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RICHARD ROLLE, EMENDATIO VITAE: AMENDINGE OF LYF,
A MIDDLE ENGLISH TRANSLATION, EDITED FROM DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE, MS 432

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Waikato by

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for Ree, Amy, and Hannah
ABSTRACT

*Emendatio vitae* was the most widely copied of all Richard Rolle’s writings in fourteenth and fifteenth-century England, and yet in modern scholarship this important work and its early audience have received comparatively little scholarly attention. My aim has been to address this lacuna by producing an edition of one of the seven Middle English translations of the text—*Amendinge of Lyf*—with notes and glossary. In an introductory study I adopt a dual focus: Rolle’s intended audience, and the actual early readers of this particular Middle English translation. Firstly, I conclude that Rolle may have intended *Emendatio vitae* as a work of ‘pastoralia’, for secular priests, and therefore with a wider audience of the laity also in mind. This being the case, it demonstrates that the adaptation of traditionally eremitic contemplative writings for a general audience, so widespread in the fifteenth-century, was already stirring in Rolle’s day. Secondly, I look in detail at a specific cross-section of Rolle’s early readership: a translator, several scribes and correctors, and other early readers and owners. The striking thing about this segment of the text’s reception is its breadth, including a priest, a number of prominent lay women and men, and by the end of the fifteenth-century also Dominican and Benedictine nuns.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I began the present study in my first year as vicar of the Anglican parish of St Columba in Auckland, New Zealand, and owe a huge debt of gratitude to the network of people and institutions who have made this mix of pastoral and scholarly life possible. Firstly to my marriage partner, Dr Ree Boddé, who has offered unstinting support both professionally and personally, and to my children Amy and Hannah, who have accepted the long hours of study so graciously. It has been a great privilege to be supervised by Prof. Alexandra Barratt, who has been most patient with the realities of my mixed life, and also thanks are due to my second supervisor Assoc. Prof. Anne McKim for her assistance. Dr Michael Wright encouraged me to start this project and his kind concern extended as far as proof-reading the final draft. The study would not have been possible without the financial assistance of Te Kotahitanga Scholarship Committee, the St John’s College Trust Board, and the generous gift of both study leave and scholarships from the St Columba parish, for which I am also most grateful. For others forms of assistance my thanks are due to Prof. Ralph Hanna; Prof. Stephanie Hollis; Prof. Linne Mooney; Prof. Michael Sargent; Dr Rüdiger Spahl; Dr Greg Waite; Prof. Nicholas Watson; and the staffs of Auckland University Library, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, Cambridge University Library, the Catholic Institute of Theology, the National Library of Australia, St John’s Theological College Library, Trinity College Dublin Library, and Waikato University Library. Any errors and omissions remaining are of course my own.
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

GENERAL

CCCMM  *Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1952-)

CCSL  *Corpus Christianorum, series latina* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1953-)

EETS  Early English Text Society (the numbers which follow refer to the Original Series unless otherwise stated: eg. Extra Series ‘e.s.’, New Series ‘n.s.’, Supplementary Series ‘s.s.’)


IMEV  *The Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins (New York: Columbia University, 1943)


**PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS AND RELATED ABBREVIATIONS**

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INTRODUCTION

I. AMENDINGE OF LYF

The popular Latin text, *Emendatio vitae*, originally written by the fourteenth-century English hermit Richard Rolle, had been translated into Middle English no less than seven times by the end of the following century. Manuscript copies of these translations come under a variety of titles, such as, ‘the amendement of mannes lif’, ‘þe rewl of lyfynge’, ‘þe twelue chapitiles of hampol’, and ‘xii chapitours of perfeccioun’. The colophon for the base text of the present edition, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, reads: ‘here enden the xii chapitres of Ricardus heremyte of hampole’. Similarly the four other copies of this particular translation entitle it: ‘þe xii chapitres’ or ‘duodecim capitula’. Although well known by this designation in the fifteenth century, and probably the title used by this particular translator, most modern editions and translations have adopted the heading from Ralph Harvey’s 1896 edition:

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1 This is the title used in the edition, *Richard Rolle: Emendatio vitae, Orationes ad honorem nominis Ihesu, Edited from Cambridge University Library MSS Dd.v.64 and Kk.vi.20*, ed. by Nicholas Watson (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995); see also Rüdiger Spahl, ‘Eine kritische Ausgabe des lateinischen Textes *De emendatione vitae* von Richard Rolle: mit einer Übersetzung ins Deutsche und Untersuchungen zu den lateinischen und englischen Handschriften’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bonn, 2005), the publication of which is forthcoming through Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Bonn University Press. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the text came under a variety of titles, such as *De emendatione peccatoris, De regula vivendi, and Duodecim capitula*; see the list of printed editions and manuscripts in Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography*, Modern Languages Association Monograph Series, 3 (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1927), pp. 230-240.

2 Nicholas Watson, ‘Middle English Mystics’, in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. by David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 539-565 (p. 547), has provided a useful critique of modern scholarship’s use of the term ‘mystic’. By far the majority of MS colophons refer to Rolle as ‘hermit’, a term that I use primarily here.


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The Mending of Life. Harvey used as his base text Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 236, a copy of Richard Misyn’s fifteenth-century translation, which opens: ‘Þis boke is of mendynge of lyfe’. Utilising the spelling of my base text, I have chosen a similar title—Amendeinge of Lyf—for this edition, as the work is already well known under this heading and because it translates the most commonly used Latin title. For the sake of consistency I will also use this as a generic heading when referring to other Middle English translations of Emendatio vitae unless otherwise specified.

Of the seven Emendatio translators only Misyn, a Carmelite Prior at Lincoln, has been identified. There are three extant manuscript copies of his 1434 translation, and the remaining six anonymous translations are found in a further thirteen fifteenth-century manuscripts. The Latin Emendatio was even more popular than the English Amendeinge, both in England and on the Continent, as is evidenced by the 108 Latin manuscripts that contain a copy of the text. Despite the significant number of Latin manuscript copies and independent English translations, testifying to what was clearly the most popular of Rolle’s writings, the text has received comparatively little close attention since the sixteenth century. In 1510 an edition of Emendatio was printed in

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5 The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life or the Rule of Living, ed. by Ralph Harvey, EETS, 106 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1896; repr. 1996).
6 Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 105, line 6.
7 Valerie M. Lagorio and Michael G. Sargent, ‘English Mystical Writings’, in Wells Rev: 3424 (14, 15), date all but one of the MSS in the fifteenth century, the exception being Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.v.30, which they date as 1375-1400. However, see The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode, ed. by Avril Henry, EETS, 288/292, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1985-88), 1, p. xxxii, which dates the manuscript firmly in the fifteenth century.
8 Ninety of these Latin MSS are listed in Allen, Writings, pp. 231-240. A further six extant MSS, and two lost ones, are identified in the introduction to Richard Rolle’s Expositio super novem lectiones mortuorum: An Introduction and Contribution Towards a Critical Edition, ed. by Malcolm R. Moyes, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 92/12, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1988), 1, p. 19, n. 100. The most recent tally is 108, as listed in Spahl, ‘De emendatione’, pp. 16-64.
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Paris augmented with, among other things, extracts from *Ancrene Wisse* translated into Latin.\(^9\) Further Latin editions were printed at Antwerp in 1533, and in Cologne by Johann Faber in 1535 and 1536.\(^10\) Other than reprints of these early Latin editions in Margarinus de la Bigne’s *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum*, published in 1622, 1654, 1677, and finally 1694, the text slipped into obscurity until Harvey’s 1896 edition of the Misyn translation.

In 1927 Hope Emily Allen’s monumental *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Material for his Biography* devoted sixteen pages to *Emendatio* and its translations, although most of this is taken up by manuscript descriptions.\(^11\) Around the same time two modern French translations from the Latin were published by Léopold Denis and Maurice Noetinger, with useful introductory studies focusing in particular on Rolle’s Latin sources.\(^12\) The majority of *Amendinge* publications from the early twentieth century were English modernisations of the Misyn translation, with the one exception being William Hulme’s single-text edition of a non-Misyn translation found in Worcester Cathedral MS F.172.\(^13\) The modernisations tended towards the devotional rather than the academic, and were probably inspired by a contemporary popular interest in ‘mysticism’ which had grown up around the


\(^12\) Richard Rolle, *Du Péché à l’amour divin ou l’amendment du pécheur*, trans. by Léopold Denis, Éditions de la vie spirituelle (Paris: Librairie Declée, 1926); and *Le Feu d’amour, le Modèle de la vie parfait, le Pater par Richard Rolle l’ermite de Hampole*, trans. by Maurice Noetinger (Tours: Maison Alfred Mâme, 1928).

\(^13\) Richard Rolle of Hampole’s *Mending of Life from the Fifteenth Century Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 172*, ed. by William H. Hulme (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1918).
scholarship of William James, Frederich von Hügel, Evelyn Underhill and others. In 1913 Dundas Harford prefaced his Misyn modernisation with an Anglican apologetic for the study of Rolle, the next year Frances Comper’s modernisation included an introduction by Evelyn Underhill, and soon after this two further modernisations were published by Harry Hubbard and the anonymous ‘A.P.’. The only extended scholarly study of Amendinge from this period is Eugen Schnell’s careful analysis of the Misyn translation and Rolle’s Latin style.

It was not until 1991, and Nicholas Watson’s impressive study Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority, that Emendatio again received serious attention. He devotes much of chapter eight to this key text, placing it firmly at the pinnacle of Rolle’s writing career, but Watson’s primary focus is on the author rather than the audience and he makes only passing mention of the English translations. Soon after this Watson published a single-text edition of Emendatio, laying further groundwork for a serious study of the work, and in 2005 Rüdiger Spahl produced a much needed critical study.

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17 Watson, Invention, pp. 207-221, provides a chapter by chapter commentary on the Emendatio. References to the English translations are minimal; see p. 190 and p. 301 n. 3.
edition for his doctoral dissertation, the publication of which is forthcoming.\textsuperscript{18} Denis Renevey’s significant study of the contemplative tradition out of which Rolle wrote refers to \textit{Emendatio} briefly but, as with Claire McIlroy’s recent \textit{English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle}, the English translations fall outside the areas of concern altogether.\textsuperscript{19} McIlroy does, however, offer a useful critique of current Rolle scholarship:

\begin{quote}
The task of examining why Rolle’s vernacular texts attracted a wide readership in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been to some extent over-shadowed by heavy interest in the historical figure of Rolle himself, and his contemporary reputation as a saint, a holy hermit and an \textit{auctor}.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

The aim of the present thesis, with its focus on one of the Middle English translations of \textit{Emendatio}, is to move past this problematic quest of the historical Rolle and instead to look in some detail at questions of audience and reception.\textsuperscript{21}

\section*{Quest of the Historical Rolle}

The first substantial modern study of Rolle’s life, character, and writings was published in 1895-6 by Carl Horstmann, introducing his ambitious two-volume

\textsuperscript{18} See note 1 above. My thanks to Dr Spahl for sending me a copy of his thesis.


\textsuperscript{20} McIlroy, \textit{Prose Treatises}, p. 8.

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collection of Rolle-related texts.22 The opening paragraph of the introduction lays bare a distinctly nineteenth-century ideological (and, one might add, racist and sexist) approach:

In England’s fatherland, Germany, two different principles are represented by two different tribes. With the Saxon the male, with the Frank the female predominates. The Frank, after coming to the years of maturity, yields to the “trieb” [instinct], to “kind”, loses his self-assertion and strikes arms before his female “complement”, who henceforth takes him in hand, rules him and shapes his destiny after her ideal; so he is stopped in his progress to individuality. The Saxon yields not; he is naturally chaste [. . .]. When nature does conquer him, he subdues his womankind, and is the master. He is essentially individual, self, self-asserting, self-relying, self-possessed, cool and collected in the storm of passion, as in the brunt of battle.23

For Horstmann, Rolle was a fiercely independent, archetypal Anglo-Saxon, heroically resisting the wiles of women in the pursuit of perfection: ‘His system was transcendental idealism—flight from the “trieb” and, as such, as much above truth, as mere sensuality is beneath it’.24

Horstmann’s primary source for his biography was the Officium de sancto Ricardo de Hampole, a fourteenth-century liturgical resource prepared for the Cistercian nuns of

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22 Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and his Followers, ed. by Carl Horstmann, pref. by Anne Clark Bartlett, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), I, pp. v-xiv, and ll, pp. v-xliii. On other early Rolle scholarship, see Allen, Writings, pp. 9-21. Concerning the various ways in which Horstmann’s name has been spelt in his publications see Ralph Hanna, ‘Middle English Books and Middle English Litererary History’, Modern Philology, 102/2 (2004), 157-178 (p. 160, n. 6).

23 Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, I, p. v.

24 Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, II, p. xxii.
Hampole who were probably working towards Rolle’s canonisation. It preserves hagiographical details of the hermit’s life in nine lessons, and in two of the four manuscripts includes additional tales of miracles associated with the Rolle tomb.\(^{25}\)

Subsequent studies that built on Horstmann’s work also drew heavily from the *Officium*, some tending more towards devotional admiration than critical analysis, such as Geraldine Hodgson’s *Sanity of Mysticism* and Frances Comper’s *The Life of Richard Rolle*.\(^{26}\) In 1927, on the other side of the Atlantic, Allen published her *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*. This work took Rolle scholarship to a new level, and its enduring contribution has been to establish a canon that remains largely intact to this day.\(^{27}\)

Whereas previous studies relied heavily on the *Officium*, Allen for the first time provided a systematic collation of biographical material from the other primary source, Rolle’s own writings. Nevertheless, Horstmann’s characterisation of Rolle as a romantic, rugged individualist is still evident in Allen’s writing:

> Since, in the following pages, the establishment of Rolle’s canon has been the main enterprise, his most extravagantly individual passages have naturally


\(^{27}\) Watson removes only *De Dei misericordia* from Allen’s canon (now attributed to the Augustinian Friar John Waldeby) and he is more certain of *Super symbolum S. Athanasii* (see *Invention*, p. 301, n. 1). Ralph Hanna is currently editing what may prove to be two new additions to the Rolle canon: an English translation of Rolle’s *Enarratio compendiosa* (derived from Gregory’s *Moralia in Job*) entitled *Lessouns of Dirige*; and *Of Three Workings in Man’s Soul*, which he re-attributes to Rolle (*Richard Rolle: Uncollected Prose and Verse*, ed. by Ralph Hanna, EETS, 329 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). See Henry Hargreaves, ‘*Lessouns of Dirige*: A Rolle Text Discovered’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 91 (1990), 311-19; Wells Rev: 3056; and Allen, *Writings*, 364-68).
been chosen for quotation. As a result, it is the undisciplined strains in his character that have perhaps especially been brought to the attention: he has often appeared as a self-willed, bitter individualist, something very far from our conception of a Christian saint. [. . .] The truth is that in his youth sanctity and unregenerate bitterness were strangely mixed in Rolle, but from the first he gave flashes of rare mystical fervour, and of profound devoutness, and, by the end of his life, his works altogether express in a chastened and beautiful manner an idyllic romance, as it were, of the religious life.\textsuperscript{28}

Like Horstmann, Allen was perhaps overly confident of the historical reliability of the Officium: ‘Since autobiographical details have a share in upholding the authenticity of the writings, the catalogue has been preceded by a summary of the authoritative account of Rolle’s life given in the Office prepared for his canonization. Research supports this narrative in every important particular’.\textsuperscript{29}

A more questioning approach to the Officium is found in the contemporary research of a French Catholic scholar, Maurice Noetinger. In his 1926 article ‘The Biography of Richard Rolle’ and the introduction to his French translation of Rolle texts published two years later, Noetinger argues that after studying at Oxford Rolle did not immediately return home to meet his sister and become a hermit, as the Officium states, but rather undertook doctoral studies in France and may therefore have also been ordained a priest.\textsuperscript{30} The seventeenth-century manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque de

\textsuperscript{28} Allen, \textit{Writings}, pp. 7-8.

