaking, trembling P 38.
quaille v. to grow feeble; quallyde pt. S 128.
queme, qweme v. to please, serve Ea 493,
GLOSSARY

730.
queeful adj. pleasing, gratifying Ea 124, 179.
quench v. to suppress, quench; quenchid pr. Ea 178.
quethe v. to say, declare; quod pt. Ea 531.
qweme see queme.
quod see quethe.

R
raysynge see rise.
rauysche v. to rape, ravish Ra 99; rauaunched, rausched ppl. Ea 104; Eb 89; to transport, carry away; rauiischþ pr. 3sg. Ea 597; rauesched, raueshid ppl. Ea 197; Ja 3; Jb 6.
rawsom(e), raunson n. ransom, deliverance (spec. through payment) D 62; Eb 3; P 54.
rebaudrie, ribaudrie n. debauchery, dissipation C 46, 86.
receyue, reseyue v. to receive Ea 351; Eb 212; receyveþ, receyvyþ pr. 3sg. Jc 38, 39; reseyued ppl. Ea 808; receyved pt. Jc 33; to accept Ja 23; receyveþ pr. 3sg. Ea 806; receyuen pr. pl. Eb 170.
receyuyunge vbl. n. meditating upon, internalising A 72.
recheles adj. imprudent, careless Ea 718.
recordynge vbl. n. the act of recalling, remembering, pondering A 71.
rede, reed adj. red S 8, 64, 156.
rede v. to read A 75; redynge pres. part. Ra 55, 70; rede pr. 1sg. Ja 1; reden pr. pl. A 212; to counsel, advise; rediþ pr. 3sg. Ea 122, 125; rediþ pr. pl. Ea 316.
re(e)de n'. reed Ea 41, 46; Eb 41; P 41.
reed n2. advice, instruction Ea 422, 426.
refreynge v. to forbid; refreynen pr. pl. C 90.
rehearse v. to speak about, tell; reheersyd ppl. D 97.
reigne v. to reign, rule S 168; regneþ pr. 3sg. C 95.
reyne v. to rain Ea 148, 149.
reyse see rise.
rejoye v. to rejoice; reioyeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 770.
relygyoun, relygioun n. religion Ea 322; spec. religious profession Ea 317.
remembranaunce n. memory D 3, 21; S 19.
remyssion, remyssyoun n. remission, pardon Jc 16; S 149.
rende v. to tear, lacerate; rent ppl. S 108, 129.
renne v. to run; rennynge, rynnynge pres. part. S 7, 156; ranne pt. P 53; S 65.
rentis n. pl. rents, income from property C 20.
repente v. to regret, repent; repente refl. pr. pl. Ea 97.
repress v. to repress, control, subdue; represse imp. sg. S 142.
Glossary

repreve v. to condemn, renounce; repreoued ppl. Ea 686.
reproe n. reproof, insult A 238; reprouesse pl. A 262.
requere v. to require, entreat; requyre pr. 1sg. D 29, 49.
resydent adj. resident, residing S 45.
resoun n. reason, logic A 26; Ea 124; reasonable behaviour C 24.
resperse v. to sprinkle; respersyd pt. S 65; respersyde ppl. S 8.
reste v. to rest, cease temporarily Ea 279; Eb 315; restyd pt. P 58; to give peace to; restiþ pr. 3sg. Ea 765.
rest(e) n. rest, respite A 140, 141; Ea 734; P 31; - of contemplacioun period of peace, allowing for contemplation; opportunity for contemplation A 54.
restyng-place n. home, abode Eb 312.
restreyne v. to restrain, hold back;
restreyne imp. pl. Ea 567.
resurreccioun, resurrexion n. resurrection, rising (from death) D 99; spec. Christ’s Resurrection C 60.
reue v. to take pity; rewed pt. Ea 400.
reuelacioun n. mystical vision Ra 65, 90; Rb 64, 89; reuelacions pl. Ra 7, 9; Rb 6, 8.
reuerence n. reverence, veneration A 33; P 9.
reule, rule n. rule of conduct, way of life Ra 1, 67; Rb 1, 66.
reuþe, rewpþ n. pity Ea 11; Eb 13.
rewed see reue.
ribanys n. pl. ribbons C 29.
ribaudrie see rebaudrie.
riches, richessis, richeces n. pl. riches, treasures A 292; C 21; Ea 330.
ride v. to ride; rydynges pres. part. A 59, 100; rode pt. A 153.
rigge n. back (of the body) Ea 401.
riþt, riyt adv. just, exactly; - as just as if A 239, 282; Ea 46, 463, 573 etc; - so thus, in precisely this way A 196, 283; D 74; Ea 550, 574, 636 etc; Eb 173; Ra 105.
riþtwys(e) adj. moral, righteous Ea 557; Eb 301.
ryþtwynes, ryþtwisnes(se) n. right, justice C 131, 137; Ea 8; Eb 9; Son of - see Index of Proper Nouns.
rynne etc see renne.
riot n. riotous living, debauchery C 24.
rise, ryse, reise v. to rise, get up Ea 557; ryse imp. sg. Ea 601; Eb 341; ro(o)s pt. A 99; Ra 28; Rb 25; to originate Ea 314; S 144; ryseþ pr. 3sg. Ea 789; rose, roos pt. Ea 190; Eb 147; to happen; roseþ pr. 3sg. Ea 772; to be moved; ros pt. A 62; reysed ppl. A 225; to raise, spec. from death C 134; reisyd pt. Ea 151.
raysynge vbl. n. the act of raising from death D 6, 9.
robbe v. to steal, rob; robbiþ, robben pr. pl. Ea 355; Eb 215; robbid pt. Ea 398.
robbenge vbl. n. plunder, robbery C 48.
rode see ride.
rolle n. model of behaviour, rule S 136.
ro(o)te  
**n.** root of a plant, also fig.

source A 185; Ea 42, 181, 220 etc.

ro(e) see rise.

rote  
**v.** to take root; ro(o)ted, rotid

**ppl.** Ea 45, 501; Eb 46.

rote  
**v.** to rot, decay Eb 235.

roten  
**adj.** rotten A 161; C 76; Ea 32; Eb 39.

rounde  
**adv.** around P 11.

rude  
**adj.** coarse, common, lowly S 61.

S

sabotis  
**n. pl.** periods of rest (for religious observance) Ra 73.

sacrament  
**n.** sacrament P 22.

sacre  
**v.** to consecrate; sacryde  **ppl.** P 23.

sad(e)  
**adj.** sober, steadfast C 97, 107, 127.

sadel  
**n.** saddle A 153.

sadly  
**adv.** steadfastly, soberly C 106, 110.

sadnesse  
**n.** sobriety, soberly C 137.

say etc see say(e).

sayd  
**adj.** named, specified D 9.

saynte  see seint.

salmes  see psalme.

same  
**adj.** same A 204; C 10; Ja 34; P 4, 14, 22 etc; Ra 92.

sancified  see scientifie.

satisfaccioun  
**n.** reparation, atonement D 71.

save, saue  
**v.** to save, preserve A 219; S 27; savynge  **pres. part.** A 91; saued, saufed  **ppl.** A 129, 244, 280;

to exclude, except;  savynge  **pres. part.** D 35.

savyng  
**vbl. n.** salvation C 103.

saury  
**adj.** tasty, flavourful Ea 677.

sauf adj. saved A 114.

saule  see soule.

saunter  
**n.** taste, flavour Ea 677; Ra 105.

Psalter, book containing the Psalms Ra 75.

saw etc see se(e).

sawe  
**n.** saying, declaration Ea 188, 592.

science  see sylence.

scole  
**n.** example, method of conduct C 100, 101; institution for learning;  holdip - conduct teaching A 122.

scolers  
**n. pl.** students A 122.

scorne  
**v.** to scorn, to hold in contempt; scorne, skorne  **n.** scorn, contempt Ea 619, 628; P 42.

skoernyng  
**vbl. n.** scorn, contempt P 37.

scorne, skorne  
**n.** scorn, contempt Ea 619, 628; P 42.

se(e)  
**v.** to see Ea 165, 197, 205 etc; Eb 128, 160, 396 etc; Ja 2; Jb 5; Jc 7; Ra 40, 86; Rb 38, 40; S 68, 73, 138 etc; see imp. sg. A 95; D 27; seenge  **pres. part.** D 20; seeyst  **pr. 2sg.** S 41; sce, seeb  **pr. pl.** Ea 22, 83, 410; sawest(e), saw3, saw(e), saw3, si3, sy3e, se, seijen, saygh  **pt.** A 61, 212; Ea 255, 527; Eb 280; Ja 3, 4, 14; Jb 7, 16; Jc 28; P 71; Ra 96; S 6, 85, 86 etc; seen  **ppl.** A 14; Rb 85.

seche, seke  
**v.** to look for, seek A 198, 287; S 39, 41; seke  **pr. 2sg. subj.**
Glossary


seculere adj. secular, worldly A 73.

secunde, secound ord. second A 48, 186; Eb 54, 310, 387; Ja 9, 23; Jc 17; Ra 35; Rb 32; P 24, 67; subst. Eb 19, 377; Jb 12.

sede n. seat A 234.

see n. sea, ocean A 4, 10, 11 etc; Ea 393, 421; Eb 241, 250, 284.

sey(e), seyne v. to say A 84, 85, 132 etc; Ea 407, 472, 592; Jc 21; S 15; seye imp. sg. Ea 604; saying(e), seiande pres. part. P 42; S 103; Rb 54; sey, seic pr. 1sg. A 191; Ra 53, 58; Rb 51; say pr. 3sg. subj. Jc 15, 20, 25 etc; sayth, seip, seip(e) pr. 3sg. ind. A 24, 61, 63 etc; C 40, 109, 113; Ea 26, 28, 62 etc; Eb 2, 23, 31 etc; P 30, 65; Ra 66, 97; Rb 65; seicen, seyn(e), sey pr. pl. A 106, 278; C 12; Ja 41; seide, seyde, sayd(e) pt. A 56, 69, 95 etc; C 7, 8; Ea 107, 108, 288 etc; Eb 227, 285; Ja 8, 20; Jb 8, 11, 20; Jc 11, 12, 14 etc; Ra 20, 46; Rb 10, 18, 46 etc; seid(e), seyn, seyde ppl. Ea 2, 546; Eb 4; Ra 9; Rb 32.