\textsuperscript{29} Allen, \textit{Writings}, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{30} Maurice Noetinger, ‘The Biography of Richard Rolle,’ \textit{The Month}, 147 (1926), 22-30 (pp. 27-29); \textit{Le Feu}, pp. xviii-xxii.
l’Arsenal, MSS 1020, 1021, 1022, and 1228, all refer to a ‘Richardus de Hampolo’ who was a student of the Sorbonne in Paris. For Noetinger this rectified the incongruity of Rolle, as a lay undergraduate, undertaking the traditionally priestly or institutional-religious roles of preacher, spiritual director, and theologian. Such an argument necessitated, however, a thorough reassessment of the *Officium*’s historicity.

Noetinger’s hypothesis of a sojourn in Paris was eventually disproved by Emile J. F. Arnould in 1939, but it experienced something of a resurrection with the publication of Nicole Marzac’s 1968 edition of Rolle’s *Tractatus super apocalypsim*.\(^{31}\) Marzac cited a colophon in Prague, Cathedral Chapter Library (now Prague Castle) MS A 219 which she claimed linked Rolle to Paris. The issue was finally laid to rest by Michael Sargent in 1988, who reinforced Arnould’s arguments, and demonstrated that the Prague colophon had in fact confused Richard Rolle with Richard of Saint-Victor. Sargent concludes his article:

> It is, of course, difficult categorically to prove the impossibility of any event in the distant past, however unlikely: one would be hard pressed, for example, to prove that the irregular changes of hermitage that Rolle’s critics complained of did not include—just once—his wintering on the Costa del Sol. We are confined to arguing not whether a hypothesis is absolutely true or untrue, but

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whether the evidence that survives to us warrants it; and in this case it does not.32

Although Noetinger’s central thesis was ultimately shown to be spurious, his work stands as an important reminder of the historical unreliability of the Officium, and the uncertainty that surrounds almost every detail of Rolle’s life.

Most enduring from this earlier period of Rolle studies has been Allen’s work, and in particular her establishment of a canon, which paved the way for the much needed work of editing Rolle’s numerous writings. Today we have an almost complete set of editions of Rolle’s Latin and English writings in one form or another.33 In her own edition of the English Writings of Richard Rolle, published in 1931, Allen notes, ‘In general he gives the most autobiography in the four Latin works in which he calls himself “iuvenis”—Canticum amoris, Judica me Deus, Melum contemplativorum [or Melos amoris], Job [or Expositio super novem lectiones mortuorum]’.34 The first of these, an ecstatic Latin poem to the Virgin, was edited by Gabriel Liegey in 1956.35 The following year saw the publication of Emile Arnould’s edition of the Melos amoris which, alongside his earlier articles, provided the first sustained challenge to

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33 Some editions are now old and need updating, but the only works not currently available in some form of modern edition are the four Latin commentaries, Super magnificat, Super mulierem fortum, Super orationem Dominicum, and Super symbolum apostolorum, and two texts that have yet to be firmly attributed to Rolle, Super symbolum S. Athanasii, and Super threnos Jeremiae.


the Horstmann-Allen characterisation of Rolle.\textsuperscript{36} Although Arnould also critiqued Noetinger’s work, essentially the two had a common agenda, to portray Rolle as a saintly Catholic rather than an individualistic proto-Protestant. Arnould makes reference to the \textit{Officium}, but his biographical study is constructed primarily of quotations from the \textit{Melos amoris}.\textsuperscript{37} John Daly’s 1961 thesis, published unrevised in 1984, provided an edition of another of these key texts, \textit{Judica me Deus}, although without providing any biographical analysis himself.\textsuperscript{38} In 1988 Malcolm Moyes’s edition of the liturgical commentary \textit{Expositio super novem lectiones mortuorum} was published, with a useful study of Rolle scholarship and a survey of Rolle’s historical context, but similarly no formal biography.

In addition to the four texts mentioned above, Rolle’s \textit{Incendium Amoris} contains numerous autobiographical passages, as the editor Margaret Deanesly notes: ‘The \textit{Incendium Amoris} itself is a rambling biography, an explanation of “how Richard Hampole came to the Fire of Love.”’\textsuperscript{39} In her 1929 thesis Mary Porter produced a transcription of the 1536 Johann Faber edition of Rolle’s \textit{Latin Psalter}, with an introductory ‘Study of Rolle’s Life and Works’ that offered little more than a


summary of Allen’s biographical work and no attempt at a study of the text’s complex manuscript tradition. Henry Bramley’s 1884 edition of the *English Psalter* is still the only complete edition of this important Rolle commentary, although between 1976 and 1990 six Fordham University doctoral students have produced editions of Psalms 1-15, 31-75, and 91-120. In 1958 Elizabeth Murray produced an edition of the commentary on the opening verses of the Song of Songs, *Super canticum canticorum*, a text in which Rolle describes the heights of mystical experience. Rolle’s *Contra amatores mundi*, edited in 1968 by Paul Theiner, contains less direct information about Rolle’s life than some other works, but as in all his writings a projection of his life experience never seems to be far beneath the surface. Nicole Marzac, also in

40 Mary Louise Porter, ‘Richard Rolle’s Latin Commentary on the Psalms: to Which is Prefixed a Study of Rolle’s Life and Works’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 1929). Watson, *Invention*, p. xii, notes that he is not prepared to tackle these textual issues either: ‘the Latin Psalter presents so many problems in establishing a reliable text and determining its place in the chronology of Rolle’s career that I have thought it better not to discuss it individually at all’.


1968, published what is still to date the only full critical edition of one of Rolle’s scriptural commentaries, *Tractatus super apocalypsim*, with a lengthy introductory biographical study.

By contrast, James Dolan offers only the briefest biographical overview in his 1968 doctoral study and edition of the *Tractatus super psalmum vicesimum*, revised and published in 1991.


Two articles by John Alford, from 1973 and 1976, provide an important critical lens through which to view the plethora of autobiographical information contained in Rolle’s writings: that of Biblical ‘imitatio’. As Alford writes:

> Although the prevalence of biblical quotations in Rolle’s work has been noted by many critics—indeed, these could hardly be missed—the full extent of his enormous debt to Scripture has escaped most readers simply because he was able to adapt the language of Scripture so perfectly and naturally to his own expression. As one of his [...] editors puts it [Arnould, *Melos amoris*, p. ix],

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‘Only a familiarity equal to that of Rolle with the text of the Vulgate can enable one to realize fully how steeped the hermit was in the Biblical text’. 48

In his own writings Rolle consistently places himself within the salvation history, language, and metaphor of Christian and Hebrew scripture. So, for example, when he writes in *Contra amatores* about the death of a woman who had supported him for many years, he describes his emotions by quoting verses from Job, Exodus, and Psalm 54.49

The prolonged period of editorial scholarship, focusing on individual texts and their immediate contexts, created a vacuum in Rolle biographical scholarship. No one since Allen had stepped back and produced a significant book-length study of Rolle’s entire life and works. In 1991 Nicholas Watson’s *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority* was published, about which Vincent Gillespie comments:

> So persuasive and totalizing was the portrait painted by Watson of Rolle as a conflicted author in restless search of authority, gnawed at by the insecurities of his own liminality and his lack of clerical magisterium, and yet sure of the purity of his own motivation and the certainty of his own membership of the perfecti, that the book effectively stunned scholarship into an awestruck silence for the rest of that decade.50


One of Watson’s many contributions was a revision of Allen’s chronology of Rolle’s writings based primarily on evidence of the hermit’s self-borrowings. The ordering is foundational to Watson’s thesis, and worth representing in full here:

(1) Early Works: (a) *Judica me*, with *Super symbolum apostolorum*, *Super symbolum S. Athanasii* and *Super orationem Dominicum*; (b) *Super apocalypsim*, with *Super threnos* (?), *Super magnificat*, *Super mulierem fortetm*, and *Canticum amoris*; (2) Middle Works, in the order given: *Incendium amoris*, *Super psalmum vicesimum*, *Super canticum canticorum*, *Contra amatores mundi*, *Melos amoris*; (3) Late Works, also in the order given: *Super lectiones mortuorum*, *Emendatio vitae*, *The Commandment*, *The Form of Living*, with the English Psalter also postdating *Melos amoris* (?), and *Ego dormio*, with the short English works, postdating at least *Super canticum canticorum*. The missing work here is the Latin Psalter, which would fit into the period just before *Incendium amoris* and *Super psalmum vicesimum*, but also fairly well among the late works, before *Emendatio vitae*; I only suspect that it belongs to the earlier period.

Renevey has since argued for a slight revision, placing *Contra amatores* after *Melos amoris*, and the first English epistle *Ego dormio* immediately after this or between the two. Renevey has since argued for a slight revision, placing *Contra amatores* after *Melos amoris*, and the first English epistle *Ego dormio* immediately after this or between the two. Ralph Hanna would also add *Lessouns of Dirige* (or at least the Latin text *Enarratio compendiosa* from which it is translated) and *Of Three Workings in Man’s Soul* to the list.

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54 Hanna, *Prose and Verse*; see note 27 above.
In his study Watson also helpfully returned to the question of the historical reliability of the *Officium*, pointing out similarities with Bonaventure’s *Legenda sancti Francisci*, and in particular undermining the romantic impression Horstmann, Allen, and Rolle himself portray of the wandering hermit (who would have required a small library to write what he did) carrying all his worldly possessions from place to place in a rucksack.\(^{55}\) For all its encyclopedic analysis, Watson’s study of Rolle the writer is still open to accusations of an over-emphasis on the individualistic and idiosyncratic, as he even foreshadows in the preface:

Two approaches to writing a literary-critical analysis offered themselves. One was to present Rolle’s works [. . .] with a view to placing them squarely within the relevant literary and devotional traditions. The other approach, the one I decided to take, was to focus less on Rolle’s affiliations with tradition than on his idiosyncracies, and to try to account for these in terms of the internal logic of his works and career.\(^{56}\)

Renevey’s *Language, Self and Love* provides an important counter-balance to Watson’s work, establishing a clear relationship between Rolle’s writing and the twelfth-century Bernardine and Victorine contemplative traditions, and in particular the distinctive hermeneutical approach to the Hebrew love poetry of the Song of Songs.\(^{57}\) Renevey places Rolle, as a sexual being, firmly within this contemplative

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\(^{56}\) Watson, *Invention*, p.xi.

\(^{57}\) See in particular ‘Part One: Hermeneutics and Language of Love in the Twelfth Century’, pp. 7-59.
tradition, and provides an insightful analysis of how Rolle reshapes the tradition in its new context.

The idiosyncratic Rolle is never far away, however, even in Renevey’s work. Modern Rolle scholarship had tended to avoid articulating the psycho-sexual processes that are so evidently integral to the hermit’s writings. Renevey provides a useful and frank reading of this ambiguous element of the hermit’s inner life and teaching:

The spectre of the sexually attractive woman is overwhelmingly present in the writings of Rolle. [. . .] For Rolle, the spiritual battle and its victorious outcome depend on the ability of the contemplative to operate a psychological self-castration [. . .]. The tension prompted by the encounter or visualization of enticing women forces Rolle to effect a drastic transfer of the sexual desire, which is then directed to God. Although this notion of transference is found in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, especially in the way he reminds his monks of their former carnal practices, Rolle’s psychological conversion is tested as he walks in the middle of depraved and debauched women. [. . .] One has to admit that to use women as a gauge to measure spiritual progress is a remarkable and very idiosyncratic characteristic. 58

Renevey goes on to define two further categories of women in Rolle’s thought: the idealised feminine figure, in particular the Virgin Mary, and the woman living some form of religious life or preparing for it. It appears, on the surface at least, that it is for the latter that Rolle wrote much of the vernacular theology and commentary that belong to the last stage of his life.

INTRODUCTION

Rolle’s first English epistle, *Ego dormio*, may have been written for a Cistercian nun at Yedingham, as one of the manuscript copies states, Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.v.64: ‘scriptus cuidam moniali de ʒedyngham’. The same manuscript contains a copy of another of Rolle’s epistles, *The Commandment*, and a scribal note indicating that it was written for a nun at another of the Cistercian houses at Hampole: ‘scriptus cuidam sorori de Hampole’. One of the Hampole sisters was Margaret Kirkeby, a name found in numerous copies of Rolle’s *Form of Living*, the *English Psalter*, and even the *Officium*: ‘dominam Margeritam olim reclusam apud Anderby Ebor. Dioces.’. Renevey makes an interesting observation concerning this Margaret and the vernacular theology Rolle appears to have addressed to her:

She is the recipient of the epistle, but also a living example (*exemplum*) of the instruction it contains. She is part of the textual strategy, a persona behind which Rolle’s own shadow lingers, a textual facade against which his claims can be artfully displayed.