seile v. to sail; seyleþ pr. 3sg. A 11.

seynt, saynte n. saint A 107, 165, 167 etc; saints, seynentes, seynits, seynite pl. A 83, 106, 237 etc; C 123; Eb 149, 401; S 5, 22; see also Index of Proper Nouns.

scyntifice v. to sanctify, make sacred; sanctified ppl. S 152.

selden adv. seldom, rarely Ea 743.

selle n. cell, enclosed room Ea 528; Eb 282; P 13.

seke see seche.

seme v. to seem, appear to be Ea 453; Ra 61, 62; semyng pres. part. A 231;

semelþ, semelþ pr. 3sg. Ea 50, 281, 290 etc; Eb 42; Rb 60, 62.

semelyest adj. sup. most attractive, most appealing Ea 453.

semeland, sembla(unt) n. semblance, appearance A 50, 121; Ea 10, 34.

sende v. to send; sende imp. sg. S 95;

sendþ pr. 3sg. Ea 595; sent, sende pt. Ea 368, 370; Eb 225, 227; sent ppl. C 5; P 37.

sensuallle adj. belonging to the senses S 142.

servant, servaunt(e), servaunt(unt) n. servant, subordinate A 20, 102; Ra 8, 63; Rb 7; S 101; servaunt(unt)es, servaunte, servauntis, servauntais pl. A 127, 293; C 87, 91; Ea 35, 170, 288 etc; Eb 116; S 4, 46.

serve, serue v. to serve, be subservient A 35, 39, 49 etc; Ea 119, 261, 344 etc; Eb 222, 228, 232; Ra 41; Rb 41; S 23;


servuice, seruycce, seruise, seruyse n.

service A 31, 35, 49 etc; C 121; Ea 377; Ra 45; Rb 41, 45; S 43.

sethe v. to soak, immerse in liquid; soden ppl. Ea 489.

sette v. to place, put; sett(e) pr. pl. Ea 459; sett(e), settide pt. A 190, 213; Ra 11, 20; Rb 11, 18; sett(e) ppl. Ea
Glossary

712, 724; Eb 134, 155, 344 etc; P 40; ~ abouten deployed around C 75; to esteem, respect; setteste pr. 2sg. Eb 210; ~ lesse by to value the lesse Ea 90.

seuñiþ, seuñe ord. seventh Ra 44; Rb 44.

seuennyȝt n. week Ea 160.

sewe see sue.

shake v. to shake, cause to shake;

schakye pr. S 128.
schamefast adj. humble, modest A 64, 70.

schame n. shame, embarrassment C 95; Ea 20; schames pl. A 238, 262.

schamefastenesse, shamefastnesse n. humility, modesty A 65; C 16.

schameful adv. shameful, disgraceful C 82.

schamefully adv. disgracefully, shamefully Ea 19.

scharpe adj. sharp A 156; S 17, 64, 89 etc; harsh, hard Ea 573, 574, 791.

sche(e)lde n. shield Ea 177, 278; Eb 140.

schere v. to cut, pierce; schorne ppl. S 88, 154.

scherte n. shirt, garment Ea 267.

shew see sho(w).

shewe, schewe v. to show A 73, 275; Ea 610, 728; schewe imp. sg. Ea 521, 602; Eb 347; schewynge pres. part. Ea 183; schewes, schewip pr. 3sg. A 112; Ea 124, 228, 231 etc; schewe(n) pr. pl. Ea 36, 40, 45 etc; Eb 45, 239; schewde, schewed, schewid(e) pt. Ea 55, 192; Eb 50; P 60; Ra 7; Rb 6; schewed ppl. A 7; Eb 150.

schewynge vbl. n. showing, demonstration C 123; Ea 729.

shine v. to shine, glisten; schyne pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 92; schyne pr. 3sg. ind. Ea 41, 614.

schynynge adj. shining, bright P 62.

schynne n. shin S 88.

shitte v. to exclude, close off; schutte ppl. Eb 37.

schorne see schere.

sho(w), shew pron. she Ja 4, 6, 9 etc.

schulders n. pl. shoulders P 44.

shutte see shitte.

sich(e) see such(e).

side, syde n. side of body, flank P 53; S 154; sydes pl. Ea 300, 351; Eb 212; direction A 14; Ea 152, 174.

siȝ, syȝe see se(e).

sighe v. to sigh, moan; siȝede pt. A 213.

siȝt, siȝtte, sight n1. sight, vision Ea 456, 485, 580 etc; Eb 278, 280, 402; Ja 4, 30; fig. opinion C 74, 75; Eb 42, 381; Ra 39, 63; Rb 37, 62.

siȝt n2. site, location Ea 705.

syker, sikir adj. safe, sure A 242; Ea 752.

sykerliche, sikirly adv. certainly, safely, surely A 26; Ra 21.

sylence, s(c)ilence n. silence A 66; Eb 322, 324, 327; P 34.

syluer, siluer n. silver Ea 91, 251, 252.

Symeon see Index of Proper Nouns.

symple adj. restrained, humble Ea 10.

syndris n. pl. cinders Ea 52.
GLOSSARY

synfuly adj. into a sinful condition
 Eb 236.
synfulle adj. sinful, wicked D 65.
synge v. to sing C 59; Ea 431;
syngynge pres. part. C 62; synge
 pr. pl. Rb 7; songe pr. Ea 431; P
14.
singulerliche adv. singularly,
particularly A 8.
synne v. to sin, commit sin Eb
281; S 11; synneþ pr. 3sg. Ea
59; Eb 56; synnen pr. pl. Eb
220; synned pt. Ea 24, 127, 563; Eb
305; synned ppl. D 59; Ea 762,
790.
synnewes n. pl. sinews S 117.
sister, suster n. sister, close female
companion Ea 521; fig. closely
related concept C 44.
syth adv. then, subsequently P 10.
syth, siþ prep. from a specified time,
since A 155; D 6; S 11, 110.
sythe, siþ conj. as, because D 36; Ea
184, 707.
siþen adv. then, subsequently Ea
145, 757.
siþen conj. inasmuch as, seeing that
Ea 330.
sythes n. pl. multiple times Ja
37.
sitte v. to sit; sittynge, syttyng pres.
part. Ja 10; Jb 7; syttyth pr. 3sg.
P 73.
sixte ord. sixth Ea 745; Eb 358; Rb
42.
skil n. reason, logical argument Ea
207, 208; reason, motivation;
skillles pl. Ea 756.
skyrne n. skin S 106.
skynners n. pl. furriers, skinners Ea
464.
skorages n. pl. scourges S 63, 108.
skourne etc see scorne.
slé v. to slay, kill; sleþ pr. 3sg. A 40;
slayn(e) ppl. Ea 656, 690; Ra 93.
slepe v. to sleep, rest; slepe pr. 1sg. A
251; slepen pr. pl. subj. C 24; slept
pt. Ea 196.
sleþe n. sloth C 46.
slownesse n. slowness, tardiness Ea
789.
smale adj. small, fine A 178.
smellyng(e) n. scent Ea 647; sense of
smell Ea 587.
smeþe adj. smooth Ea 574.
smite v. to hit, smite, strike; smyte
pr. 3sg. subj. A 194; smote pt. A 201,
255; smyten ppl. A 201, 248.
sobirnesse, sobrenesse, sobernes n.
prudence, moderation C 16, 131; Ea
552; Eb 295.
socour n. succour, aid A 46.
soden see sethe.
soden adj. unexpected, sudden D 14.
softe v. to soften; softiþ pr. 3sg. Ea
574, 575.
softe adj. gentle, kind, gracious A 120,
123, 140; soft, pleasant Ea 577, 648,
650.
sokett n. socket, mortise S 128.
solemnyly adv. solemnly, in a dignified
manner Rb 8.
solemnyte n. observance C 66.
somour n. summer; - garnement
clothing suitable for summer Ea 810.
sone(s), sonne, soun(e) n. son D 1, 22, 25
etc; Ea 656, 691; Eb 204; Ja 5, 7, 20 etc;
Glossary

Jb 8, 9, 13; Jc 11, 27, 29 etc; P 2, 5, 7 etc; Ra 41; Rb 39, 42; sonny

sonde n. ordinance, dispensation Ea 686.

songe see syngce.

sonne n. sun Ea 614; of ryȝtwysnes see Index of Proper Nouns.

sonner adv. cpv. more immediately Ea 740.

sook n. breastfeeding; ȝyue ~ to breastfeed Ea 459.

sore adj. violent, terrible Ea 473, 485.

sore adv. fervently, violently D 6; Ea 399, 408, 419 etc; sorest cpv. Ja 6.

sorewe v. to suffer, be sorrowful Ea 425.

sori, sorry(c) adj. sorry, penitent A 84, 213; Eb 248; Jb 10; troublesome, vexing Ea 467.

sorownesse n. sorrow, grief S 36.

sorow(e), sorew(e) n. sorrow C 105; D 12; Ea 11, 367, 370 etc; Eb 223, 226; Ja 8; Jb 12, 19; Jc 13, 37; spec. the Sorrows of the Virgin Ja 7, 9, 12 etc; Jb 22; Jc 11, 15, 17 etc; S 10, 15, 26 etc; sorow(e)s pl. Ja 6, 21, 33 etc; Jc 1, 9; S 19.

sofe adj. true A 69;

so(o)he n. truth Ea 472, 488, 707.

soop adv. truthfully Ra 58.

sooþfast adj. righteous, true Ea 36, 497.

so(o)þfastnes n. righteousness, moral truth Ea 40, 799.

soþ(e)ly, soþelich(e) adv. truly A 141, 163, 191; Ea 46, 377, 379 etc; Eb 44, 364; Ra 53; Rb 52.

soureyne adj. supreme, paramount Ea 702.

soȝte see seche.

soule, sowle, saule n. soul A 40, 86, 116 etc; C 31, 74, 77 etc; D 79, 84; Ea 68, 85, 119 etc; Eb 66, 101, 122 etc; Ja 31; Jb 11, 31, 34; Jc 31; Ra 17, 20, 22 etc; Rb 15, 18, 20 etc; S 29, 40, 70 etc; soules, soulis, sowles pl. A 140; C 101, 103, 121; D 60; Eb 32; Ja 42; Rb 60.

soun see son(e).

soune v. to resound; sowne, souneþ pr. 3sg. Ea 604; Eb 347.

souple adj. supple Ea 401.

sowne see soune.

space n. interval of time Jc 17.

spare v. to spare (feelings, pain etc) A 131.

specialle, special adj. unusual, special D 23; Ra 53; exceptional, precious Eb 267; Ja 34.

speciali, special(l)y adv. especially, in particular A 65; D 13; Eb 318, 343; Ra 16.

speke v. to speak Ea 17, 18, 21 etc; Ra 79, 80; Rb 85; S 114; speke imp. sg. Ea 603; spekynge pres. part. A 67; speke pr. 1sg. Ea 44, 93; Eb 45; spekest pr. 2sg. Ea 606; spekeþ, spekiþ pr. 3sg. A 170; C 40; Ea 26, 37, 62 etc; Eb 23, 33, 63 etc; Ra 97; spekeþ pr. pl. Ea 436; Eb 261; spak(e) pt. Ea 58; Ja 4.