McIlroy develops this line of thinking in a critique of the tendency to historicise these vernacular texts, and therefore to mistakenly portray Rolle as a writer of gendered literature. Building on the work of Caroline Walker Bynum, Anne Clark Bartlett and

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59 A position held by Watson, *Invention*, pp. 227-8. Cf. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, pp. lxvi-ii, who suggests that this was a non-authorial dedication, and points to Margaret Kirkby as the original recipient. Note also Tokyo, Takamiya Collection, MS Bradfer-Lawrence 10 (Gurney), which begins: ‘Heer begynnyth a tretis [. . .] as he wrot to an ankeresse’; Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. xliv.


61 Perry, *Prose Treatises*, p. xxxiv. Allen has written at length on Margaret Kirkby and her relationship with Rolle; see *Writings*, pp. 35-6, 188, 265-68, 502-11.

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others, McIlroy argues that the implied reader of the epistles is not so much the female religious, as the feminised soul.  

The proposal that Rolle constructs an ungendered implied reader in his vernacular prose writings calls for a re-assessment of them as works that envisage a wider readership, beyond the initial female recipient(s) [. . .]. Rolle’s feminising of his audience may not necessarily reflect the gender of actual readers, instead it suggests that he both accepts and promotes the soul as feminine in this text, demanding from the reader dedication of his/her own soul to the role of bride and the love of God.  

McIlroy’s interest is in the internal dynamics of the texts themselves, and the affective responses these writings evoke in the reader, male or female. It is perhaps a timely call for the quest of the historical Rolle to be put to one side, for the time being at least, and the scholarly gaze to be directed again at the texts themselves and in particular their audiences.

This approach has been adopted by Marleen Cré in her study of the codex, London, British Library, MS Additional 37790, and its early readers. The manuscript contains copies of the Misyn translations of Rolle’s Emendatio and Incendium, and Cré presents the translator as one of the early critics of Rolle, arguing from specific

63 Caroline Walker Bynum, Jesus as Mother, Publications for the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA, 16 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion (New York: Zone Books, 1991); Anne Clark Bartlett, Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

64 McIlroy, Prose Treatises, pp. 19-20, 73.

examples of his prose style and editorial presence. The final chapter of the book is dedicated entirely to a study of audience: “‘Kepe this treulye’—‘profite also and encre of grace to gastly louers’: Reading and Readers in London, British Library, MS Additional 37790. Although not yet in print, Hanna’s EETS edition Richard Rolle: Uncollected Prose and Verse and his Exeter University publication The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue, will contribute significantly to the landscape of Rolle’s fourteenth and fifteenth-century reception. Similarly Anne Hudson’s forthcoming edition of the Lollard-interpolated versions of Rolle’s English Psalter will provide further insight into the hermit’s earliest audiences.

Emendatio vitae and its Intended Audience

A close reading of Emendatio raises the distinct possibility that Rolle did not write his text for a traditional contemplative audience, such as monastics or solitaries, but rather for secular priests and through them a lay audience. This being the case, Rolle’s Emendatio might be termed a work of ‘pastoralia’, which Joseph Goering defines as ‘a distinctive type of didactic literature [..] to educate pastors and to prepare them to teach their people by word (in preaching and in administering the sacraments) and by example (in living an exemplary life)’. The first half of Emendatio is essentially an

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66 Cré, Charterhouse, pp. 76-97.

67 Cré, Charterhouse, pp. 251-298.

68 Ralph Hanna, Prose and Verse; and The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue (Exeter: Exeter University Press, forthcoming). My thanks to Professor Hanna for generous correspondence concerning his current research.


exposition of one of the key themes of ‘pastoralia’—penance—and covers such topics as conversion, despising the world, poverty, confession, tribulation, and patience. Rolle then lays out a path by which the reader might attain the exemplary or perfect life, through the disciplines of ‘lectio divina’ [prayerful reading], to the somatic joys given by God to the contemplative: ‘fervor’ [heat], ‘dulcor’ [sweetness], and ‘canor’ [song].

In contrast to the effusive autobiographical character of so much of Rolle’s earlier work, Emendatio is written in a didactic style, where the first person is rarely used. Watson describes this as ‘the stylo humilis Augustine recommends to preachers’. A few passages in the eleventh chapter break this rule, but they take the form of meditations mostly borrowed from earlier writings, and are probably intended as simple spiritual exercises rather than a change in style. For example:

Dulce lumen et delectabile, quod es Conditor meus incircumscriptus, illustra faciem et aciem oculorum meorum interiorum claritate increata.

[O sweit light and delectabyll, þat is my makar vn-made, liȝt þe face and scharpnes of my inward eyn with clernes vn-made.] Only on one occasion, at the end of chapter ten, does the authorial voice momentarily break through:


72 Watson, Invention, p. 208.

73 Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, lines 1-3; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 30-31. All direct quotes in this general study of the Emendatio will be drawn from Watson’s edition, with the early
Parco autem hic amplius loqui, quia ualde miser michi uideor, nam sepe caro mea affligitur et temptatur.

[I spare to say more here, for me semys my-self a full greet wretch; for oft my flesch is noyd and assayd.]

Although the sentence is no doubt Rolle’s, it is interesting to note that it is not found in a number of the Latin manuscripts, and nor is it found in the English translation of the present edition (which is derived from this particular Latin recension).

As the chapter headings demonstrate, *Emendatio* plots a course for the reader (or hearer) in four parts, each made up of three triads: from conversion and the related processes of detachment from the world, through the formation of a rule of life and the ensuing spiritual battle to maintain it, to the exercise of traditional monastic spiritual disciplines, and finally the attainment of earthly perfection and the bliss of contemplation:

- primo, de conversione; secundo, de contemptu mundi; tercio, de paupertate; quarto, de institucione vite; quinto, de tribulacione; sexto, de patiencia; septimo, de oracione; octavo, de meditacione; nono, de leccione; decimo, de puritate mentis; undecimo, de amore Dei; duodecimo, de contemplacione Dei.

[The fyrst, of conuersyon or holy turnynge; þe secunde, of þe despisynge of

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75 Spahl, ‘*De Emendatione*’, p. 202, n. 25, notes that this passage is omitted in Hereford Cathedral, MS O.8.1, which is one of the representative manuscripts for his ‘Gruppe K’. The translation from which the present edition derives is related to this group of eighteen Latin MSS, which includes Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 54, the text I have transcribed in Appendix B. Five of the manuscripts in this particular grouping were first identified by Margaret Amassian, ‘The Rolle Material in Bradfer-
INTRODUCTION

...his warde; þe þirde, of pouerte; þe fowrte, of þe settynge of mans lyfe; þe fyft, of tribulacioun; þe sext, of paciens; þe sevynt, of prayer; þe aght, of meditacioun; þe ix, of redynge; þe x, of clerenes of mynde; þe xj, of þe lufe of God; þe xij, of Godis contemplacioun.]

Found in the majority of manuscripts and no doubt originally from the holograph, these headings became so well known that they even circulated independently in the fifteenth century. The Desert of Religion, a vernacular poem which Anne McGovern-Mouron argues may have been originally composed for Carthusian lay brothers, contains a description of an evergreen tree of perfection:77

Of perfite lyuynge tuelf degrese
Groves in þe tre þat þu here sese:
Conversion is þe fyrste þat is herd,
þe secund is despite of þe werld.
þe thyrd is pouert of man and wyfe.
þe ferth is settyng of gode lyfe.
Tribulacione þe fift is þan.
þe sext is penaunce of man.
þe seuent is orisone, als telles þe text.
Meditacione þe aghtent is next.
þe neyent is lessone wysly soght.
þe tente is clennes of dede and thoght.

Lawrence MS 10 and its Relationships to Other Rolle Manuscripts’, Manuscripta, 23 (1979), 67-78 (p. 72).

76 Watson, Emendatio, p. 33, lines 2-7; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 105, lines 7-14.

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Þe elleuent is lufe of Godes sonn.

Þe tuelfte is contemplacioun.78

Other than what is probably a scribal error in the sixth degree, which should read patience not penance, these are clearly the chapter headings of Rolle’s *Emendatio*.79

*Emendatio* was by far the most popular of Rolle’s writings, if we may judge by the number of extant copies. None of the closest contenders, *Expositio super novem lectiones mortuorum, Incendium amoris*, the *English Psalter*, or *The Form of Living*, can muster much more than half the 124 Latin and English translation copies of *Emendatio* that are extant from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.80 It was probably the last of Rolle’s Latin works, written after *Ego dormio* (the first of his vernacular epistles) but before what are most probably his final writings, *The Commandment* and *The Form of Living*.81 Allen suggests that *Emendatio* was written for William Stopes, a doctor of theology for some forty years and possibly the head of a religious house, who is mentioned in the marginal notes of Vienna, National Library, MS 4483.82 The colophons of two of the 108 Latin copies of *Emendatio* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 16; and Shrewsbury School, MS 25) are dedicated to a certain ‘William’, who Allen argues is the same person.83 Watson,


79 Noted in Allen, *Writings*, p. 244.


81 On Rolle’s chronology, see notes 52 and 53 above.

82 Allen, *Writings*, p. 41.

however, notes that Allen’s argument is unconvincing, and Rüdiger Spahl’s article ‘Richard and William’ effectively dismantles the hypothesis. 84

The text of *Emendatio* itself also suggests a much wider intended audience than Stopes and the members of his priory, and the opening two chapters seem intentionally broad in their appeal. Chapter one, ‘De conuersione’, could have been of interest to a secular priest going about his pastoral duties, but would have been an equally appropriate topic for one of the priest’s parishioners, a novice entering a priory, or a recluse in her cell. In the *Form of Living*, purportedly written for the recluse Margaret Kirkeby, Rolle advocates radical conversion to her new life:

> Atte þe begynnynge turne þe entierly to þi lord Ihesu Crist. That turnynge to Ihesu is nat els bot turnynge fro al þe couaitise and þe lykynge and þe occupaciouns and bisynes of worldly thynges. 85

This flight from the world is a theme found in most eremitic texts. *Ancrene Wisse*, for example, gives a number of Biblical examples for those seeking solitude and then adds:

> Nv þe habbeð iherd, mine leoue sustren, forbisne of þe Alde Lahe ant ek of þe Neowe, hwi þe ahen anlich lif swiðe to luuien. Efter þe forbisnes, hereð nu reisuns hwi me ah to fleo þe world.

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85 Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 9, lines 267-69. Note, however, McIlroy’s distinction between the ‘real’ friendship between Rolle and Margaret, and the reader/writer friendship the text constructs (McIlroy, *Prose Treatises*, pp. 144-49).
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[Now, my dear sisters, you have heard examples from the old law and also from the new why you ought to love the solitary life very much. After these examples now hear some reasons why one ought to flee the world.]  

Conversion is a frequent theme in Rolle’s writing, but he presents it as something of importance to a much broader audience than just those pursuing the solitary life. For example, in the opening chapter of the Incendium he specifies it as a concern for ‘uniuersi’ ['everyone']: 

Nouerint uniuersi in hoc erumpuoso exilii habitaculo immorantes, neminem posse amore eternitatis imbui, neque suauitate celica deliniri, nisi ad Deum uere conuertatur.

[Everyone who lives in this deplorable exile of ours knows that he cannot be filled with a love of eternity, or anointed with the sweet oil of heaven, unless he be truly converted to God.]  

The theme of chapter two, ‘De contemptu mundi’, could also be read as the literal flight into the wilderness of the solitary or religious novice, but Rolle cleverly shapes his text to include a much wider audience also. Popular works, such as Pope Innocent III’s De miseria condicionis humane, attracted a general audience beyond the

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87 On conversion as one of Rolle’s main themes see Allen, English Writings, p. 155.

88 Deanesly, Incendium, p. 148, lines 4-6; Wolters, Fire, p. 48.
professional religious. Rolle’s words could have been read at a number of levels, depending on the audience:

Contemnere mundum est cuncta temporalia et transitoria sine amore illorum hanc uitam transire, in uia nichil preter Deum querere, de omnibus vanis gaudiis et solaciis non curare, vix necessaria accipere, et si aliquando desunt letanter ferre. Iste est mundi contemptus.

[Þis warlde to despyse is all temporall þingis and passand, withouten þer lufe þis lyffe to passe. In þis noþinge bot God to seyk, of all vaynglory and solas not to charge, vnnethis þi nescessaris takand, and if þai sum tyme wante gudely bere it. This is despisyng of þis warld.] 

It is the third chapter, in which Rolle addresses the politically charged issue of poverty, that perhaps indicates for the first time a particular intended audience for Emendatio. Watson suggests that, above all, it is the way Rolle shapes this theme which indicates that the hermit had non-eremitic readers in mind: ‘the work’s intended audience was thus probably the secular clergy—and, through them, everyone else’. By comparison William of St Thierry’s ascetic manual, Epistola aurea, is unequivocal in advocating extreme poverty as central to the contemplative calling:

Vestra namque simplicitas jam multos provocat ad aemulationem: vestra sufficientissima et altissima paupertas jam multorum confundit cupiditatem:

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90 Watson, Emendatio, p. 36, lines 1-5; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 108, lines 7-11. Watson’s notes detail many of Rolle’s sources and parallel texts. I draw heavily from them here and in the end notes to my own edition.

91 Watson, Invention, p. 326, n. 13.
vestrum secretum jam earum rerum quae tumultum faciunt, vel facere
videntur, pluribus incutit horrorem.

[For your simplicity is already stirring up many to emulate you. Your making
do with essentials and your rigorous poverty is already putting to shame the
covetousness of many. Your retirement is already inspiring many with disgust
for the things which are seen to cause disturbance.]

Rolle quotes the standard Biblical text on the subject (Matt 19:21), ‘Si vis perfectus
esse, vade et vende omnia que possides et da pauperibus, et veni et sequere me’, but
then importantly adds:

Tu vero, intelligens que dicta sunt, per aliam uiam accipias paupertatem. Cum
dicit vade et vende, notat mutacionem affectuum et cogitacionum: ut qui prius
superbus fuerat iam humilis deueniat, iracundus mitis, inuidus caritatiuus,
cupidus largus discrete.

[Þou þat vndirstandis þat I ha sayd, take þi pouerte anoþer way. Qwhen þat he
says go and sell, he markis chawngynge of þi desire and of þi þoght, als þus:
he þat was prowde, now be lawly, þat was wrathfull now be meyk, he þat was
envius now be charitefull, before couetus now large and discrete.]

The non-literal interpretation of Jesus’ teaching on poverty here is similar to that
found in one of the hermit’s earlier works, Judica me Deus, which was probably
addressed to a secular priest. Rolle emphasises that it is not riches themselves, but
the desire for riches, which is the root of all evil:

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10-11.

93 Watson, Emendatio, p. 39, lines 13-17; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 110, lines 4-8.

94 There has been some debate as to the original recipient of Judica Me. Allen first suggested it was
written for a priest, but was challenged by Arnould (Allen, Writings, p. 99; Arnould, Melos, p. ix, n. 11).
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Quia magis uolo te diuicias habere et illas non diligere quam non habere et illas concupiscere. Non omnes qui apparent pauperes, pauperes sunt quia nonnulli qui paupertatem foris ostendunt, intus per cupiditatem pauperiem amittunt.

[For I would rather that you have riches and not love them than not have them and desire them. Not all who seem poor are truly poor; for some who display poverty outwardly lose their inner poverty through concupiscence.]

In *Emendatio* too, Rolle is careful in his choice of words: ‘Qui autem mansuetudine et humilitate pollent, quamuis multas diuicias possident, tamen ad dexteram Christi cum iudicat statuentur’ ['Þai sothely þat in mekenes and lawlynes schynys, þof þai haue mikell ryches, on þe right hand zit of Criste qwhen he demys þai sall be set’t].

Rolle would have been well aware of the relatively recent split between the Franciscan order and Pope John XXII (1316-1334) which has been described as ‘the most painful rift the medieval Roman church ever suffered’. The long and heated debate centred around Franciscan teaching on the absolute poverty of Christ and the apostles, and in particular the issue of ‘usus pauper’ or the restricted use of material

The scholarly consensus now, however, supports Allen (see, for example, Daly, *Judica Me*, p. vi; Watson, *Invention*, p.76).

Daly, *Judica Me*, p. 12, lines 13-16; Watson, *Invention*, p. 92. I have used Watson’s English translation here, as Daly’s is less satisfactory, cf. Daly, *Judica Me*, pp. 88-9.


In November 1323 a papal Bull was issued that seemed to attack one of the founding principles of the Franciscan order, evangelical poverty:

Quum inter nonnullos viros scholasticos saepe contingat in dubium revocari, utrum pertinaciter affirmare, Redemptorem nostrum ac Dominum Iesum Christum eiusque Apostolos in speciali non habuisse aliqua, nec in communi etiam, haereticum sit censendum, diversa et adversa etiam sententibus circa illud: nos, huic concertationi finem imponere cupientes, assertionem huiusmodi pertinacem, quum scripturae sacrae, quae in plerisque locis ipsos nonnulla habuisse asserit, contradicat expresse, ipsamque scripturam sacram, per quam utique fidei orthodoxae probantur articuli.

[Since among various men of learning it is often doubted whether it should be judged heretical to affirm with pertinacity that our Redeemer and Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles did not have anything singly or in common . . . we . . . declare that a pertinacious assertion of this kind shall henceforth be judged erroneous and heretical since it expressly contradicts holy scripture from which the articles of orthodox faith are demonstrated.]

Rolle’s teaching on poverty is certainly orthodox by this measure (and highly unlikely to have been written for a Franciscan friar) but he goes one step further. The hermit’s insistence that those who have ‘multas diuicias’ ['mikell ryches'] may be given a place in heaven at Christ’s right hand, does seem to indicate an audience whose job it was to preach to the laity.

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Secular priests were only one of the groups permitted to preach in fourteenth-century England. The Dominicans were a preaching order from their inception in 1220, a lead quickly followed by other orders of friars: Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinians. As the preaching ministry of friars became established in England, many parishes became battle-fields, ironically over the question of money. Siegfried Wenzel notes:

Naturally many rectors were galled by the friars’ right or privilege to come into the parishes and preach, to hear confessions, to bury the dead, and thereby to receive offerings from multitudes that were deeply impressed by a style of preaching more intelligent, more learned, and certainly more lively and entertaining than what their appointed rectors, let alone their ill-educated vicars, had to offer.

The level of tension would have varied from diocese to diocese, and may or may not have been a matter of concern for Rolle’s bishop and his clergy, but just a year after the hermit’s death the issue burst onto the public arena when Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh, delivered a sermon on 5th July 1350 to Pope Clement VI calling for the friars’ privileges to be removed. Other religious orders had links

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with, and even ownership of parish churches, but appear to have been less directly involved than the friars in preaching to the laity on a regular basis.\textsuperscript{103}

While Rolle’s intended audience for \textit{Emendatio} could conceivably have been the monastic preacher or friar, it seems most unlikely. Between 1336 and 1339 Pope Benedict XII instituted a constitutional reform of the Cistercians, Benedictines, and Augustinian Canons. Part of this involved the establishment of religious houses at the universities, oriented towards the work of preaching, to which the provincial houses were encouraged to send a specified quota of members.\textsuperscript{104} In \textit{Emendatio} Rolle demonstrably draws from a wide range of well known works of ‘pastoralia’ and contemplative theology, but does not write in a scholarly style, making direct reference only to Biblical quotations. Rolle’s Latin is also uncomplicated and unlikely to have been aimed at a university audience, but rather is comparable to that found in \textit{Judica me}, which was most probably composed for a secular priest.\textsuperscript{105}

In \textit{Judica me} the young Rolle demonstrates a keen awareness of the wider audience he is able to reach through the secular priest. He explains that he is writing a

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\textsuperscript{103} Knowles, \textit{Religious Orders}, pp. 288-94, plots the appropriation of ‘vicarages’ by the monastic orders (37% by the Dissolution), noting that they were primarily a financial asset, and that the houses often appointed secular priests to undertake pastoral duties on their behalf.
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\textsuperscript{104} Wenzel, \textit{Latin Sermon}, p. 278.
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\textsuperscript{105} Watson, \textit{Invention}, p. 213, comments on the Latin style of \textit{Judica me}. Concerning the text’s audience see footnote 94 above.
\end{flushright}
compendium of teachings drawn from the church fathers which may prove useful for his friend the preacher:

Verumptamen que uestro statui profutura iam uideo compilare studui ut non mihi laus detur sed Deo, a quo quicquid boni habuerimus ab illo procul dubio habemus. Immo, si nobis uel aliis legentibus dignum uideatur, sciatis quia de uerbis precedencium patrum illud extraxi; et ad utilitatem legencium in quodam breui compendio redegui, ut quod ego nondum in publico predicando cogor dicere, saltem uobis ostendam scribendo, qui necessitatem habetis salubriter predicare.

[However, I have worked at compiling some things which I believe will be of use to you in your position, not that I, but that God may be praised, from whom whatever good we have certainly comes. Moreover, if you or any other reader should find anything worthwhile, please understand that I have gathered this from the writings of the early fathers. I have reduced it in a kind of brief compendium for the usefulness of readers so that what I am not yet compelled to utter in public preaching, I may at least in writing show you who have the obligation to preach profitably.]\(^{106}\)

The text’s modern editor, John Daly, has demonstrated conclusively that Rolle’s primary source for this work was the widely read pastoral manual, \textit{Oculus sacerdotis}, originally written around 1327-29 by the parish priest William of Pagula.\(^{107}\) The edition makes manifest the fact that, rather than compiling the work himself (as Rolle

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\(^{106}\) Daly, \textit{Judica Me}, p. 18, lines 14-20; p. 93.

\(^{107}\) There is no modern edition of the \textit{Oculus}, but Daly has edited the parallel segments from Ohio, State University, Latin MS 1, collated with Oxford, New College, MS 292 (see Daly, \textit{Judica Me}, pp. 20-76). On dating see L. E. Boyle, ‘The \textit{Oculus Sacerdotis} and Some Other Works of William of Pagula’, \textit{Transactions of the Royal Historical Society}, 5/5 (1955), 81-110 (p. 90, n. 3).
seems to suggest), the hermit copied verbatim large segments from William’s *Oculus*. Although similar in some ways to the intent of this earlier work, being a compendium written for a secular priest and therefore with a general audience in mind, Rolle’s *Emendatio* is far more sophisticated. It achieves what the younger Rolle could only mimic, a complex weave of original work, extracts from other compendia, commonplace teaching, Biblical reference, and Rolle’s own self-borrowing from early works.

The fourth chapter of *Emendatio* is unmistakably a work of ‘pastoralia’. Even the chapter heading reflects the self-assurance of a writer who sees himself as an equal among other great teachers of the pastoral arts: ‘De institucione vite’. An early reader familiar with classic teachings on the religious life might have noted a parallel with Aelred of Rievaulx’s twelfth-century rule for anchoresses, *De institutione inclusarum*, but broadened to include a wider audience. The chapter opens with a reference to four things, which Rolle draws together from a variety of well known medieval compendia, and synthesises them into the initial segment of the rule of life he has constructed for his particular audience:

Ut homo ad honorem Dei et comodum sui ac vtilitatem proximi recte dirigatur, quatuor occurrunt dicenda.

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108 *Judica* A is Rolle’s own composition. For the parallel text of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* (otherwise unedited) alongside *Judica B1, B2*, and *B3*, see Daly, *Judica Me*, pp. 20-76.

109 Watson’s *Invention* provides a detailed study of Rolle’s writing career, and the process by which he constructs himself as a spiritual authority.

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[That man to þe worship of God and his awen profett and profet of his neghbur rightwisly be dressyd, fowr þingis ar to be sayde.]\textsuperscript{111}

The first of these four things, concerning what defiles a person, is made up of three types of sin and probably derives from three chapters of Hugh of Strasbourg’s \textit{Compendium theologicae veritatis} (c. 1265): ‘Dinumeratio peccatorum cordis’, ‘De peccatis oris’, and ‘De peccatis operis’.\textsuperscript{112} The first type of sin in Rolle’s version concerns thought rather than the heart, but otherwise the parallels are evident:

Primo, que sunt que hominem coiquinant; et sunt tria peccata uel tria genera peccatorum, scilicet, peccata cogitacionis, oris, et operis.

[Fyrst, what it is þat filis man, and it ar iij synnes or iij kyndis of syn, þat is to say, of þoght, of mouth, of wark.]\textsuperscript{113}

Concerning sins of thought (or the heart), Rolle’s comments appear to relate to just two of Hugh’s list of more than forty sins in chapter thirty of the \textit{Compendium}:

‘indevotio’ and ‘inconstantia’:

Cogitacione peccat quis quando aliquid contra Deum cogitat; si cor suum non occupat laude et amore Dei; si illud diuersis cogitacionibus abstrahi et mundo vagari permittit.

[In þoght synnes man qwhen he þinkis oght agayn God, if his hart occupy not with lufe and louynge of God, bot suffyrs it with dyuers þoghtis and þe warlde to go voyde.]\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{111} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 41, lines 1-2; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 111, lines 28-29.


\textsuperscript{113} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 41, lines 2-5; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 111, lines 30-31.

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Next Rolle writes a list of eight sins of the mouth that bear much closer resemblance, although in different order, to some of those found in chapter thirty-one of the *Compendium*: ‘perjurium’, ‘de mendacio’, ‘detractio’, ‘maledictio’, ‘vaniloquium’, ‘stultiloquium’, ‘peccatorum defensio’, and ‘turpiloquium’.

Ore peccat quando mentitur, quando periiurat, quando maledicit, quando detrahit, quando errorem quamuis ignorans defendit, quando stultiloquia aut turpiloquia uel eciam vana aut ociosa profert.

[In mouth he synnes qwhen he lys, qwhen he forswers, qwhen he weris, qwhen he bakbitis, qwhen he defendis a wronge, qwhen he fond spech, fowl spech, vayn or idyll bryngis forth.]\(^{115}\)

Finally Rolle compiles a list of sins of deed, which again relate less directly to the inventory found in chapter thirty-two of the *Compendium*, but with some overlap: ‘luxuria’, ‘furtum’, ‘rapine’, ‘delinquere tactu’, and ‘osculis’.

Opere peccat multis modis: luxuriando, lubrice tangendo, osculando, voluntarie se polluendo, uel procurando uel sustinendo (sine maxima causa) occasiones quibus credit se posse pollui; rapiendo, furando, defraudando, percuciendo, et alii.

[In deyd he synnes many wyse: be lichery, synfully towchinge, kissynge, wilfully himself filynge, or procuryng or sustenynge occasyons withoutyne grete cause be qwhilk he trows he myght be filyd; in robbynge, stelynge, begilynge, smytynge and odyr.]\(^{116}\)

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Arguably these parallels with the *Compendium* could be coincidental, given its lengthy lists of sins, but in his subsequent vernacular epistle, *The Form*, Rolle translates much more closely from Hugh’s catalogue of sins, demonstrating a familiarity with and access to the text at that time at least.\(^{117}\)

In Rolle’s teaching on the second of the four things, namely what makes a person clean, he indicates three elements of penance that correspond to the three types of sin mentioned above: ‘contricio cogitacionis’, ‘confessio oris’, and ‘satisfaccio operis’.\(^{118}\)

The same three are expounded by Raymund of Pennafort in the thirteenth-century treatise, *Summa de paenitentia*, drawing himself from a fourth-century sermon by John Chrysostom, *Sermo de poenitentia*:


[Next, one should understand what is necessary for true and perfect penitence, and in fact there are three things, namely: contrition of the heart, confession by mouth, and satisfaction in deed. John Golden-mouth: ‘Perfect penitence compels the sinner to suffer all things willingly, for contrition in one’s heart,

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\(^{117}\) On the relationship between the *Form* and these three Hugh of Strasbourg ‘Compendium’ chapters, see Allen, *English Writings*, p. 155, and Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 196.

\(^{118}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 41, lines 16, 18; p. 42, line 19.
confession in one’s mouth, and complete humility in one’s deeds—this makes for fruitful penitence’. For since we offend God in three ways, namely: by delight in a thought, by shamelessness in speech, and by pride in deed, then according to the rule that diseases are cured by their opposites, we should make amends in three opposing ways.]  