578
spekynge vbl. n. speaking, speech Eb 19, 20, 327 etc; S 122.

spencers n. pl. household stewards, butlers Ea 464.

spere n. spear A 157; P 29, 507, 770 etc; Eb 36; Ja 3, 12, 15 etc; Jb 6, 14; P 52; yuel ~ evil spirit, demon A 260.

spoylen ppl. S 106.

spotte n. mark, stain Eb 380.

spouse v. to marry, make one’s spouse; spouseþ pr. 3sg. Eb 200; spoused ppl. Eb 210.

spouse, spowse n. spouse A 21, 95; C 37; E 30, 121, 194 etc; Eb 37, 76, 263 etc; spouses pl. Ea 451; to ~ as a spouse, for a spouse Eb 204; ~ of God see Index of Proper Nouns.

springe v. to originate, arise; springþ 3sg. Ea 535.

spryngynge adj. springing, spouting S 153.

sprite see spirit(c).

staaat see state.

stable, stabyn v. to establish Ra 26; to stay fixed, remain Ea 118.

stable, stabyle adj. constant, steadfast, virtuous Eb 192; S 125, 133.

stacias n. pl. places, stations (of the Cross) P 11.

staffe n. staff, large stick A 247.

stalwɔrpələ adv. courageously, bravely Ea 443, 561.

stande etc see stonde.

state, staat n. state, estate Ea 134, 209, 236 etc; Eb 109; statis, states pl. Ea 275; Eb 189.

sted(e), steed(e), steyde n. place, location Ea 50, 418; P 6, 8, 9 etc; steedis, steedys pl. P 5, 6, 15.

steppes n. pl. footsteps P 46.

stere(n)ely adv. severely, forcefully Ea 107, 369.

sterre n. star A 4, 10.

stid(c)fast, stedefast, studefast adj.

steadfast, stable C 50; Ea 60, 97; Eb 58; Ra 77; Rb 74.

stike v. to stab; stikèd ppl. A 157.

stirc, styrr v. to move, compel Ea 359, 559, 582 etc; Eb 26, 338; stireþ pr. 3sg. Ea 227, 282; stiren pr. pl. C 14; stired pt. Eb 125, 302.

stirynes, stiringes, stiryngis n. pl. inclinations Ea 162, 428, 570 etc; Eb 253, 312.

stocke n. piece of timber D 53, 89.

stonde, stande v. to stand Ea 351; Eb 211; stonding, stondynge pres. part. Ra 31; Rb 29; standþ, stondþ pr. 3sg. A 269; Ea 406; stode, stood, stodyste, ston(n)den pt. Ea 561, 779; Eb 137, 138, 302; P 29, 34, 38, etc; S 51, 119; ~ ayenst, ~ aȝen to withstand, resist Ea 163; S 133.

stone, stoon n. stone, rock D 53, 89; Ea 529; Eb 282; stonys, stoones pl. Ea
such(e), sich(e), syche, swylk adj. such A 94; C 29, 90, 99; D 41, 63; Ea 20, 24, 26 etc; Eb 28, 33, 38 etc; Ja 19; Ra 48, 53; S 117; substant. Ea 36, 41, 72 etc; Eb 60, 70; ~ as the same as Ea 36, 240, 455; Eb 273.

sue v. to follow, accompany A 44, 47;
suffer, suffre, suffyr v. to suffer A 256, 262, 288; D 40, 45, 51 etc; Ea 10; Ja 13; Jb 15; S 127; suffringe pres. part. Eb 12; suffur pr. 1sg. A 249; suffyr pr. 2sg. D 46; suffurþ pr. 3sg. A 277; sufferen, suffur pr. pl. subj. A 289; Eb 91; suffre(n), suffreþ pr. pl. ind. C 122; Ea 106, 113, 474 etc; suffurd,
suffrid(e), suffryddyst pt. A 152; C 83; Ea 548; Jb 21; suff(e)red ppl. D 94; P 5, 7, 8; to allow, permit C 84; Ea 18; suffre imp. pl. Ea 430; Eb 256; suffreden pt. subj. C 122.
sufficient adj. adequate, complete D 71, 79.
suget adj. subject, under the judgment of A 293.
summe adj. some, certain Ea 52, 83, 571 etc; substant. A 205; Ea 211.
sumtyme adv. at an unspecified time, occasionally C 43, 57, 92.
sumwhat adv. to an extent, a little P 3.
sustene v. to sustain, maintain;
susteynynge pres. part. P 74.
sustenaunce n. care, maintenance Ea 492.
suster see sister.
swadylle v. to wrap, swaddle S 66.
swerde n. sword Ja 8; Jb 12; Jc 13; S 17.
swere v. to swear oathes C 64; swerip pr. pl. Ea 467.
swerynge vbl. n. the swearing of oathes C 48, 85.
swete adj. sweet, beloved, precious A 50; C 114; D 49, 80, 90; Ea 502, 521, 606 etc; Jb 21; Rb 47; S 14, 53, 140 etc; spiritually satisfying Eb 13; sweet tasting Ea 487, 596, 649 etc; swetter cpv. Ea 675.
swetly adv. sweetly, caringly Ea 680.
swetnesse n. gentleness, benevolence Ea 12; Ra 108; sweetMtasting quality Ea 676.
swett see swete.
swylk see suche.
swinke v. to work, labour; swynke pr. pl. Ea 492.
taast v. to taste, partake of Ea 489.
taylours n. pl. tailors Ea 465.
take v. to grip, hold, take, also fig. D 77, 198; Ea 211; Eb 32, 112, 161 etc; Jc 31; S 50; takep, take imp. sg. A 139; Ea 50, 211, 664 etc; Eb 385; take imp. pl. C 52; toke pt. A 190; Eb 82; P 68; take, takyn, taken ppl. A 155; Ea 360; Eb 121; Jb 15, 17, 28; Jc 24; P 28, 30, 56 etc; Ra 94; S 49, 90, 141; to incline emotionally; toke pt. Eb 226; to receive Ea 184; Ra 71; Rb 69; take pr. pl. Ea 251; toke, took pt. D 33; Ea 183; Eb 114, 144; Ra 3; Rb 2, 84; S 8; to give, to deliver; ~ toke pt. P 22; ~ awey remove from Rb 80; ~ hede see hede; ~ kepe see kepe.
takynge vbl. n. recording in writing A 71; arrest Jb 30.
tech v. to teach, to speak with authority A 136; Ea 361; Eb 218; Ra 21; Rb 13, 19; techyng pres. part. Jb 13; techip, techip pr. 3sg. A 200; C 8, 11, 13; Ea 116, 123, 146 etc; Eb 97, 267, 270; techip pr. pl. Ea 463; tauȝte pt. Ra 83.
techyng vbl. n. that which is taught, wisdom C 134; Ea 429; techinges pl. A 126.
teeornyng vbl. n. childbearing Ea 14.
teeris see terys.
telle v. to tell, speak about D 38, 43, 48; Ea 332; tellip pr. 3sg. A 189; Ea 154, 414, 723 etc; Eb 221; tellip pr. 3sg. impers. Ea 522; Eb 279; tolde pt. D 16; told ppl. D 32; to judge, evaluate; tellist pr. 2sg. subj. Ea 634.
tempest(e) n. tempest, storm Ea 393; Eb 244, 242; tempastes pl. A 11.
temperaunce n. temperance, restraint, moderation S 136, 142.
tempte v. to tempt, seduce; tempted, ytemptid, temptid ppl. Ea 22, 527; Eb 281.
tende v. to attend to, care for; tendande pres. part. Eb 271.
tender, tendyr adj. vulnerable, compassionate D 12, 18, 52 etc; S 7, 67, 118.
Glossary

tërys, teris, teeris  n. pl. tears Eb 421, 596; P 35; Ra 55; Rb 53; S 38, 94, 95.
testyfic  v. to attest to, confirm S 163.
than, þan, then, þen conj. than A 11, 18, 22 etc; C 31, 38, 113 etc; D 23, 35, 57 etc; 
Eb 39, 44, 72 etc; E 70, 74, 148 etc; P 16, 62; Ra 63; S 5, 141.
than, then  adv. then, at that time A 181, 230, 248; C 19, 93; D 39, 44, 49 etc; 
Eb 108, 269, 330 etc; E 219, 273, 314 etc; Ja 41; P 2, 3, 6 etc; Rb 46, 48, 63.
þänke  v. to thank, give thanks;
þänkande  pres. part. Ea 175;
þänk(e)  pr. 1sg. Ea 399, 402.
þänking, þänkyng  vbl. n. thanks Ea 769; Rb 81.
þær  v. mod. aux. expresses need, necessity; 
þær  pr. 3sg. Ea 492; þær  pr. pl. Ea 492.
that, þat  pron. that, which A 2, 15, 19 etc; 
Eb 20, 23, 33 etc; Jc 4, 7, 9 etc; P 24, 27, 43 etc; Ra 7, 9, 16 etc; Rb 6, 
8, 19 etc; S 6, 8, 10 etc; who A 11, 80, 120 etc; C 38, 40, 62 etc; D 60, 64; 
Eb 5, 13, 14 etc; Ja 23, 25, 27 etc; Jb 22; Ra 25, 41, 50 etc; Rb 23, 
39, 81; ~ is namely, specifically, that is A 31, 32, 35 etc; C 104, 126, 
132; D 53, 73; E 30, 63, 117 etc; 
Eb 24, 61, 117 etc; Jc 21; Ra 25, 34, 94 etc; Rb 15, 17, 32.
þat  particle that Ja 1, 4, 12 etc; Jb 1, 2, 
9 etc; Jc 12, 23; after ~ Ra 23, 59;
Rb 21, 58.
þèder  adv. thither, to that place A 130, 
135.
þëc(e)s, theyse, thes(e)  pron. these A 78, 
117, 122 etc; D 22, 56, 97; Ea 13, 28, 33 
etc; Eb 15, 18, 19 etc; P 15; Ra 20; Rb 
8, 18, 30 etc.
þëes, þës(e), þës(e)s, thise  adj. these C 6, 
8, 11 etc; Ea 2, 44, 52 etc; Eb 3, 8, 17 
etc; Ja 21, 32, 33 etc; Jb 8; Jc 1; Ra 32, 
46; Rb 46.
þèffe, þèef  n. thief Ea 736; S 50;
þèeues, þèues  pl. Ea 398, 734.
thën  see than.
þënke, þëcken  v. to think A 55, 78; C 
136; Ea 18, 468; Eb 100, 401; Ra 4, 86; 
þëcken(e)  imp. sg. Ea 345, 811; Eb 208; 
þëkìp  imp. pl. C 49; thynge, 
þëkìnd, þëkìng  pres. part. Ra 55; 
Rb 54; S 99; þëkìp  pr. 1sg. Ea 76; 
Eb 74, 246; þëkìp, þëkìst, þëkìp 
pr. 2sg. Ea 348, 349; Eb 209; þèkê, 
þëkìp  pr. 3sg. ind. Ea 64, 506; Eb 62, 
268, 269; þëkìp(e), þëkìnc, þìkìne(p), 
þëkìp  pr. pl. C 80; Ea 313, 317, 487 
etc; þëuðst(e)  pt. A 69; Ea 99; Ra 12, 
13; Rb 11, 12; thought  ppl. P 8.
þëkìng  vbl. n. thought, capacity for 
thought Ea 587.
þër(e), þèr(e)  þër(e) adv. there, in that 
place A 26, 182, 252 etc; D 77, 84; Ea 
62, 129, 197 etc; Eb 241, 275, 282 etc; 
Ja 11; Jb 7; P 13, 19, 20 etc; Ra 6, 7, 
31; Rb 5, 6; S 32; there (non-locative) 
C 114; Ea 15, 222 371 etc; Eb 17, 228, 
401; for that reason, therefore Ra 24.
Glossary

þeraftir adv. after that, subsequently Ea 681.
þer-ægen adv. in violation of Ea 126.
theros pron. there, where P 56, 60.
þerby adv. by that means C 59; Ea 183; about it Ea 634; Eb 210.
þerinne prep. within, in A 160; C 34, 120; Ea 410, 558, 584 etc.
þerof adv. from it, of it C 91; Ea 18, 763; Eb 171; Ra 105.
þeron adv. on it, about it Eb 402; Ra 12.
þerto adv. to that, to it C 114; Ea 311, 360, 415 etc; Ra 49.
þes see þesc(e).
þese see þees.
theue v. to trained, instruct; yuel
thewed ppl. bad-mannered, wicked in behaviour Ea 315.
thewes n. pl. manners, behaviour Ea 5, 6, 205.
þies see þees.
thyng(e), þing(e) n. thing A 17, 19, 22 etc; Ea 54, 138, 209 etc; Eb 112, 197, 306 etc; S 102, 105, 158;
thynes, þing(g)es, þingis pl. A 55, 105, 110 etc; C 124; Ea 323, 344, 436 etc; Eb 62, 100, 261 etc; Jc 20; P 65, 74; Ra 9, 56, 86; Rb 34, 35, 54.
thyngkynge see þenke.
þirnst n. thirst, need of drink A 152.
thise see þees.
þo adv. then, at that time Ra 95.
þo(o) adj. those Ea 115, 323, 360 etc;  
Ea 100, 268, 270; Ja 34.
þof see þouȝ.
þolmodenes n. patience in adversity, meekness Ea 11.
þore see ther.
thorn(e) n. thorn, prickle P 41; S 79; 
þornes pl. A 156; Ea 249, 541; Eb 169, 291.
þowȝ, þorow, þorouȝ see through(e).
þo(se), þos(e), þese pron. those Ea 8, 16, 127 etc; Eb 16, 25; P 14; S 94, 116.
þouȝ, thowȝe, þof conj. though, although D 65, 96; Ea 23, 59, 77 etc; Eb 3, 56, 57 etc; Ja 33; Jb 26; Ra 60; Rb 59.
þouȝt see þenke.
thouȝte, þouȝt n. thought, idea C 135; 
Ea 8, 16, 127 etc; Eb 16, 25; P 14; S 94, 116.
throuȝ see þouȝ.
thowȝt see þenke.
þral n. servant, thrall Ea 688; þralles, 
þrallis pl. Ea 696, 714.
thraldome, þraldam n. slavery, thraldom 
Ea 802; Jc 26.
threte v. to threaten, menace; þretiþ pr. 
3sg. Ea 318, 445; þratte, þrette pt. 
Ea 107; Eb 92.
thretenyng vbl. n. threat S 104.
þreefolde, þrefold adv. triply, in three 
ways Ea 191; Eb 149.
þritte adj. thirty A 150.
through(e), þrouȝ, þurȝ(e), thorow; þorow, þorouȝ prep. by means of, through Ea 3, 103, 152 etc; Eb 13, 16, 88 etc; Jb 12; Ra 100; Rb 49; P 51, 53; S 28, 85.
through-schynynge adj. shining, radiant S 59
þulke pron. those Eb 87.
þurles n. pl. hairs A 240.
tie v. to tie, fasten; tyed ppl. S 61.
tiffe v. to dress, deck out; tiffe refl. pr. pl. Ea 21.
ty, til conj. until C 34; D 86; P 10; Ra 67, 68, 70 etc.
tyme n. time, period of time C 41; Ea 145, 146, 148 etc; Eb 142, 248, 264 etc; Ja 34, 37; S 38, 55, 110 etc; occasion D 13, 16, 19 etc; Ea 422; Jb 2, 11, 13; P 1, 33, 44; Ra 40; Rb 38; tymes pl. A 5, 152, 243; P 14, 25; S 141; all - always, all the time Rb 25; ofte - many times, regularly, repeatedly Ra 13; Rb 12.
tyn n. tin Ea 91.
tippe v. to adorn the tip of; tippid ppl. Ea 434.
tyrande, tiraunt n. tyrant Ea 107; Eb 92.
to-come v. to approach; to-comeþ pr. 3sg. Ea 596.
to-fore prep. before, in front of P 33; before, prior to Jc 20.
togeder(e), togider, togidre adv. together A 23, 65, 178; Ea 609, 666, 727 etc; Eb 264.
toke see take.
tokyn, token n. symbol, token Eb 145; in - as a symbol D 77.
tolle v. to lure, entice Ea 403.
tolashe v. to lash, whip; tolaschyd ppl. S 63.
tonge see tunge.
took see take.
to-speke v. to address, speak to; to-spekip pr. 3sg. Ea 640.
totere v. to rend, tear; totorne ppl. S 64.
toþer, toþir contr. the other A 256; Ea 276.
touche v. touch, make physical contact with Ea 159; Eb 126; P 46; touchip pr. 3sg. Ra 104; touched, touchid pt. Ea 173; Eb 136.
touchyng n. physical contact, touching Eb 19.
tour n. tower Ea 715.
toward prep. toward, in the direction of Ea 507, 598; against Ea 707.
toward(e) adv. toward A 250; Ea 601; P 44.
trace n. trail S 88.
translate v. to relocate, translate; translate imp. sg. S 31.
travaile v. to be burdened, punished; traueled ppl. A 259; to work, labour; trauelyynge pres. part Eb 311.
trauel, trauicle n. work, effort Ra 52, 54; Rb 51, 52.
trechour n. deceiver, traitor Ea 320.
tremblable adj. terrifying, awe-inspiring A 168.
tremble v. to tremble, shake, shudder; tryymelyynge pres. part. S 63.
tresour n. treasury, store of riches C 27.
trespas 
**v.** to violate a law, *spec.* to sin;  
trespase 
**pr. 1sg.** Eb 329;  
trespased 
**ppl.** A 265.

tresse 
**v.** to arrange, adorn;  
tresse 
**pl.** Ea 452.

tretys 
**n.** written work, treatise  
D 5;  
Ea 1.

trew(e), tru(e) 
**adj.** true, real  
C 13, 133;  
P 16;  
S 9, 43;  
faithful  
D 98, 102;  
Ea 133, 494, 497 *etc*;  
Eb 109.

trewliche, treuly, trewely 
**adv.**  
genuinely, sincerely  
Ea 481, 494, 662;  
Eb 354.

tribulacioun 
**n.** tribulation, difficulty  
S 94;  
tribulaciouns 
**pl.** A 237;  
Eb 12;  
S 123.

tristed 
see. truste.

trobylles 
**n. pl.** troubles S 114.

trone 
**n.** throne  
Ea 263, 266;  
Eb 181, 380;  
Jb 7;  
S 46.

trouble 
**v.** to vex, trouble;  
trobled 
**pt.**  
Ja 6.

trove 
**v.** to believe  
Ea 156;  
trowist 
**pr. 2sg.** Ra 51;  
Rb 50;  
trowiþ 
**pr. pl.** Rb 7.

truly 
**adv.** surely, honestly  
D 47, 70, 83, *etc*;  
Ra 36.