Concerning confession Rolle goes on to write: ‘Confessio oris, que debet esse tempestiua et nuda et integra’ [‘Confessyon of mowth, þat aw to be tymely, bare, and hole’]. This is a commonplace saying that is found in a wide variety of medieval treatises, from Lorens d’Orléans’ Somme le roi to Ancrene Wisse. In expounding the principle of ‘satisfaccio’ Rolle specifies three components, ‘ieiunium’ [‘fastynge’], ‘oracionem’ [‘prayer’], and ‘elemosinam’ [‘almus’], which are also found, for example, in a chapter on penance in The Book of Vices and Virtues (a fourteenth-century English translation of the Somme le roi): ‘þe schrift-fadre [. . .] schal juge þe amendes of þe euel dede, as in fastyng, or in almesse doynge, or in biddynge of goode bedes’. Concerning the penance of alms-giving, Rolle appears to make reference to another source altogether:


120 Watson, Emendatio, p. 41, line 18, to p. 42, line 19; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, line 7.

121 The Somme le roi is most accessible in its Middle English translations. The version I refer to here and elsewhere is The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth-Century English Translation of the Somme le roi of Lorens d’Orléans, ed. by W. Nelson Francis, EETS, 217 (London: Oxford University Press, 1942; repr. 1968), p. 174, lines 14-20; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, lines 8, 9, 10. Cf. Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 184, lines 1-3.
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Non tamen dico quod de bonis alienis faciat elemosinam, sed restituat, quia non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum.

[3it say I not he suld do almus of odyr mens gude, bot he sall restore, for syn is not forgifyn bot if it be restoryd þat is withdrawen]123

This resembles a phrase from the Decretum magistri Gratiani: ‘penitencia non agitur, si res aliena non restituitur’ ['the penance is not taken away, if the other person’s property is not restored].124

The third and fourth of Rolle’s ‘quatuor’ or ‘foure þinges’ list ways a person may keep free from sin, and remain conformed to God’s will. Similarly to the first two things, these appear to have been compiled from other contemporary sources, but equally could be Rolle’s own composition drawing from his experience as a contemplative. For example, the exhortation to have ‘iugis mortis memoria’ ['oft mynde of deed’]125 might have been inspired by chapter two of the pseudo-Bernardine Meditationes de cognitione humanae conditionis:

Cum eorum sepulcra respicio, non invenio in eis nisi cinerem et vermem, fetorem et horrorem. Quod ego sum, ipsi fuerunt; et quod ipsi sunt, ego ero.

[I beholde in þe grauis of deed men, and I se no þing ellis þere but wormys, stenche, and askis. Suche as I am, suche weren þei; and suche as þei bene, sucheshal I be.]126

123 Watson, Emendatio, p. 42, lines 22-24; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, lines 10-12.

124 ‘Decretum magistri Gratiani’, 2, 14, q. 6, c. 1, in Corpus iuris canonici, ed. by Aemilius Friedberg, 2 vols (Graz: Akademische Druck, Universität Verlagsanstalt, 1959), i, p. 742. See also Watson, Emendatio, p. 42, n. 23-4.

125 Watson, Emendatio, p. 42, lines 35-6; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, line 20.

Or it could have originated from chapter four of the Benedictine Rule: ‘Mortem cotidie ante oculos suspectam habere’ [‘To keep death daily before one’s eyes’].

Alternatively Rolle may have had a Biblical verse in mind such as Ecclesiastes 7:3.

Melius est ire ad domum luctus quam ad domum convivii in illa enim finis cuncorum admonetur hominem et vivens cogitat quid futurum sit.

[It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting; for in that we are put in mind of the end of all, and the living thinketh what is to come]

Finally Rolle concludes his teaching on the ‘quatuor’ by borrowing from his own commentary on Psalm 1:3.

Itaque in hunc modum ad uiiendum uir Dei institutus erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, id est, fluenta graciarum (ut semper uirescat in uirtute et nuncquum arescat vicii ariditate), quod fructum in bona terra (id est, bona opera in exemplum et bona data in subsidium) dabit ad honorem Dei, non vendet pro inani gloria in tempore suo: contra singulares qui dant exempla ieiunandi quando est tempus comedendi et econtra, et contra auaros qui fructus dant quando putridi sunt, uel differunt dare usque ad mortem.


[On þis wyse to lyfe þe man of God sete sal be as a tre þat is sett be the rynynge watyrs and flowynge of gras, þat alway sal be greyn in vertu and neuer dry by synne, þat sal gyfe fruyt in tyme, þat is gude warkis in exaumpyll, and gude wordis to þe worschyp of God, and þis sal not seell for vaynglory. He says in tyme, agayns þame þat gyfis ensaumpyll of ſastynge in tyme of ettynge, and reuerse way also. And agayns couetus men þat gyf þer fruyte qwhen it is rotyn, or ellis þa gyf not to þa dy.]^{129}

A comparison with the Latin Psalter shows a close parallel between these two Rolle texts (as indicated in italics):

Et ideo erit tanquam lignum, id est aliis erit utilis, non solum sic, quod plantatum est a Deo secus decursus aquarum, id est fluenta scripturarum, quod fructum suum, id est bona opera in exemplum, et bona data in subsidium dabit ad honorem Dei, non vendet pro inani gloria in tempore suo, contra singularititates quae dant exempla ieiunandi quando est tempus comedendi et converso, et contra avaros qui fructus dant quando putridi sunt, vel differunt dare.^{130}

Such self-borrowing is a characteristic of Rolle’s work, and of Emendatio in particular, as the hermit seems to have viewed his own work as on a par with more established teachings.

Chapters five and six, ‘De tribulacione’ and ‘De patiencia’, make up the remainder of this second triad of chapters. These demonstrate further Rolle’s broadening of traditional eremitic teaching to include a wider audience. Part six of Ancrene Wisse,

^{129} Watson, Emendatio, p. 42, line 42, to p. 43, line 50; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, lines 24-32.

^{130} Porter, ‘Psalms’, p. 12, lines 10-16. See also Watson, Invention, p. 326, n. 15.
on penance, typifies an ascetic approach to suffering:

\[
\text{Al is penitence, ant strong penitence, þet þe eauer dreheð, mine leoue sustren.}
\]

\[
\text{Al þet þe eauer doð of god, al þet þe þolieð, is ow martirdom i se derf ordre,}
\]

\[
\text{for þe beoð niht and dei upo Godes rode.}
\]

[All that you ever endure is penance, and hard penance, my dear sisters; all the
good you ever do, all you suffer, is martyrdom for you in the most severe of
orders, for night and day you are up on God’s cross.]

Similarly, in Raymund of Pennafort’s *Summa de paenitentia*, painful acts of
contrition and the tribulation of illness are presented as the final part of penance:

\[
\text{De quarto et ultimo, scilicet de flagellis, nota quod quadripartita sunt. Prima}
\]

\[
\text{consistunt in armis paenitentialibus, scilicet, in cinere, cilicio et lacrimis.}
\]

\[
\text{Secunda, in pectoris tunsione, jugi genuflexione, et disciplinis. Tertia, in}
\]

\[
\text{afflictione peregrinationis. Quarta, in tribulatione, et cujuslibet aegritudinis}
\]

\[
\text{afflictione, qualia flagella sustinuit Job.}
\]

[On the fourth and final element, namely on tribulations, note that they are
divided into four parts. The first consists of penitential equipment, namely
ashes, a hairshirt, and tears. The second, in beating of the breast, bowing to the
yoke, and lashes. The third, in the affliction of a pilgrimage. The fourth, in
torment and the affliction of any kind of illness, the kind of tribulations which
Job endured.]

In such teaching, tribulation is something to be welcomed and even sought after; it is
sent by God. So an English translation of the popular thirteenth-century *Tractatus de
tribulacione* begins:


\[\text{132 Newhauser, ‘The Parson’s Tale’, pp. 560-61.}\]
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To the, soule, that art delyuered to temptacions and to tribulacions of this lyf, is ordeyned the wisdom of this worde, so that thou mowe lerne forto knowe of what crafte tribulacions seruen to wise men [. . .]. Ffor as Seneca saith, ther is noon so gret gladshcep as thilke is, that is ydrawen out of aduersite. Ne thilke gladshcep may noon drawe him, but if he lerne first to knothe the fruyt of tribulacions, how thilke God of hos honde thai comen, ordeyneth hem to gret helpe and to gret furtheryng of hem that thai be sent to.133

By contrast, the opening of chapter five of the *Emendatio* makes it immediately clear who the hermit sees as the source of tribulation, and it is certainly not God:

> Cum diabolus uiderit vnum hominem ex mille ad Deum perfecte conuerti, Christi vestigia imitari, presencia despicere, sola inuisibilia querere et amare, perfectam penitenciam assumere, ab omni contagio mentis et corporis se purgare: mille fraudes nocendi, mille artes pugnandi reparat, vt ipsum ab more Dei ad amorem mundi deiciat.

[Qwhen þe feynd seis o mane of thowsandis, to God parfitely turnyd, Cristis steppis felow, þis present warld despise, þingis vnseyn only to lufe and seeke, parfite penance to take, fro all filth of mynde and body hym-self powrg [purge]: a thowsand begilyngis of noiyng, a thowsand craftis of ðeyghtynge he reparells to kest hym from þe luf of God to þe lufe of þe warld.]

Even in his earlier works, Rolle’s teaching is much less austere than traditional authorities, associating tribulation with verbal attack and persecution rather than

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ascetic practice. So in *Judica Me* he writes:

Obprobria hominum, scandala reproborum, dampna aduersancium pro Christo pati nobis ad celum indicent lucem [. . .]. Igitur qui querit salutem oportet de necessitate ut in custodiendis Dei sermonibus sustineat tribulacionem. Pro magno martirio reputabitur si a tribus hostibus quis acriter diu impugnatur et non uincitur.

[To suffer the opprobrium of men, the scandals of the reprobate, the curses of the adversaries for Christ can show us the light to heaven [. . .]. Therefore, whoever is seeking salvation must of necessity undergo tribulation in keeping the mandates of God. It will be considered a great martyrdom if any one is attacked sharply by the three enemies for a long time and not conquered.]\(^{135}\)

In another of his early works, *Super apocalpsim*, Rolle likewise associates tribulation with the persecution of ‘falsis fratibus’ [‘false brothers’] who ‘inuidia tabescentes, calumpnias querunt, mendacia configunt, falsa crimina inponunt’ [‘being consumed by envy, seek calumnies, fabricate lies, and make false accusations’].\(^{136}\) This approach may well have been formed by Rolle’s own experiences as a younger hermit, as the opening tract in the *Judica Me* suggests, but the absence of any exhortation to harsh asceticism in *Emendatio* is another significant factor in maintaining the breadth of appeal the author establishes in the opening chapters.\(^{137}\)

Chapter six, ‘De patiencia’, is a continuation of Rolle’s teaching on tribulation, indicating the means by which it may be overcome:

\(^{135}\) Daly, *Judica Me*, p. 10, lines 21-22, p. 11, lines 6-9; pp. 87, 88.

\(^{136}\) Marzac, *Super Apocalypsim*, p. 120, lines 26, 30-31; Boenig, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 144.

\(^{137}\) On the biographical background to *Judica A* see Daly, *Judica Me*, pp. vi-viii.
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Temptaciones enim constancia fidei et amoris vincuntur; tribulaciones vero paciencia superantur.

[Temptacions truly with stedfastnes of fayth and lufe ar ouercomyn; tribulacion truly with paciens.]\textsuperscript{138}

Once again there are parallels with the English translation of the Somme le roi, which divides virtue into seven degrees, the fourth of which is patience:

As þe Holy Gost makeþ his knyþ hardy to a-bide þe turmentes and þe sorwes þat beþ to come, riþt also he makeþ hym strong and suffryng to suffre hem whan þei comen; and þat is þe ferþe degree, þat þei elepen paciency.\textsuperscript{139}

The Biblical metaphor of spiritual warfare, after Ephesians 6:11-16, runs throughout this sixth chapter. Rolle encourages the reader to put on ‘arma spiritualia’ [‘gostly armour’], ‘ut scutum arripiat paciencie’ [‘þe schelde of paciens to take’], and ‘extinguenda ergo sunt iacula inimici’ [‘þe dartis of owr enmy ar to be slokend’].\textsuperscript{140}

The Old Testament allegory of death entering at the windows of the palace, from Jeremiah 9:21, is also utilised by Rolle: ‘claudit sensus exteriores ne mors ascendat per fenestras’ [‘his vtward wittis he spares þat deed ascend not to the wyndowes’].\textsuperscript{141}

This same allegory is found in a passage from the English translation of the Somme concerning the disciplining of the senses or ‘fyue wittes’:

\textsuperscript{138} Watson, Emendatio, p. 47, lines 7-8; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 116, lines 10-11.

\textsuperscript{139} Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 167, lines 9-13.

\textsuperscript{140} Watson, Emendatio, p. 47, line 6, p. 48, line 47, p. 49, p. 61; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 116, line 9, p. 117, lines 8, 20. Note that the shield of faith in Ephesians becomes the shield of patience for Rolle.

\textsuperscript{141} Watson, Emendatio, p. 48, lines 43-44; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 117, lines 4-5.
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Whan þes fyue wittes ben wel y-kepte, þan is þe castel siker and stedefast, for þes ben þe zates of þe soule. Þes ben þe wyndowes wher-by deþ comeþ in-to þe soule ofte-tyme, as þe prophete seip.\textsuperscript{142}

A commonplace gloss to the Biblical text, this is also found in Ancrene Wisse,\textsuperscript{143} as well as Renaud de Louens, Livre de Milibée et de Dame Prudence (c. 1336), which derives from Albertanus of Brescia, Liber consolationis et consilii (1246) and was later translated by Chaucer:

Tu as pechié contre Nostre Seigneur; car les trois ennemis de l’umain linage,
qui sont le monde, la char, et les dyables, tu les as laissié entrer en ton cuer
tout franchement par les fenestres du corps [. . .]. Nostre Seigneur a voulu et
souffert que ces trois ennemis sont entré en ta maison par les fenestres.
[Thou hast doon synne agayn oure Lord Crist, for certes, the three enemys of
mankynde—that is to seyn, the flessh, the feend, and the world—thou hast
suffred hem entre in to thyn herte wilfully by the wyndowes of thy body [. . .].
And in the same manere oure Lord Crist hath woold and suffred that thy three
enemys been entred into thyn house by the wyndowes.]\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{142} Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 153, lines 21-24.

\textsuperscript{143} For an anchoress the allegory of guarding the window would have been particularly fitting. See Alexandra Barratt, ‘The Five Wits and Their Structural Significance in Part II of Ancrene Wisse’, Medium Aevum, 56 (1987), 12-24 (p. 13).