truste 
**v.** to trust  
Ea 442;  
trust 
**pr.**  
Isg.  
S 73;  
tristed 
**pt.** C 105, 106.

tunge, tonge 
**n.** tongue  
C 26;  
Ea 646;  
Eb 330, 332;  
Rb 40.

turment 
**n.** torment, suffering S 146.

turmentoures 
**n. pl.** tormentors S 128.

turne 
**v.** to turn, also *fig.* indicating change  
C 118;  
Ea 406, 423;  
Eb 247;  
turne 
**imp. sg.** Ea 611;  
turne 
**pr. 1sg, subj.** Ea 411;  
turneþ 
**pr. 3sg.**  
A 168;  
turned 
**pt.** A 256;  
turned,  
turnyð 
**ppl.** C 45, 53, 55;  
Ea 740.

twies 
**adv.** twice, two times  
Ea 150.

two(o), twice 
**adj.** two;  
A 122, 128, 182;  
C 11;  
Ea 446, 562, 607 *etc*;  
Eb 304;  
substant.  
Ea 276, 447, 668;  
Eb 190;  
in ~ into two parts  
Ea 51;  
S 155.

undeadly, vndeadly, vndeadilich 
**adj.**  
immortal  
Ea 236, 351;  
Eb 7.

vndefouled 
**adj.** pure, unsullied  
Ea 266;  
Eb 18;  
substant.  
Ea 265.

vnder, vndir, vndur 
**prep.** under, beneath, below  
A 245;  
Ea 33, 56;  
Eb 50;  
S 5.

vndern(e) 
**n.** undern, a time of day  
varying identified as tierce, sext, or late afternoon  
Ra 67, 68;  
Rb 66, 67.

vndirstonde, vnderstande, vndyrstonde 
**v.** to understand, comprehend  
Ea 508, 542, 631 *etc*;  
Eb 78;  
Vj 9;  
vndirstonde 
**imp. sg.**  
Ea 699;  
vndirstondiþ 
**imp. pl.**  
Ea 731;  
vnderstode 
**pt.** A 221;  
vndirstonden, vnderstanden 
**ppl.**  
Ea 4;  
Eb 4, 364.

vndirstondyng 
**vbl. n.** comprehension, capacity for understanding  
Ea 630.

vnkyndely 
**adv.** unnaturally  
Ea 563.

vnle(ue)ful 
**adj.** sinful, wicked  
Ea 647;  
Eb 19.

vnmouable 
**adj.** constant, steadfast  
Rb 75.

vnrresonable 
**adj.** brutish, wicked  
C 86.

vnsene 
**adj.** hidden, concealed  
Eb 285.

vnshitte 
**v.** to open;  
vnschette 
**pt.**  
Ea 149.

vnthewes 
**n. pl.** sins, vices  
Ea 8, 20.
GLOSSARY

vnto prep. to, unto A 213; S 67; until D 9.

vnto conj. until D 61.

vwwemmed adj. undefiled, pure Ea 17, 96, 262 etc.

vwysce adj. foolish, imprudent Eb 36.

vwwry conj. until D 61.

vnwyse adj. foolish, imprudent Eb 36.

vnworþi, vnwordy adj. unworthy, undeserving Ea 90, 317, 321 etc; Ra 50; Rb 49; S 99; vnworþiere cpv. Ra 63.

vp(pe), up(p) adv. up, upwards A 213, 225; C 70; Ea 153, 601, 612 etc; Eb 121, 341; Ja 39; Jb 3; Jc 12; P 2, 52, 69 etc; Ra 94; S 127.

vp(p)on, upon prep. upon, on A 139, 149, 156 etc; Ea 191, 716; Eb 121, 341; Ja 39; Jb 5, 16; P 12; Ra 4, 86; S 52, 53, 62 etc.

uprise v. to rise from the dead;

vpperysen ppl. P 63.

vprisynge n. resurrection Ea 237.

c se v. to use, employ A 78; Ea 283;

vsef pr. 3sg. Eb 9, 277; vsen pr. pl. A 2, 3; vsed ppl. A 274.

vtter adj. outer Ea 84.

venge v. to take vengeance; venge refl. 3sg. A 286.

vengeable adj. vindictive, vengeful S 122.

veniaunce n. vengeance, revenge A 198, 287.

venym, venom n. venom, poison Eb 298; Ra 102, 105.

venymous adj. venomous, poisonous S 150.

verely adv. truly Ea 226.

ver(r)y, verray adj. true Ja 24; Jb 25; Ra 38.

vertu, uirtu, virtu(e) n. virtue, merit A 113, 114, 163 etc; Ea 165, 290, 291 etc; Eb 128, 161, 316; Ra 22, 53, 100 etc; Rb 20, 52; S 120; uirtues, vertues, virtues, virtuous pl. A 164, 176, 177 etc; C 31, 74, 102; Ea 6, 7, 205 etc; Eb 6, 9, 160 etc; Ra 21, 39, 47 etc; Rb 19, 37, 47 etc; Lorde of ~ see Index of Proper Nouns

vertuouse, vertuse, virtues, virtuouse adj. virtuous, full of merit C 43, 119; S 126, 133, 158.

vexacioun n. vexation, pain S 95.

vigiles n. pl. vigils, night-long acts of devotion Ra 73; Rb 71.

vyle, vile, viel adj. vile, lowly S 101; A 161; Ra 50, 63; Rb 49, 62.

vilenye n. villainy, wickedness C 18.

violens, violence n. violence, force S 117; passion, emotional force A 249.

virginite, uirgynyte, virgynyte n. virginity, maidenhood A 91, 108, 115; S 68.

visage, vysage n. face Ja 18; P 34, 50.

vision(e), vsioun n. vision, mystical experience Ja 4; Jc 7, 8; sight S 32.

V

vayne, veyn adj. vain, worthless A 73; Ea 391; S 81.

vaynes n. pl. veins, arteries S 118.

vanyte n. arrogance, presumption C 45, 100; trifle, worthless thing;

vanytes pl. C 30.

veyn see vayne.
voyce, voice, voys  n. voice A 214; Ea 193, 604, 606; Eb 151, 347; Ja 15; S 147.

vouchesaaf  v. consent, agree Ra 14; Rb 12.

voide  adj. empty Eb 46.

W

waar  see wa(a)r.

waische  see wassche.

wake  v. to keep vigil Ea 791; wake pr. 1sg. A 251; wakeþ pr. 2sg. A 251; to spring, engender; wakiþ pr. 3sg. Ea 474, 544.

wakingis  vbl. n. pl. vigils, periods of wakefulness for devotion Rb 71.


wa(a)r  adj. vigilant, watchful Ea 615, 696.

ward(e), warde(y)n  n. guard, keeper Ea 568, 573, 579 etc; Eb 310, 316, 322 etc; warde(y)ns pl. Ea 549, 586, 756; Eb 294; guardianship, keeping Ea 195.

ware  pt. was (2sg. pt. of ben, ‘to be’).

wassche  v. to wash, bathe P 54; wassch imp. sg. S 70; waische pr. pl. Ea 452; wasschyd, we(i)sche pt. A 153; Ea 400; P 20; wasschydpe ppl. S 96.

wast  n. improper use, squandering C 48.
Glossary

2sg. subj. Ea 682; wende pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 708; wendiþ pr. 3sg. ind. Ea 264.

were v. to dress in, wear Ea 791;
weriþ pr. 3sg. Ea 576.
werines n. fatigue, weariness A 152.
werk n. work, activities, deeds Ea 465, 569; Rb 67; werkes, werkis pl. Eb 8, 311, 408; Ra 80, 85; S 131.
weshe see wassche.
weving, weuynge vbl. n. the act of weaving Ra 69; Rb 67.
wex v. to grow, wax; wexiþ pr. 3sg. Ea 650.
wharinne, wherinne adv. wherein, within which A 52, 82.
whateuere adj. no mater what C 26, 35.
whatso pron. whatever Ea 111, 441, 747 etc; Eb 374.
whatsoeuwer pron. whatever Ea 677.
wher(e), whor adv. where A 14, 58; C 73; Ja 4; P 5, 18, 29 etc; ~ wip with which A 115, 181.
wheras adv. where, in which P 27.
wherby adv. whereby, by means of which S 96, 128.
wherfor(e) adv. for which reason A 206; D 20, 26, 64 etc; Ea 163, 408, 651 etc.
whereinne adv. into which Ea 455.
wherof adv. from which A 213.
wherewip adv. with which Ea 599.
whete n. wheat Ea 252; ~ corne grain of wheat Eb 172.

wheper, whethir conj. whether A 269; 101; Ea 418, 422; Ja 26.
whych(e), which(e), wheche, whoche,
whilk pron. which A 3, 37, 42 etc; D 8, 34; Ea 7, 115, 229 etc; Ja 6; P 23, 33, 43 etc; Ra 4; Rb 3, 29, 37; S 4, 30, 39 etc.

whych(e), which(e), whoche adj. which A 14; C 77 134; Ea 6; Eb 97, 393; Jc 8; P 5; Ra 9; Rb 8, 38.
whidir pron. whither, where Ea 263, 635.
while(s), whyle n. time, period of time Ea 86, 150, 152 etc; Eb 285.
whilk see whych(e).

whoche see whych(e).

whoder conj. whether A 57.
whor see wher(e).

whoso, hoosoo, whooso(o) pron. whoever A 39, 46; Ea 137, 210, 211 etc; Jb 24, 27, 31 etc.
wicked, wikked, wickid adj. wicked, sinful Ea 104, 388, 692; Eb 31, 89, 90; Ja 12.
wickedly adv. wickedly, sinfully A 81.
wydewe n. widow Ea 699; wedewes, wydewes, wydowes pl. Ea 242, 269, 660 etc; Eb 163, 184.
wydewhod(e), wodewhode n. widowhood Ea 254, 274, 535; Eb 189.

wife, wyf(e) n. wife, married woman Ea 303, 316; Eb 75, 199; wifes, wyfes pl. Ea 482, 483, 541; Eb 163, 184, 206;
wyues gen. pl. Ea 189.