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The next group of three chapters in *Emendatio* draws from the Benedictine tradition of ‘lectio divina’ or, as Jean Leclercq defines it, ‘prayerful reading’.\(^{145}\) Benedict’s *Regula* may have been completed around 530-40, and contains detailed instructions on how a monastery should be ordered, including the study and memorisation of the scriptures around regular times of prayer, for example:

> Quod vero restat post Vigilias, a fratribus qui psalterii vel lectionum aliquid indigent, meditationi inserviatur.

[Those bretheren, who need a better knowledge of them, should devote the time that remains after Matins to the study of the psalms and lessons.]\(^ {146}\)

This method of slow and prayerful reading became a central aspect of monastic life, and was also encouraged beyond the priory walls, as this eleventh-century preface to Anselm’s *Orationes sive meditationes* suggests:

> Anselmus, indignus Cantuariensis ecclesiae episcopus: reverendae comitissae Mathildi salutem. Placuit celsitudini vestrae ut *Orationes*, quas diversis fratibus secundum singulorum petitionem edidi, sibi mitterem. [. . .] Quae quoniam ad excitandam legendis mentem ad Dei amorem vel timorem seu ad suimet discussionem sunt editae, non sunt legendae cursim vel velociter, sed paulatim cum intenda et morosa meditacione.

[Anselm, the unworthy bishop of the Church of Canterbury, sends salutations to the reverend Countess Mathilda. It has seemed good to your Highness that I should send you these prayers, which I edited at the request of several brothers. [. . .] They are arranged so that by reading them the mind may be

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\(^{146}\) McCann, *Rule*, pp. 48, 49.
stirred up either to the love or fear of God, or to a consideration of both; so they should not be read curiously or quickly, but little by little, with attention and deep meditation.] 147

In chapter seven of *Emendatio*, ‘De oracione’, Rolle notes the advantage of leaving all worldly activity in order to pray and meditate:

> Si qui vero omnes occupaciones mundi pro amore Dei dimisserint, et omnino se celesti meditacioni ac sancte oracioni mancipauerint, estimo quod per Dei graciam infra tempus inuenient cor stabilitum et ad amandum et ad orandum.

[Truly if any all wardly occupacions for luf of God ha left and all-way to holy meditacion and holy prayer be givyn, I trow be goddis grace within schort spase þer hartis stabyld þa sall fynde and to luf and pray.] 148

But again, Rolle’s work does not exhibit the rigid exhortations of traditional ascetic writings. Prayer is to be used as a remedy for temptation or tribulation (‘Si in temptacione uel in tribulacione positus fueris, mox ad oracionem recurras’) and the reader will become more centred when persisting with prayer and the singing of psalms (‘Multum confert ad stabilitatem cordis obtinendam crebris oracionibus insistere, psalmodiam deuote cantare’). The hermit even expresses concern that the prayer of those who read his *Emendatio* does not become too much of a burden:

> Dum ergo illa suauitas et ardor remanet, bonum est ut ab oracionibus non desistant. Quando vero cessauerit, quod propter corruptibilem carnem sepe


148 Watson, Emendatio, p. 50, lines 7-11; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 118, lines 9-12.
contingit, possunt ad meditandum scripturas sanctas, uel aliquid aliud agendum utile accedere.

[Perfore qwhils þat swetnes and heet lastis, gude is fro prayers not to cese. Qwhen þa cese—þat oft happyns for þe flesch corruptibyll—þa may turn holye scriptures to reed or sum odyr profetabil þinge do.]\textsuperscript{149}

He points out, however, that the practice of prayer should not be overlooked by those who prefer meditation: ‘Hic reprehenduntur quidam qui magis meditacioni quam oracioni indulgent’ [‘Here sum are repreuyd þat raþer to meditacion takes heed þen to prayer’].\textsuperscript{150} Rolle notes in the following chapter that meditation is of particular value to beginners, perhaps again suggesting an audience with pastoral responsibilities:

Est autem meditacio bona de passione Christi et morte, et sepe recordari quantas penas et miserias sponte suscepit pro nostra salute [. . .]. Estimo quod hec meditacio utilior est omnibus aliis hiis qui iam nouiter ad Christum conuertuntur.

[It is gude meditacion of Cristis passion and his deed, and ofte to recorde qwhatt payns and wrechidnes frely he toke for our hele [. . .]. I trow þis þoght of all oþer is moste profetabyll to þame þat nwly ar turnyd to Criste.]\textsuperscript{151}

In his \textit{Epistola aurea} William of Thierry makes a similar point:

Animali vero et novo in Christo homini ad exercitanda ejus interiora melius et tutius proponuntur legenda et meditanda Redemptoris nostri exteriora.

[The best and safest reading matter and subject for meditation for the animal

\textsuperscript{149} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 50, lines 20-24; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 118, lines 21-23.

\textsuperscript{150} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 51, lines 40-41; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 118, line 35-36.

\textsuperscript{151} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 51, lines 1-3, p. 52, lines 14-15; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 119, lines 7-8, 17-18.
man, newly come to Christ, to train him in the interior life, is the outward actions of our Redeemer.]\textsuperscript{152}

The final ‘lectio divina’ chapter in the *Emendatio* is devoted to reading. This is in contrast to the teaching of William of St Thierry, for example, where reading is described as milk, meditation as food, and prayer is placed at the pinnacle:

\begin{quote}
Amorem ergo Dei, in homine ex gratia genitum, lacat lectio, meditatio pascit, oratio confortat et illuminat.
\end{quote}

[Now the love of God in man which is born of grace is fed with the milk of reading, nourished with the food of meditation, strengthened and enlightened by prayer.\textsuperscript{153}]

Rolle also, in his early work *Judica me*, lists reading first: ‘sacra leccio, oracio, meditatio’ ['scripture reading, prayer, and meditation'].\textsuperscript{154} In *Emendatio* Rolle encourages his audience to keep up the discipline of reading: ‘non sis necligens ad meditandum et legendum sacram scripturam’ ['be noght necligent in þinkynge and redynge holy scripture’]; and warns them against reading for the wrong motives: ‘Sed nulla cupiditas honoris uel fauoris uel laudis hominum succendat nos ad scienciam scripturarum’ ['Bot lat no couetys of worschip, fauyr or mens praysynge sett vs to conynge of scripture’].\textsuperscript{155} Such advice, and the placing of reading last rather than first, may be another indication of audience; for a non-monastic reader the daily reading of scripture would have been an individual rather than a communal discipline.

\textsuperscript{152} PL 184: 335c; Berkeley, *Golden Epistle*, pp. 68.

\textsuperscript{153} PL 184: 335c; Berkeley, *Golden Epistle*, pp. 67-68.

\textsuperscript{154} Daly, *Judica Me*, p. 17, line 2; p. 92.

\textsuperscript{155} Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 54, lines 3-4, 15-16; Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 121, lines 7-8, 17-18.
The last three chapters of *Emendatio*, ‘De puritate mentis’ ‘De amore Dei’ and ‘De contemplacione’, concern the ultimate goal of Rolle’s spiritual programme. The hermit points the reader towards the goal of perfection where God is experienced intimately through the bodily senses: ‘Per hos nouem gradus pretactos ad puritatem mentis ascenditur, qua uidetur Deus’ [‘Be þis ix degrese before tochyd cums mane to clennes of mynde, qwher God is seyn’].\(^{156}\) Drawing on a metaphor found in his earlier work, *Contra amatores* and possibly originally sourced from Hugh of Strasbourg’s *Compendium*, Rolle describes how venial sin is burnt up like a drop of water in a furnace when the reader attains this state of perfection:

\[
\text{Feruor namque caritatis in ipso existens omnem rubiginem peccatorum consumit, quasi si gutta aque in camino ardenti mitteretur.}
\]

[‘De hete truly of charite in hym all rust of synne in hym wastis, as wer a droipe of watyr put into a grete fyre.’]\(^{157}\)

He is careful to note, however, that human sinfulness can never be fully escaped in this life:

\[
\text{Lauandi sunt pedes sanctorum, quia puluerem de terra trahunt. Quis enim potest dicere, ‘purus sum a peccato’?—quasi diceret, ‘vere, nullus in hac vita’.}
\]

[‘Sayntis feet ar to be waschyd for þai draw duste of þe erth. Qwo may truly say, ‘I am cleyn of synne’?—truly none in þis lyfe.’]\(^{158}\)

Nevertheless, it is from this place of purity that the final goal of the contemplative life

\(^{156}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 55, lines 1-3; Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 121, lines 31-32.


\(^{158}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 55, lines 5-7; Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 121, lines 33-35.
may be achieved: ‘Ex cordis mundicia surgit cantus glorie’ [‘Of clennes of hart risis songe of ioy’].\textsuperscript{159} In the \textit{Incendium} Rolle narrates his first experience of this highest contemplative state, purportedly attained some five years after his conversion:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

[While I was sitting in the same chapel, and repeating as best I could the night-psalms before I went in to supper, I heard, above my head it seemed, the joyful ring of psalmody, or perhaps I should say, the singing. In my prayer I was reaching out to heaven with heartfelt longing when I became aware, in a way I cannot explain, of a symphony of song, and in myself I sensed a corresponding harmony at once wholly delectable and heavenly, which persisted in my mind. Then and there my thinking itself turned into melodious song, and my meditation became a poem, and my very prayers and psalms took up the same sound.\textsuperscript{160}]

This experience of ‘canor’, perhaps for Rolle a somatic imitation of the Biblical text of the Song of Songs, is the topic undergirding the two final chapters of \textit{Emendatio}.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{159} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 56, line 30; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 122, lines 19-20.

\textsuperscript{160} Deanesly, \textit{Incendium}, p. 189, line 19, to p. 190, line 1; Wolters, \textit{Fire}, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{161} Renevey notes that ‘\textit{canor} translates a spiritual experience which Rolle has shaped when dealing with the Song of Songs’ (\textit{Language}, p. 109). On Rolle’s imitation of Biblical metaphor and story, see Alford, ‘Biblical \textit{Imitatio}’. 
Chapter eleven, ‘De amore Dei’, is unlike any of the previous chapters. It comprises three meditations, borrowed for the most part from Rolle’s earlier writings, and probably intended as practical contemplative exercises for the reader (or hearer). Interspersed amongst these are two didactic passages drawn from Richard of St Victor’s twelfth-century treatise *De quattuor gradibus violentae charitatis* and Rolle’s own *Super canticum canticorum*. The chapter as a whole synthesises three elements of Victorine contemplative teaching—insuperable, inseparable, and singular love—with three key themes of Rolle’s thought and experience: vision of heavenly light, the heat or fire of love, and divine sweetness. These all serve as preliminaries to Rolle’s highest contemplative state of ‘canor’, the focus of chapter twelve. As Watson notes:

The images used to describe the four experiences are derived from all five senses: sight (Sight into Heaven), touch (*fervor*), smell or taste (*dulcor*), sound (*canor*). They occur in this order (to be understood as an ascending scale) in most of Rolle’s works, and in pastoral as well as autobiographical contexts. Rolle himself lays out these stages of contemplative experience in chapter nineteen of the *Incendium*:

> Cum ergo homo ad Christum perfecte conuersus, cuncta transitoria despexerit, et se in solo Conditoris desiderio immobiler [. . .] tune nimirum uires uiriliter exercens, primo quasi aperto celo supernos ciues oculo intellectuali conspicit, et postea calorem suauissimum, quasi ignem ardentem sentit. Deinde mira suauitate imbuitur, et deinceps in canore iubilo gloriatur.

[When a man is perfectly converted to Christ, he will hold in contempt all things that are transient, but keep a tight hold on his longing for the Maker]
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[. . .]. And then, not surprisingly because of this vigorous effort, he sees with his inward eye heaven open, as it were, and all the inhabitants there. Then it is that he feels that warmth most sweet, burning like a fire. He is filled with wonderful sweetness, and glories in jubilant song.]\(^\text{163}\)

Far from providing a detached intellectual analysis of the contemplative life, Rolle’s teaching is profoundly bodily, stemming from his own experience.

The first meditation opens with a canticle to God the Creator, as experienced in a vision of uncreated or heavenly light:

Dulce lumen et delectabile, quod es Conditor meus incircumscriptus, illustra faciem et aciem oculorum meorum interiorum claritate increata.

[O sweit light and delectabyll, þat is my maker vn-made; list þe face and scharpnes of myn inward eyn with clernes vnmade.]\(^\text{164}\)

The theological background to Rolle’s opening words might be Gregory’s description of God in Homiliarum in Ezechielem (‘de incircumscripto lumine’), or even Thomas Aquinas’ consideration of the contemplative life: ‘utrum vita contemplativa secundum statum hujus vitae possit pertingere ad visionem divinae essentiae’ [‘whether in this life the contemplative life can attain the vision of the divine essence’].\(^\text{165}\) Rolle then

\(^{162}\) Watson, Invention, p. 66.


\(^{164}\) Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, lines 1-3; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 30-31.

\(^{165}\) PL 76: 955a; St Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, gen. ed. Thomas Gilby, 61 vols (London: Blackfriars in conj. w. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964-1981), ii-II, q. 180, a. 5. It is not clear whether Rolle was familiar with Aquinas’ Summa or not, but there were certainly contemporaries of Rolle who were. For a study of the early spread of Thomistic thought in England, see F. J. Roensch, Early Thomistic Schools (Dubuque, Iowa: The Priory Press, 1964).
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addresses the second person of the Trinity, and invites the reader to meditate on the
spiritual experience of ‘dulcor’:

O bone Ihesu, quis michi det ut senciam te, qui nunc sentiri et non uideri
potes? Infunde te in uisceribus anime mee. Ueni in cor meum, et reple illud
dulcedine tua preclarissima.

[O gude Ihesu, qwho sall graunte me to feill þe þat nowdye may be felt ne
seyne? Sched þiself into þe entrel of my saull; cum into my hart and fyll it
with þi clerist swetnes.]\(^{166}\)

There are close parallels here with Rolle’s own *Super psalmum vicesimum*, from
which the passage seems to be drawn:

O Jesu bone, quis michi det ut sentiam te, infunde te in visceribus anime mee!
Veni in cor meum et inebria illud dulcore tuo.

[O Jesus, who grants that I may know you, pour yourself into the innermost
parts of my soul! Come into my heart and intoxicate it with your
sweetness.]\(^{167}\)

Finally Rolle splices in an address to the Holy Spirit from another section of *Super
psalmum* concerning ‘fervor’:

O Sancte Spiritus, qui spiras vbi vis, veni in me et rape me tibi [. . .]. Ure igne
tuo renes meos et cor meum, qui in altari tuo ardebit internum [. . .]. Calore
tuo penetralia cordis mei incende.

[O Holy Gost, þat gifis grace qwher þou will, cum into me and rauisch me to
þe [. . .]. Byrn my renys with þi fyre, and my hart þat in þin awter sal byrn

---

\(^{166}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 57, lines 10-14; Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 122, line 38 to p. 123, line 3.

\(^{167}\) Dolan, *Super psalmum*, p. 12, lines 18-19; p. 62. I quote only in part here, the full parallels are
referenced in the footnotes to Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 57, and summarised in my own end notes.
endlesly [. . .]. Scrith [enter] into a longynge sawle for þe and to þe with sweit heet.\textsuperscript{168}

At the close of the meditation Rolle urges the reader to delight in this and the other meditations, and gives the assurance that by doing so he or she will eventually scale the heights of love.

Following the opening meditation in this penultimate chapter Rolle turns his attention to an exposition on the three degrees of love:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

[Thre degrese sothely þer er of Cristis lufe in qwhilk fro on to anodyr profetis he þat is chosyn to lufe. The fyrst is cald vnabyl to be ouercomen, þe secund vnabyl to be partyd, þe þird is cald singuler.]\textsuperscript{169}

This teaching is not found in its developed form in any of Rolle’s works prior to \textit{Ego dormio}, probably written just before \textit{Emendatio}, and in which the three degrees are discussed at length but without their titles:

\begin{quote}
Gif al þyn entent to vndrestond þis writynge; and if þou haue set þi desyre to loue God, hire þese þre degrees of loue, so þat þou may ryse fro on to anoþer til þat þou be at þe heghest.\textsuperscript{170}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{170} Ogilvie-Thomson, \textit{Prose and Verse}, p. 27, lines 65-67.
Rolle’s source for both these texts is Richard of St Victor’s *De quattuor gradibus violentae charitatis*, which itself derives from Bernard of Clairvaux’s description of four degrees of love in *De diligendo Deo*.\(^{171}\) Where Rolle differs markedly from *De quattuor* is in the fourth and highest degree, ‘insatiabilis’, which he omits altogether.\(^{172}\) Allen suggests that this choice made by Rolle might have been influenced by Gregory’s *Homiliarum in Ezechielem*, which classifies contemplation according to only three degrees.\(^{173}\)

There then follows a patch-work of self-borrowing. The second meditation is constructed primarily from three different extracts from Rolle’s *Super canticum canticorum*, and following this there are two further passages taken from the same text which make up the majority of the second didactic passage.\(^{174}\) The third and final meditation consists of two selections from Rolle’s *Contra amatores*, including the final verses of this work which are copied into *Emendatio* almost verbatim:

Tu es sapor condiens; tu es odor redolens; tu es dulcor placens. O amor gloriosus qui solus facis homines gloriosos! Tu viros contemplativos efficis; tu ianuam celi aperis; tu Deum ostendis visibilem; tuque abscondis multitudinem omnium peccatorum. Te laudo, te predico, per quem mundum vinco, per quem


\(^{172}\) See Dumeige, *Les quatre*, p. 143, line 29.

\(^{173}\) Allen, Writings, p. 202; *PL* 76: 989.

\(^{174}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, pp. 59-60, identifies the texts in Murray, ‘*Canticles*’, p. 42, lines 9-25; p. 75, lines 15-21; and p. 35, line 14, to p. 36, l. 8; p. 49, lines 2-10; and p. 50, line 19 to p. 51, line 4.
iubilo, per quem salvus fio; illabere michi in tua dulcedine. Te mecum et meis commendo sine fine. Amen.

[You are the savor which seasons, the odor that is fragrant, the sweetness that pleases. O glorious love, who alone makes men glorious! You bring men to contemplation; you open the gate of heaven; you show forth the visible God; and you hide away the multitude of all sins. I give praise to you; I proclaim you, through whom I conquer the world, through whom I find joy, through whom I am saved. Flow down to me in all your sweetness. I commend myself and my people into your keeping love forever. Amen.]\textsuperscript{175}

Rolle’s final chapter, ‘De contemplacione’, initially assumes the style, found in earlier chapters, of a compendium of teaching on the spiritual life:

Contemplatio, uel vita contemplatiuia, habet tres partes, scilicet, leccionem, oracionem et meditationem.

[Contemplatyfe lyfe or contemplacion has thre partys: redyng, prayer, and meditacion.]\textsuperscript{176}

This may be a reference to chapters seven through nine, but Aquinas makes a very similar statement in a chapter on the contemplative life in his \textit{Summa}, possibly drawing in turn from Hugh of St Victor’s \textit{Allegoriae in novum testamentum}:

Praeterea, ad vitam contemplativam pertinere dicuntur oratio, lectio et meditatio.


\textsuperscript{176} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 62, lines 1-2; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 127, lines 2-3.
[Further, prayer, reading and meditation are said to be part of the contemplative life.]\textsuperscript{177}

There then follows a reference to the Biblical character of Rachel, from Genesis 29:16-18, which also reflects commonplace teaching on the contemplative life.\textsuperscript{178} For example, citing Gregory’s \textit{Moralia}, Aquinas writes: ‘Gregorius dicit in \textit{Moral.} quod “Rachel [. . .] vitam contemplativam significat”’ [Gregory says that ‘Rachel [. . .] signifies the contemplative life’].\textsuperscript{179} Rolle then offers a formal definition of the term ‘contemplacio’, first citing a number of less than satisfactory designations:

\begin{quote}
Dicunt quidam quod contemplativum uita nichil aliud est quam rerum latencium futurarumque noticia, siue vacacio ab omnibus occupacionibus mundi, siue diuinarum studium litterarum.

[Sum says, contemplatyfe lyf is not ellis bot knawlegis of þingis to cum and hyde, or to be voyde fro all wardly occupacion, or study of Godis lettyrs.]
\end{quote}

Allen has identified the source of this as Julianus Pomerius (or Prosper of Aquitaine), \textit{De vita contemplativa}.\textsuperscript{181} Listing a further four definitions, two of which have been identified by Allen as the work of Richard and Hugh of St Victor, Rolle finally offers his own definition of contemplation.\textsuperscript{182}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{177} Aquinas, \textit{Summa}, II-II, q. 180, a. 3; cf. PL 175: 805a.
\item \textsuperscript{178} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 63, line 10; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 127, line 10.
\item \textsuperscript{179} Aquinas, \textit{Summa}, II-II, q. 180, a. 1; cf. PL 75: 764b.
\item \textsuperscript{180} Watson, \textit{Emendatio}, p. 63, lines 18-21; Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 127, lines 16-18.
\item \textsuperscript{181} PL 59: 429a. See also Allen, \textit{Writings}, p. 341.
\item \textsuperscript{182} Richard of St Victor, \textit{Benjamin Major} (PL 196: 67d); Hugh of St Victor, \textit{In Salomonis ecclesiasten homiliae XIX} (PL 175: 117a); and \textit{De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus} (PL 176: 879c). See Allen, \textit{Writings}, p. 34.
\end{itemize}
Michi uidetur quod contemplacio sit iubilus diuini amoris, susceptus in mente suauitate laudis angelice.

[To me it semys þat contemplacion is ioyfull songe of Godis lufe takyn in mynde, with swetnes of aungell louynge.]\textsuperscript{183}

It is this definition of contemplation that sets Rolle apart from all other medieval authorities on the spiritual life. Elsewhere Rolle himself acknowledges the uniqueness of his contemplative experience of ‘canor’:

Ob hoc utique euenit huiusmodi amatori, quod nequaquam in aliquorum doctorum scriptis inueni, aut reperi expressum. Quod uidelicet erumpet canor ille usque ad os, et oraciones suas moduletur cum symphonia spirituali et suauitate celica.

[Then it is that there happens to such a lover what I have never found in any learned writing or have ever heard expounded, namely that this song will spring to his very lips, and he will sing his prayers in a spiritual symphony of celestial sweetness.]\textsuperscript{184}

Although there are a handful of sources that can be cited, the remainder of the twelfth chapter moves beyond the genre of spiritual compendium drawn from other authorities and firmly into Rolle’s own domain.\textsuperscript{185} Having established the terrain, Rolle now summarises in his final chapter the entire contemplative landscape as he sees it, from conversion to contemplation, through ‘fervor’ and ‘dulcor’, to the


pinnacle of ‘canor’. The would-be contemplative must first turn to God:

Non enim aliquis a Deo alienus potest iubilare in Ihesu, neque amoris illius suauitatem aliquando gustauit.

[Truly þer may non aliene to God ioy in Ihesu, ne taste þe swetnes of his lufe.]\(^\text{186}\)

By means of poverty and other outward disciplines a detachment from the world is then achieved:

Incipiat ergo per uoluntarium paupertatem, ut, dum nichil in hoc mundo appetit, coram Deo et homine sobrie, iuste et pie uiuat.

[Begyn þerfore be wilful pouert, so þat qwhils þou desires noght in þis warld, befor God and man lyfe sobyrly, chastly and mekely.]\(^\text{187}\)

Adversity will produce only patience and meekness in such a person:

Quanto magis quis calore eterne lucis incalescere cepit, tanto in aduersis quibuscumque paciencior erit.

[The warmer a man waxis with heet of lyght euerlastynge, þe mekar in all aduersites he sal be.]\(^\text{188}\)

Through meditation and the other spiritual exercises purity of mind will be reached and through it the goal of contemplation, ‘canor’:

Unde se iugi meditacioni subdens ad contemplacionem celestium donatur scandere, et purificata mentis acie quantum patitur carnis infirmitas internis gaudiiis suauiter ac ardenter iubilare.


\(^{187}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 64, lines 50-52; Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 128, lines 6-7.

\(^{188}\) Watson, *Emendatio*, p. 64, lines 62-64; Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 128, lines 14-16.
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[Qwherefore hymself lawand to bisy meditacion, to rise to hym is givyn to behaldynge of heuenly þingis, and þe scharpnes of his mynde clensyd, as suffyrs seeknes of þe flesch, to hym is gyfyn sweitly with inward ioys, byrnyngly to synge.] 189

And who is the hermit writing this final chapter for? There is even a further hint here concerning Rolle’s intended audience, in the insertion of an intriguing reflection on the place of the preacher. In his earlier work, *Incendium amoris*, Rolle quite clearly states that the contemplative is superior to the one who preaches and lives an active life:


[Is he who preaches therefore better? No; the one who loves more is the superior and better [. . .]. For there is in true contemplatives a certain sweet fervour and an abundance of God’s love [. . .]. This is never found here in those who are actives, for they do not set their minds solely on heavenly things so as to deserve to rejoice in Jesus. Therefore the active life is rightly put second, and the contemplative preferred both for the present and the future.] 190

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Another work from Rolle’s middle period, *Super canticum canticorum*, asserts that among contemplatives it is the solitary who is highest of all:

> Cum ergo constat vitam contemplativam digniorem esse et magis meritoriam quam activa vita, et omnes viros contemplacionis solitudinem amantes et precipue in amore divino ferventes, liquet profecto quod, non monachi vel alii, quicumque ad congregacionem collecti, summi sunt, aut maxime Deum diligunt, set solitarii, contemplacione sublimati, qui, pro magno eterni amoris gaudio quod senciunt, in solitudine sedere incessanter concupiscunt.

[Thus, since it is established that the contemplative life is worthier and of greater merit than the active life, and that all contemplative men love solitude and burn pre-eminently in the divine love, it is surely clear that neither monks nor any others who are gathered together as a congregation are the highest, or love God the most; rather, it is solitaries, lifted up into contemplation: who, for the great joy in eternal love that they feel, desire to sit unceasingly in solitude.]\(^{191}\)

But in this final chapter of *Emendatio*, Rolle makes a significant adjustment to his teaching on spiritual hierarchy, holding the contemplative preacher in the highest regard; remarkably, even above the solitary:

> Nisi aliqui forte in statu tali sint quod et contemplatiue uite culmen arripiunt, et tamen predicacionis officium implere non desistunt; isti solitarios, licet in contemplacione summos sed solis diuinis intentos non necessitati proximorum, in hoc superant.

\(^{191}\) Murray, ‘Canticles’, p. 26 line 26 - p. 27 line 7; Watson, *Invention*, p. 17 (note also Watson’s comment concerning Rolle’s unfulfilled desire to preach).
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[Bot if it happyn sum be in slike state þat þa haue evyn þe heght of contemplatyfe lyfe, and ȝit þa cees not þe prechur office to fulfyll; þis odyr solitary, in contemplacion hiest onely givyn to Godly þingis not to nede of þer neighburs, in þis þa passe.]\(^{192}\)

This new teaching is very similar to that found in Aquinas’ consideration of the different kinds of religious institutes in the Summa:

\[\text{Sic ergo dicendum est quod opus vitae activae est duplex. Unum quidem quod ex plenitudine contemplationis derivatur: sicut doctrina et praedicatio [...] Et hoc praefertur simplici contemplationi [...] Sic ergo summum gradum in religionibus tenent quae ordinantur ad docendum et praedicandum.}\]

[Moreover, the work of the active life is twofold. One proceeds from the fullness of contemplation, such as preaching and teaching [...] And this is preferred to simple contemplation [...] Therefore religious institutes dedicated to preaching and teaching have the highest place.]\(^{193}\)

Even in this final chapter of Emendatio, addressing what was traditionally a matter of monastic concern, Rolle has the preacher firmly in mind and no doubt also the wider audience he is able to reach.