wilful adj. intentional, chosen C 134.
wilfully adv. intentionally, purposefully Ea 707.
Glossary

wille, wyll(e), wil n. will, volition A 240, 292, 294; Ea 104, 107, 112 etc; Eb 272; Ra 108; Rb 26, 33; intention A 195; D 62; Ea 58, 68, 96 etc; Eb 21, 22, 26 etc; Ra 79; S 11, 111, 150.

wilne v. to wish or desire Eb 25; wylle, wil, wol(e), woll(e) pr. 1sg. D 34; Ea 426, 429, 431 etc; Eb 251, 262; Ja 22; Jb 24; Ra 21, 28; Rb 19, 25; wolt pr. 2sg. subj. Ea 610; wol(e), wylle, wilt, wylt pr. 3sg. Eb 117; wiþdrawe v. to pull back, draw away; wold(e), woldyst, walde pt. ind. A 25, 94, 131 etc; D 14; Ea 23, 61, 87 etc; Eb 58, 330; Ja 13; Jb 15; P 45; Ra 14, 37, 83; Rb 12, 34, 35 etc; S 90.

willyng vbl. n. desire, wish Ea 22.

wunde v. to wind, entrap; wounded ppl. A 220.

wynde n. wind, air A 179; Ea 43, 48, 543; Eb 44, 49; breath A 240.

wun(e) n. wine Ea 401, 55, 561 etc; Eb 298, 299, 303 etc; P 21.

wynne v. to triumph, succeed Eb 245; to earn, win Ea 291, 294; Eb 364; wynneþ pr. 3sg. Eb 68, 69; wynneþ pr. pl. Ea 24, 70; wonnen ppl. Ea 404.

wip e. to wipe, dry; wipeþ pt. P 20; to clean; wipþ pr. 3sg. Ea 518.

wyrs hype see worship.

wyse, wise n. way, manner D 29, 30, 41 etc; Ea 212, 371, 523 etc; Ra 10, 66, 99; Rb 65.

wite, wyte v. to know Ea 503; Ra 4, 7; Rb 3, 6; wite impers. Ea 95; Eb 266; wite imp. sg. Rb 48, 57; wot pr. 1sg. Ea 424; wost pr. 2sg. subj. Ea 632; wite, pr. 2sg. ind. Ea 218; wite pr. 3sg. subj. Ea 709; wyten pr. pl. A 14; wist(e), wost pr. 3sg. Ea 90, 221, 269; Ea 415, 528; Eb 281; Ra 79.

wipal prep. in combination with, as well (postpositive) A 78; Ea 628.

wipdrawe v. to pull back, draw away; wipdrawe pr. pl. subj. Ea 362, Eb 219; wipdrawe pr. pl. ind. Ea 228.

wipinneforþ prep. inside, within which Ea 524.

wipout, wipowte, withoute adv. outwardly, externally, superficially A 121, 205, 208 etc; Ea 31, 33, 36 etc.

without(te), wythout, wipoute, withouten, wipouten, wipowte, wipouten prep. outside Ea 49, 54, 509 etc; Eb 38, 50, 51 etc; P 47; without, not in possession of A 23, 50, 114 etc; C 95, 125; D 26, 61; Ea 182, 198, 551 etc; S 62, 68, 69; unaccompanied by A 66; Ea 199, 393, 425 etc; Eb 121, 138, 153 etc; Ra 52, 53; Rb 51, 52, 71; ~ ende eternal, unending Eb 382, 386, 406 etc; P 74.
wiþstande, wiþstonde v. to withstand, resist Ea 9, 372; Eb 11.
wiþstandip, wiþstondip pr. 3sg. A 175; Ea 764. wiþstande, wiþstonde pr. pl. subj. Ea 106; Eb 91.
wiþstode(n) pt. Ea 162, 168; Eb 131, 140; wiþstanden ppl. Eb 124.
witles adj. stupid, mentally deficient Ea 463.
wit(e)nesse v. to testify to, confirm Ea 488; witenesseþ pr. 3sg. Eb 185, 193.
witnesse n. testimony, confirmation; berys - confirms, testifies to Ja 32.
witt n. intellect Ea 516; physical sense; wyttes, wittis pl. Ea 579, 586, 616 etc; S 80.
witty adj. learned, intelligent Ea 434; Eb 369.
wlappe v. to wrap, swaddle; wlappet ppl. A 148.
wlaten v. to disgust, repulse; wlatip pr. 3sg. Ea 282.
woce, wood(e) adj. mad, crazed C 63, 80, 85; Eb 123.
woedly, wodlich adv. madly, violently Ea 174; Eb 137.
wol etc see wille.
wombe n. womb A 146; C 3, 10, 132; Ra 57; Rb 56; S 152; stomach Ea 566; Eb 308.
wo(m)an n. woman C 73, 127; Ea 59, 63, 95 etc; Eb 31, 56, 61 etc; Ja 21; Jc 10; Ra 8; S 104; wom(m)en, wemen; wymmen pl. C 3, 7, 10 etc; D 92; Ea 62, 89, 186 etc; S 58; wymmen, wymmens gen. pl. Eb 147, 291.
wonder adv. extraordinarily Ea 526; Eb 246, 280.
wondir adj. extraordinary Ea 404.
wondyrfulle adj. extraordinary, glorious D 79.
wonnen see wynne.
wont adj. accustomed, wont Ra 71; Rb 69.
woo n. woe, misery, evil C 105; Ea 391, 474, 658.
wood(e) see wode.
worche v. to labour, work Ea 429, 511; Eb 272; worchand, worchinge pres. part. Ra 56; Rb 54; to create; wrouyte ppl. Ea 711.
worching vbl. n. the act of working, labour Eb 174; Ra 72; Rb 70.
word(e), woord n. word A 98, 192; C 43, 102; D 62; Ea 704, 726; Eb 21; Ra 80; Rb 76; S 52, 114; wordis, wordes, wordys pl. A 65, 117, 202; C 6, 7, 9 etc; D 22; Ea 2, 512, 514 etc; Eb 3, 274, 341; Ja 5, 19, 32; Jb 8; P 23; Ra 46; Rb 46; quotation, saying Ea 270, 505, 508 etc; Eb 267, 270; speech Ea 150, 742, 744; Goddis - the law of God, usually as it is preserved in Scripture C 106, 100; Ea 717; see also world(e).
wordliche see worldly.
world(e), word n. world A 13, 136, 147 etc; C 21, 35, 39 etc; Ea 64, 118, 140 etc; Eb 11, 59, 62 etc; Jb 10, 22; Jc 10; worldis gen. Ea 471, 666, 709; see also Index of Proper Nouns.
worldly, wordliche adj. of the world, secular C 89; Ea 449, 475, 543 etc; Eb 256, 257, 344; Ra 85.
worm(e) n. worm, worm-like animal, snake Ea 55; Eb 49; Ra 104; wormes gen. pl. A 161; C 76.
worschip, wyrshyp v. to worship, venerate A 30, 34; Ea 168, 361, 616; Eb 117, 131, 219 etc; Ja 35; Rb 42; worschippe pr. 3sg. Eb 371, 372; worschippr. pl. subj. Ja 40; worschipen, worschipp pr. pl. C 19; worschiped, worschipped, worschipnten pt. Eb 138, 404, 412; worschiped, worshipid ppl. Ea 82, 142; Eb 116.
worschipynge, worschippyng vbl. n. veneration, worship Ea 701; Jc 2.
worschip n worship, veneration A 2, 21, 28 etc; C 66, 93, 97; Ea 8, 326, 334 etc; Eb 213, 378, 404 etc; Ra 13; worschippis pl. A 6.
worschipful adj. worthy of honours A 31; Ea 209, 221, 643 etc.
worse adj. cpv. worse Ea 324.
worþ n. value, worth Ea 91, 92, 94.
worþi, worþ(e), worþy adj. worthy A 17, 18, 28 etc; C 99; Ea 71, 256, 257 etc; Eb 70, 112, 177 etc; Jb 4; Ra 41; Rb 63; worþieste superl. C 32.
worþines(se) n. worthiness, excellence A 21; Ea 275; Eb 190.
wost see wite.
wounde v. to injure, wound; woundid pt. Ea 399; wounded ppl. Jc 34.

wrappe v. to wrap, clothe; wrappe imp. sg. Ea 810.
wræpe v. to anger, offend; wræþe pl. Ea 450.
wræþe n. wrath, anger C 47; Ea 618.
wrecche n. wretch, unhappy creature Ea 695, 719; Ra 50, 63.
wrechyde, wretched, wrecchid adj. wretched, contemptible Ea 382; Eb 234, 241, 249; S 5.
wrechednesse, wretchednes n. wretchedness, baseness A 14, 147; Ea 709; Eb 234.
write v. to write, inscribe; writþ pr. 3sg. Ra 66; Rb 65; wrytt, ywriten, wreten, written ppl. Ea 155, 512, 624; Eb 122, 274; Jb 1; P 6.
writynge, wryteynge vbl. n. a thing in written form Ja 1; Ra 65.
writt(e), writ n. written item, often spec. legal; holy - holy law, holy writings A 72, 104, 174; C 113; Ea 122, 125, 154 etc; Eb 103, 104, 161 etc; Ra 55, 74, 103.
wroþ(e), wroþ adj. wrathful, angry A 195; Ea 423; Ra 79; Rb 76.
wrouȝte see worche.

Y

3af see gif.
3ate n. gate Ea 684; P 47; gates pl. Ea 685, 780; fig. means by which something can enter 3ate A 5, 27, 236.
3ede v. to walk; 3ede pt. P 46; to proceed to do; 3ede pt. Ea 175.

3eme v. to protect, guard; 3emed ppl. Ea 347.

3ere, 3eer n. year A 150; Jb 27; Ra 6, 89, 92 etc; Rb 5, 88; 3eer, yeris, yerys, yeres pl. A 86; Ea 148, 547; P 3, 4, 14; Rb 4.

3erne v. to desire, wish for; 3erneþ pr. 3sg. Ea 77; 3ernen pr. pl. Ea 328.

3erne adj. desirous, eager Ea 735.

3eue, yeue, yeve, 3euen, yeuen etc see gif.

yelde v. to yield; 3eldyde, 3elde pt. A 203; P 52.

3if, 3ef(f), yeff see if.

3ifte n. gift, spec. spiritual gift Rb 52; 3iftes, 3iftis pl. Ra 61; Rb 60.

3it(te) adv. yet Ea 9, 37, 41 etc; Eb 27, 41, 55 etc.

3ocke n. yoke (as for oxen) A 139.

yonge, 3onge adj. young C 57, 101; Ea 166, 649; Eb 129; S 6.
INDEX OF PROPER NOUNS

Abraham  Abraham, Patriarch of Israel  Ea 416.

Adam  Adam  D 58, 60;  Ea 214, 215, 230.

Alisaundre, Alysaundre  Alexandria, Egyptian city  Ea 526;  Eb 279.

Ambrose (Saynt)  St Ambrose, Bishop of Milan and Doctor of the Church (d. 397)  A 61, 63, 67 etc;  P 65.

Amon  Amnon, son of King David and brother of Tamar  Ea 749.

Ananyas  Ananias, otherwise known as Sidrach  Ea 167;  Eb 130.

Anyns  St Agnes of Rome, Martyr (d. ?third century)  C 52.

Anselme, (Saynt)  St Anselm of Canterbury, Archbishop and Doctor of the Church (d. 1109)  Ja 32.

Antonie, (Saynt)  St Anthony of Egypt, Hermit and founder of Christian Monachism (d. 356–57)  A 212.

Apostle  see Paule, Poule, Seynt.

Austeyn(e), Austyn (Seint)  St Augustine, Bishop of Hippo and Doctor of the Church (d. 430)  A 24, 124, 185;  Ea 72, 270, 792;  Eb 23, 71, 185.

Aząrias, Azaryas  Azarias, otherwise known as Abdenego  Ea 167;  Eb 130.

Bede  the Venerable Bede, Monk and Chronicler (d. 735)  P 30.

Bedlem  Bethlehem  Ra 92.

Bernard, (Saynt)  St Bernard of Clairvaux, Doctor of the Church (d. 1153)  A 170, 281;  Ea 201, 231, 364 etc;  Eb 221, 276, 363 etc.

Book  one of the books of the Bible;  Love -~, - of Loue  Song of Songs  Ea 512, 519, 539 etc;  Eb 274, 339;  - of Kyngis  one of the four Books of Kings (1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 3 Kings or 4 Kings);  spec. 2 Samuel  Ea 690.

Cayphas  Caiaphas, Jewish High-Priest and one of the conspirators against Christ  P 29.

Cicile  St Cecilia, Martyr (d. ?early third century)  C 52.

Ciprian  St Cyprian of Carthage, Bishop, Martyr (d. 258)  Ea 239.

Crist(e), Cryste, (Jhesu)  Jesus Christ  A 122, 136, 172 etc;  C 3, 9, 12 etc;  Ea 30, 124, 180 etc;  Eb 37, 114, 143 etc;  Ja 19;  Jb 2, 20;  Jc 6, 9, 19 etc;  P 2;  Ra 92, 93;  Cristes, Cristis  gen.  A 79;  C 60, 80, 98 etc;  Ea 267, 322, 809;  Savyoure - Jc 8, 18.

Daniel, Danyel  Daniel, otherwise known as Baltasar, Prophet  Ea 147, 155, 160 etc;  Eb 122, 128.

Dauid, Daviþ, Dauip, (Kyng), (þe prophete)  King David, Prophet and Composer of the Psalms  A 220;  Ea 431, 689;  Eb 257, 328, 361 etc;  Rb 73;  - þe prophet  A 216;  Dauipis  gen.  Ea 688, 691, 749.
INDEX OF PROPER NOUNS

Denyse, (Seynt)  Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite   Ra 96; see note to line Ra 96.

Dyna  Dinah, daughter of Jacob   Ea 652.

Doctor of the Church  Title bestowed by the Church in recognition of learning   D 2.

Egypte  Egypt   D 29; S 28.

Ely, Helye  Elijah, Prophet, also known as Elias   Ea 147; Eb 120.

Elizabeth, Elizebeth, (Seynt)  Cousin of the Blessed Virgin Mary and mother of St John the Baptist   A 101; C 8; Ra 8, 46, 49 etc; see note to line Ra 8.

Elizabeth, Seynt  St Elizabeth of Hungary   Rb 7, 46.

Empresse of Helle  the Blessed Virgin   S 24.

Eue  Eve   C 105; Ea 55, 215, 229; Eb 50.

F(f)ather, Fader, Fadir  God the Father   A 146, 168; D 59; Ea 6, 193, 381 etc; Eb 151; P 25; fathers, fader

gen.  Ja 16; P 73; - of Hevyn, - of Heuven   Ea 376, 381; S 147.

Frawns, Qwene Isabel of  see note to line for discussion of the identification of Isabel of France   D 3.

Gabriel  the Archangel Gabriel   C 5.

Genesis  the Book of Genesis   Ea 654.

Getezemany  the Garden of Gethsemane, situated at the foot of Mount Olivet   P 27.

God  God spec. God the Father   A 19, 20, 24 etc; C 5, 25, 40 etc; Ea 5, 12, 39 etc;

Eb 6, 13, 57 etc; Ja 34; Ra 12, 15, 22 etc; Rb 11, 13, 15 etc; S 5, 102; Goddis gen.  A 21, 28, 92 etc; C 64, 74, 106 etc;

Ea 3, 6, 60 etc; Eb 204; Ra 13, 15, 41 etc; Rb 12, 14, 39 etc; (My/Oure etc)

Lorde -  Ea 510; Ra 16; Rb 15, 29; S 111, 158; spec. God the Son, Jesus P 1, 58; Lorde -  Eb 411; Jb 2; Almyȝty ~, Almiȝty -  Ea 289, 341, 350 etc.

Gost(e), Goost, Holy  The Holy Spirit   A 222; D 59; Ea 10, 14, 193 etc; Eb 10, 16, 151.

Gregor(i)e, Gregori, (Seynt)  St Gregory of Nyssa, Bishop and Father of the Church (d. after 386)   A 176, 180; Ea 306; Eb 201.

Helye  see Ely.

Her(r)ode  Herod Antipas (Antipatros), ruler of Galilee and Peraea, and son of Herod the Great   P 36; S 28.

Hester  Esther, Prophet and Queen of Persia   Ea 722, 723, 725 etc.

Hierusalem  see Jerusalem.

Ysaie, Ysay  Isaiah, Prophet   Ea 3; Eb 3.

Israel, Puple of  The Israelites   A 230.

Jacob  Jacob, Patriarch of Israel; Jacobis

gen.  Ea 652.

Jeremye  Jeremiah, Prophet   Eb 325.

Jerom, (Seynt)  St Jerome, Father of the Church (d. 420)   A 48, 209; Ea 26, 216, 283 etc; Eb 33, 193, 207 etc; Ra 65, 66;

Rb 65, 87.

Jerusalem, Hierusalem  Jerusalem   Ea 693, 697, 703 etc; Ja 10; Jb 14; P 12, 44, 47; S 32.
INDEX OF PROPER NOUNS

Jewes, Jues, Jwes, Jurie, Jewrie Jewish people D 6; Ea 167; Eb 130; Ja 12; Jb 15; Jc 24; P 29, 42; Ra 93, 98; S 50, 69; Kynge of - Jesus Christ, intended as derogatory title P 43.

Jhesu Jesus C 19, 27, 32; D 1; Ea 278, 524, 812.

Job Protagonist of the Book of Job; Jobis Bok the Book of Job C 40.

Jon, John, (þe) Baptist, (Seynt) John the Baptist, cousin of Jesus Christ, son of Saint Elizabeth A 103; C 8; Ea 187, 190; Eb 145, 148; Ra 8.

Johan, John, Jo(o)n (the Euangelyst(e), Evangelyste, Ewangelist(e), Gospeler), (þe holy Apostle), (Seynt) John the Evangelist, Jesus’ most beloved disciple Ea 99, 195, 255 etc; Eb 81, 152, 175 Ja 2; Jb 1, 5, 18; Jc 3; P 14; S 48; see also note to lines Ja 2 / Jb 1 / Jc 3; Ea 195.

Jo(h)n, (wiþ þe gilden mouþ), (Crissostom), Seynt St John Chrysostom, Doctor of the Church (d. 407) Ea 65, 243; Eb 63, 156, 164; see also note to line Ea 65.

Jordan, Flum the Jordan River Ea 151.

Joseph St Joseph, the Blessed Virgin’s husband Ea 194; Ra 90; Rb 88.

Judas Judas Iscariot P 28.

Jues see Jewes.

Jurie see Jewes.

Juge God the Father, as judge of mankind A 168.

Katerine St Catherine of Alexandria, Martyr (d. early fourth century) C 51.

Kynge Jesus Christ; ~ & Emperouer of alle þe worlde A 155; ~ of Glorye S 77; ~ of alle heuene C 89; ~ of Jues see Jewes.

Lady(e), Ladi(e), (Oure) The Blessed Virgin A 3, 16, 44 etc; C 5, 9, 51 etc; D 1, 4, 20 etc; Ea 3; Eb 4, 144, 155 etc; Ja 3, 19; Jb 4, 5, 7; Jc 1, 3, 5 etc; Ra 1, 9; Rb 1, 47; S 9, 18, 23 etc; ~ of Pytte S 160; Ladys, Lady gen. Ja 1, 35.

Laȝare, Laȝarus Lazarus, whom Christ raised from the dead D 6, 8.

Lychostratos the street in which Jesus is mocked as “King of the Jews” P 40; see note to line.

Lombe (of God) Jesus Christ Eb 178, 182.

Lord(e), (My/Oure) Jesus Christ A 145, 151, 214; D 6, 10, 15 etc; Ea 133, 188, 299 etc; Eb 109, 286, 318 etc; Jb 20; Jc 14, 24; S 4, 11; God A 57, 85, 224 etc; C 2, 6, 73; Ra 70; Rb 77; ~ Jhesu (Crist) A 116; C 114, 116; Eb 101, 262, 272 etc; P 18, 47, 56 etc; Ra 3; Rb 2; S 43; ~ Cryste Jc 6; (Oure) Lordys, Lordis gen. D 4; Ea 637; P 23; ~ of Vertu S 76.

Loth Lot, nephew of Abraham Ea 557, 560; Eb 300, 302.

Lucy, Lucie, Seynt St Lucy, Virgin and Martyr (d. 303) Ea 107; Eb 92.

Lucyfer Lucifer, the Devil A 132.

Luk(Seynt) St Luke the Evangelist C 8.
INDEX OF PROPER NOUNS

Macharie, Macharye (Seynt) Saint Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (d. 334) A 247, 249.

Mayde, Maiden The Blessed Virgin Rb 2; S 113, 152.

Margare St Margaret of Antioch, Martyr (d. between 303 and 305) C 51.

Mary(e), Mari(e), (Virgyn), (Seynt) The Blessed Virgin A 57, 68; C 2, 5, 11 etc; Eb 4, 144, 155 etc; Jb 4; P 1, 11, 16 etc; Maries gen. C 111, 129, 137; Ea 194; Blessid ~ Ra 89.

Marie Magdaleyne, Marye Maudeleyne St Marie Magdalene C 51; Eb 349.

Mathew, Seynt St Matthew, Evangelist Ea 237.

Misael Misael, otherwise known as Misach Ea 167; Eb 131.

Mother, Moder The Blessed Virgin; ~ of God A 5, 7, 17 etc; P 1; S 2; ~ of Grace S 84; ~ of Marcy, ~ of Mercy A 33; S 26; ~ of Meknesse S 98.

Nazareth Nazareth Ra 90; Rb 89.

Olyuet, Mownt of Mount Olivet, the Mount of Olives P 25, 63.

Passion Sonday the fifth Sunday in Lent; the Sunday before Palm Sunday and two weeks before Easter Day D 8.

Paule, Poule (Seynt) St Paul the Apostle, convert to Christianity, writer of the Epistles and Martyr (see Acts 8–27; d. 65 AD) Ea 37, 62, 500; Eb 60, 105, 393; Apostle Ea 116, 129, 210 etc; Eb 97, 251, 267 etc.

Pylate Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Judea (d. after 36 AD) P 34, 37, S 49.

Paule see Paule.

Quene, Queen, Qwen The Blessed Virgin; ~ of Angelis A 51, 92; ~ of Hevyn, Heuen, Heuyn A 34, 90; Ja 40; Jb 4; S 22.

Salamon, Salomon King Salomon, composer of the Song of Songs Ea 434, 582, 691 etc; Eb 29, 31, 335 etc; see also Wisc Man.

Samuel Samuel, judge and prophet A 229.

Sathanas Satan C 34, 38; Ea 33.

Saul, Kynge King Saul, first king of Israel A 229.

Semey Semei, servant of King David Ea 688, 692, 695 etc.

Symeon Simeon Ja 8; Jb 11; Jc 12; S 15.

Syon, Mownte of Mount Syon, near Jerusalem P 13.

Sodom Sodom, one of the five Cities of the Plains Ea 50, 53, 558; Eb 300.

Son(e) Jesus Christ Ea 139, 193, 302 etc; Eb 151; ~ of Ryȝtwysnes Jesus Christ S 145.

Spowse Christ C 19, 27, 32; ~ of God The Blessed Virgin S 153.

Steuene (Seynt) St Stephen, Martyr (d. ?63AD) C 112, 114, 115.

Sussanne St Susanna, Martyr (d. 295) C 51.

Thamar Tamar, daughter of King David and sister of Ammon Ea 748.
INDEX OF PROPER NOUNS

Trinite, Trynyte, Trinyte (Holy) The Holy Trinity C 32, 77, 117; Ea 192; Eb 150; S 14, 33, 46 etc.

Virgine, Virgyn(e), (Blessid, Blyssed) The Blessed Virgin A 61, 90; Jc 7; Ra 67; Rb 20, 48, 66; Holi ~ Ra 40.

Warde, Master John S 171; see introduction to the text, page 53.

Wise Man, Wyse Man King Salomon, to whom is attributed the Book of Wisdom as well as the Song of Songs Ea 265, 563; Eb 183, 305, 355.
Appendix—Vision of St John Version A, Prayers (MS G)

A VISION OF SAINT JOHN ON THE SORROWS OF THE VIRGIN—VERSION A

PRAYERS

Gracyus Lady, Godis Moder, for þe sorwe þat ye hadde wh[en] 
Symeon seyde þat þe swerde of sorwe shuld passe throug[h] yowre 
herte, besechith to yowre dere sone þat I have for yev[en]esse of my 
synfulle levynge & þat I mowe be reseyvyd with his blessyd chyldryn 
into endles bly[s]. And good Jhesu, Goddys Sone, for thy moder[is] 
love & this fryst sorwe, comfort vs alle in owre nede, bodely & gostely, 
& speceally alle þo þat prayen for me, [&] trustyn to my prayer. Pater 
noster. Ave Maria v.

Blesfulle Lady, Goddis Moder, for þat doolfulle sorwe, whan ye 
had lost yowre dere sone, besyly hym sekynge, wepynga & mornyng, 
prayeth for us to þat Lorde, þat I [may] have grace for to seke hym with 
terys of love & […] & þat I may encresse in parfyt love & cheryte. And 
go[od] Jhesu, Goddys Sone, for thy moder[os] love & for þat ii sorwe, 
confort vs alle in owre nede, bodely & gostely, and spes[eally] alle þo þat 
prayen for me & trysty to my praer. Pater noster. Aue Maria v.

| Mercifullle Lady, Goddis Moder, for þat dredefull sorwe, when 
ye sawe in yowre sowle how yowre sone was take of þe wykkyd Juwys,  

Words/letters supplied in square brackets are suggested readings. There is some damage to margin of 
the MS. 15 & trysty] & & trysty G
Appendix—Vision of St John Version A, Prayers MS G
delyuereth me fram alle maner drede of bodely enmrys & goostely, þat
gracefully I may leve & ende to his plesanse. And good Jhesu, Goddis Sone, for þat dredefulle takynge & for þat iiii sorwe of yowre moder,
conforte vs alle in owre nede, bodely & gostly, & specyally alle þo þat prayen for me & trystyn to my prayer. Pater noster. Ave maria v.

Pytevous Lady in Passyon of yowre dere sone, for þat grete sorwe, 
þe wheche ye suffryd in alle yowre soneis paynys & in His dolefull dyenge,  
asketh for me grace so feruently to love þat Lorde þat, by þe hete of bernynge love, I mowe have his Pascyon in mynde contenevely to my soules helth & to þe fyndes sh[am]shyp. And good Jhesu, Goddis Sone, for þi modris love & for this iiii sorwe, confort vs alle in owre nede, bodely & gostely, & specyally alle þo þat praen for me & trystyn to my prayer. Pater noster. Ave maria v.

Dolfulle Lady in morsyg chere in syght of yowre dere ‘sone’, for yowre grete pety þat ye hadde beholdyng þat good Lord & alle his blody wondys, geteth me by yowre prayer bothe grace & mercy, & takyth me vnto yowre kepynge, & gouernyth me in body & sovle to worshyp of yowre dere sone & to my savacyon. And good Jhesu, Goddis Sone, for þi moders love & for þis v sorwe, conforte vs in owre nede, bodely & gostely, & speceally alle tho þat praen for me & trustyn to my preyer. 
Pater noster; Ave maria v; & Credo in Deum; Gaude Virgo; Ave Regina, graciam tuam.

27 sh[am]shyp] MS damaged  31 mornyg[n]g mornyg G
Appendix—Vision of St John Version A, Prayers MS G

It is grauntyd to euery man or woman devotly seyenge þis oryson

þat, if he or she wer in state of damnacioun, God shuld transferre þe endeles peyne into peynys of purgatore, & ef he were in state to be in moste of [purgatore], God shuld change þe peyne of purgatore into endeles joye.

43 peyne] MS damaged
WORKS CITED
WORKS CITED

MANUSCRIPTS

London, British Library MS Additional 11748
London, British Library MS Additional 37787
London, British Library MS Arundel 286
London, British Library MS Harley 1022
London, British Library MS Harley 2339
London, British Library MS Royal 8. C. i
London, Lambeth Palace MS 546
London, Westminster School MS 3
Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 6886
Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.6.33
Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.1.11
Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.6.43
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 296
Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2125
Cambridge, St John’s College MS 208
Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 74
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 41
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 938
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry 175
Glasgow, University Library MS Hunter 472

606
WORKS CITED

Norwich, Castle Museum Library MS 158 296 4g3
New Haven, CT, Beinecke Library MS 317
San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS HM 127

CATALOGUES, INDICES AND HAN DLISTS


WORKS CITED


WORKS CITED

DICTIONARIES AND LINGUISTIC REFERENCE WORKS


SECONDARY MATERIAL


“Ancient English Poems: from a Manuscript Belonging to J. W. Dod, Esq. of Cloverley, M.P. for the Northern Division of Salop.” *Gentleman’s Magazine* n.s. 29 (June 1848): 612–14


Works Cited


WORKS CITED


WORKS CITED


Works Cited


———. "A Text Attributed to Ruusbroec Circulating in England." Dr L. Reypens-Album: Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. L. Reypens s. j. ter gelengenheid van zijn tachtigste
WORKS CITED


WORKS CITED


WORKS CITED

Halliwell, James Orchard, ed. The Man in the Moone, or, the English Fortune Teller, from the Unique Copy, Printed in 1609, Preserved in the Bodleian Library. London: Percy Society, 1849.


WORKS CITED


Works Cited


WORKS CITED

Jones, E. A. "A Chapter from Richard Rolle in Two Fifteenth-Century Compilations."


WORKS CITED


WORKS CITED


Robinson, P. R. "The Booklet: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts."


Works Cited


WORKS CITED

Simmons, Thomas Frederick, and Henry Edward Nolloth, eds. *The Lay Folk's Catechism.*
EETS os 118. London: Kegan, Trench and Truebner for EETS, 1901.


<http://vulsearch.sf.net/html>.


Works Cited