In a study of another of Rolle’s Latin works that appears to have been aimed at a priestly audience, the liturgical commentary *Expositio super novem lectiones mortuorum*, Malcom Moyes concludes:

[Rolle] encouraged the pursuit by the clergy of a rigour of religious life which hitherto had been the prerogative of the cloister and raised the expectations of


\(^{193}\) Aquinas, *Summa*, II-II, q. 188, a. 6.
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the religious experiences available to the parish priest. In literary terms his work encouraged the movement of the pastoral manual into the realm of the contemplative treatise, to meet (while at the same time encouraging) these new expectations.¹⁹⁴

When considered alongside Ego dormio, and the hermit’s decision to move into the new field of vernacular prose, it is possible to see in Emendatio and his other works of contemplative ‘pastoralia’ the early stirrings of a much broader movement that would, in the fifteenth-century, bring about the widespread adaptation of traditionally eremitic contemplative writings for a general audience.¹⁹⁵


II. TRANSLATOR, MANUSCRIPTS, AND EARLY READERS

If Rolle did indeed compose Emendatio as a work of contemplative ‘pastoralia’ for secular priests and those in their care, how effective was he in reaching this intended audience? A systematic study of the provenance of all 108 Emendatio manuscripts, as well as the sixteen extant copies of English translations, is beyond the bounds of the current research; although the numbers alone do indicate that there was a remarkable level of demand for this particular text by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What emerges from the present focus on just one of the English translations of Emendatio is a fascinating insight into a specific cross-section of Rolle’s early readership: a fourteenth-century scribe whose Latin recension is related to the translator’s exemplar, a translator, five fifteenth-century copyists, a few correctors, and a handful of other early owners and readers. The striking thing about this small sample of actual audience, is just how successful Rolle’s hypothesised strategy, of reaching a broad readership through the secular priest, appears to have been. The fourteenth-century Latin codex studied here, which contains a copy of Emendatio, is a priest’s manual. It is also possible that one of the less expensive copies of the English translation may have been used by a fifteenth-century priest about his pastoral work with the dying. The provenance of two of the vernacular manuscripts is very well documented, and both show evidence of fifteenth and sixteenth-century lay ownership as well as links to a number of religious houses.

Building on Hope Emily Allen’s work, Valerie Lagorio and Michael Sargent have categorised the six non-Misyn translations of Emendatio as Versions A to F. The

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196 See Allen, Writings, pp. 242-43; Wells Rev: 3424 (15).
base text for the present edition, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, fols 90r-121v (from here T), is a copy of the anonymous Version A translation. The other extant manuscript witnesses to this particular translation are:

- Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.v.30, fols 141r-160v (from here C)
- London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, fols 67r-80v (H)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18, fols 7r-37v (Dg)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, fols 78r-94v (D)

Margaret Amassian’s study of the seven English *Emendatio* translations noted the omission of some 465 words from the Version A translation (but found in Richard Misyn’s translation) and went on to identify a corresponding Latin recension of *Emendatio* as the reason for this.\(^{197}\) In his edition, Spahl lists eighteen manuscripts belonging to this ‘Gruppe K’ Latin recension, but notes that none of them can be the Version A translator’s exemplar.\(^{198}\) For the purposes of comparison I have produced a diplomatic transcription of one of these texts, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54 (from here B), as neither Watson nor Spahl’s editions of *Emendatio* are based on this particular recension.\(^{199}\) Some minor differences make it unlikely that B is the Latin exemplar used by the Version A translator, but it is certainly related.\(^{200}\)

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\(^{197}\) Amassian, ‘Rolle Material’, p. 72.

\(^{198}\) Amassian originally identified five manuscript copies of this particular recension. For an updated list and analysis of the relationship with the Version A translation see Spahl, ‘De emendatione’, pp. 99-104, 112-24.

\(^{199}\) Both Watson and Spahl use Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.v.64, as their base text. Cf. Appendix B where I have printed a transcription of B in parallel to diplomatic copies of T, C, and D.

\(^{200}\) See, for example, notes to lines 10-11, 58-59, 190-91, 677, 711
The Version A Translator

There are no explicit references in any of the Version A manuscripts concerning the identity of the translator; however, a parallel study of the Latin text (B), alongside the best Version A copies (T, C, and D) and the Misyn translation, enables certain characteristics of this particular early reader of \textit{Emendatio} to emerge.\textsuperscript{201} The opening sentence adopts a formal style, retaining some Latinate word order, and translating ‘acerbitas’ with a doublet:

[B] deuorat acerbitas penarum

[T, 4] deuour hem bitternesse and hidousnesse of peyne\textsuperscript{202}

Unlike Misyn’s translation, this hint of a curial or high prose style, is short-lived.\textsuperscript{203} By far the greatest tendency of the Version A translator is to adopt a less formal, more oral style of composition, as may be seen in his or her rendering of Rolle’s statement concerning true conversion from the opening chapter:\textsuperscript{204}

[B] Magnum enim peccatum est in Dei misericordia confidere et a peccato non cessare.

[T, 6-7] For it is a gret synne forto trus te in the mercy of God and not cesse fro synne.

\textsuperscript{201} For an explanation of why T, C, and D, are prefered to Dg and H, see the section ‘Editorial Method and Choices’ below. I draw here on characteristics of the Version A translator that emerge from a close reading of chapter one. Further examples are recorded in the end notes to the edition below.

\textsuperscript{202} Unless otherwise stated, the assumption here is that where T, C, and D all agree, this gives a good indication as to the original translation. In such cases ‘T’ readings are generally given, from the present edition, followed by the line number. Line numbers from the edition are also given in Appendix B for ease of cross-reference.


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The Version A translator here demonstrates features of oral composition. He or she opens the sentence with a conjunction, and then soon after uses the word ‘for’ again, this time joining it with ‘to’. By comparison, Misyn follows the Latin syntax closely, producing a more formal sentence structure: ‘Grete synne truly it is, in Godis mercy to trest, and fro syn not sees’. In the sentence that follows, not found in the Latin, the Version A translator reveals a characteristic freedom to act as critic and insert his or her own voice into the exemplar:

[T, 8-10] als some foles wene that ther shal neuere Cristen man be dampned, do he neuer so yuele, the whilke is a foule errour.

Rolle may have been making an oblique reference here to the Origenist teaching of ‘apocatastasis’ or universal salvation, anathematised in 543 CE, but the translator clearly judges the need to expand on it. This kind of confident building on Rolle’s work is a feature of the Version A translation, and in stark contrast to Misyn’s more conservative approach. Misyn’s choice of a curial style indicates a more reverential attitude towards Rolle’s text, which is made explicit in his prologue to the Fire

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205 Features of oral composition include the frequent use of conjunctions at the start of sentences, ‘pleonasm’ or reiteration of words or phrases, and ‘word-coalitions’ or the joining of words. See Mueller, Native Tongue, pp. 87, 94, 102. When referring to the Version A translator and scribes I use the pronouns ‘he or she’ given Alexandra Barratt’s observation in ‘Dame Eleanor Hull: A Fifteenth-Century Translator’, in The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages, ed. Roger Ellis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 87-101 (p. 101): ‘if so unlikely a text turns out to have been the work of a woman, we should be wary of automatically excluding the possibility of a woman’s authoring of any medieval text on a priori grounds’.

206 Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 105, lines 21-22.

translation made just a year later: ‘The whilk boke, in sentence ne substance I þink to chaunge, bot treuly aftyr myn vnderstandynge to wryte it in gude exposicione’.  

Another example of the Version A translator assuming the role of critic by adding to Rolle’s text, occurs a few paragraphs later in the first chapter.

[B] Non loquor de timore qui penam habet set de eo qui est in caritate, quo reuerenciam exhibemus presencie tante magestatis et semper timemus ne ipsam vel in modico offendamus.

[T, 41-46] I speke not of þat drede þat has peyne, þat is a þrale drede þat only abstenes fro synne for drede of peyne of helle, not for þe loue of God, ne for þe lufe of vertue and of ryhtwisnesse. But I mene of lufe-drede, þat is when þe childe dredes for-to offende þe fader, thurh þe whilke lufe-drede we beholde what reuerence, what honoure and wirsshipe we may gif to so grete and so worþi a maieste, euere more dredande to greue or to offende it.

Misyn simply translates the Latin literally, ‘Of dreyd I speyk nott þat has payn, bot of þat þat is in charite, with qwhilk we gif reuerence to þe presence of so grete a maieste, and all-way we dreyd in any lityll þinge þat we offend not’.  

The Version A translator, however, builds on Rolle’s allusion to one of the types of fear, introducing the technical theological term ‘lufe-drede’, and providing an explanation of its meaning. In an early fifteenth-century collection of penitential sermons, Jacob’s Well, the definition of ‘dreed for wretthyng of God’ is similar: ‘þis is loue-dreed and sone-

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208 Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 1, lines 9-11.

209 Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 106, lines 20-23.
dread; as þe sone aboue alle opere men owyth to dredyn his fadyr. Julian of Norwich also refers to this relationship between love and fear, in chapter 74 of *A Revelation of Love*, where she outlines ‘foure manner of dredes’ and notes of the fourth, ‘Love and drede are bredren, and they are roted in us by the goodnesse of oure maker’. This teaching was commonplace in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and could have derived from Hugh of Strasbourg’s *Compendium*, which also divides ‘timor’ into four categories, or from Thomas Aquinas’ similar list in his *Summa*. The Version A translator is confident and apparently well educated, seemingly attempting to improve on Rolle’s writing where he or she deems it necessary.

In his study of Rolle’s indebtedness to the Bible, John Alford concludes, ‘[Rolle] is in many ways so typical of numerous other medieval writers who composed with one ear to the Bible, their Sacred Muse’. This method of writing, termed by Mueller as ‘scripturalism’ and linked with the oral style of composition, is interestingly also found in the work of the translator, who adds numerous Biblical references to Rolle’s text. In chapter one, for example, Rolle considers those who do not fully convert:

[B]  

hodie penitentes, cras ad mala pristina redeuntes.

[T, 27-28]  
today þai do penaunce for þaire synn and tomorowe þei goo agayne to þe same synne.

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The translator then inserts the Biblical simile, ‘like vntile an hounde þat turneth ayeyn tile his vomete’ (line 28), which is a clear reference to either 2 Peter 2:22 or Proverbs 26:11. Similarly, at the end of the chapter the translator paraphrases the Latin, and adds a further scriptural reference to Rolle’s original:

[B] Inter hec penitens viriliter se excerceat et arma spiritualia assumat.

[T, 108-10] Amonge þese and al oþer þat fallen we shalle myhtely and manle vse oure-selue, and as Cristes knyhtys take gostly armures of feyth, hop, and charite.

The Misyn translation is characteristically literal, ‘Emonge þis þe penitent manly hym-self bus [behoves] vse and gostely armore take’. Rolle alludes to the metaphor of spiritual armour, from Ephesians 6:10-20, and the Version A translator builds on this by inserting a reference to 1 Corinthians 13:13 and introducing the term ‘Cristes knyhtys’. Demonstrating another feature of oral style, the translator modulates from third to first person, which has the effect of personalising the sentence and perhaps involving the reader more in what is being said.

An interesting addition to the Emendatio text, found also in chapter one, points to another literary source that may have influenced the Version A translator:

[B] In puncto viuimus, immo minus puncto, quia si totum tempus nostrum eternitati comparetur nichil est.

[T, 16-18] We lyuen here but on a poynt, pat is þe leste þinge þat may be, yee and

215 Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 108, lines 1-2.

216 On modulation between third, second, and first person as a characteristic of oral prose style, see Mueller, Native Tongue, p. 89-90.
lesse þan a poynte, for yf alle þis present life be likkened to þat life þat
neuer shal haue ende, it is ryht nouht.

Misyn translates the sentence more directly: ‘In a poynct we lyfe, 3a les þen a poynct,
for if all our lyfe to lyfe euerlastynge we wald likkyn, noþt it is’. The word ‘puncto’
is used here in its temporal sense, but the translator’s change of preposition (from ‘in’
to ‘on’) and insertion of ‘þat is þe lest þinge þat may be’ gives it more of a spatial
meaning. Why the translator felt the need to make such a change is far from
evident, until one compares this passage with a related one in Rolle’s later vernacular
epistle, *The Form of Living*. Rolle does not translate verbatim from *Emendatio*, but
appears to insert a sentence from his Latin text into the discussion, possibly from
memory:

> Foure þinges shal þou haue in þi þoght [. . .]. On is þe mesure of þi lif here, þat
> so short is þat vnethe is oght; *for we lyve bot in a poynct*, þat is þe lest þynge
> þat may be, *and sothly oure life is lasse þan a poynct if we likene hit to þe lif
> þat lesteth euer.*

In this context, alongside words like ‘mesure’ and ‘short’ that clearly refer to time
metaphorically in a spatial sense, ‘þat is þe lest þynge þat may be’ makes much more
sense. The insertion of this same phrase in the Version A translator’s text is highly
unlikely to be coincidental, and probably due to what Ralph Hanna terms ‘memorial
contamination’:

> Copying or reading, especially of materials in Middle English, was, even in
> the fifteenth century, something of a fanatic’s occupation; consequently, texts

217 Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 106, lines 2-3.

218 *OLD punctum*, n., ‘moment, instant’. *MED poyncte*, n. (1), ‘geometric point’

often got copied and read because people knew them already. The evidence for this [. . .] is memorial contamination of a scribe’s actual archetype with readings which he recalls for other versions of the text he has heard or read.\textsuperscript{220} Although Hanna is talking about the copyist and reader in particular, the principle can be extended to the translator, and in this instance provides a reasonable explanation for the textual anomaly. It also adds another layer of complexity to what Watson describes as the ‘intricate network of self-borrowing which links so many of [Rolle’s] writings’, as the translator’s own reading of Rolle texts in English and Latin enters into the equation.\textsuperscript{221}

There is very little to work with concerning the date of the Version A translation; however, a comparison with Misyn’s text in chapter four opens up the possibility that it was completed prior to 1409. In the opening section of the chapter Rolle lists three things that keep a person’s heart clean, the third of which is:

[B]  
honesta ocupacio, sicut legendo, vel aliquid de Deo loquendo aut scribendo, vel aliquid vtile faciendo.

The Version A translator does not seem at all worried by this sentence and offers a close translation:

[T, 289-90]  
honest ocupacion, as redinge of holy writte, spekyng of God, writynge, or summe oþer gude dede doynge.


\textsuperscript{221} Watson, Invention, p. 275. See also example in note to lines 748-56 below (p. 78).
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Misyn’s text on the other hand, translated in 1435 for the York anchoress Margaret Heslyngton but with a wider audience in mind, shows possible signs of censorship.\textsuperscript{222} He translates only two of the list of three things, even though the passage does not then make sense, and completely omits any reference to reading (scripture), or to speaking about God (preaching), or to writing (vernacular authorship).\textsuperscript{223} Misyn was working in an environment where there were strict regulations concerning all three of these activities, particularly in the vernacular, since the issuing of Archbishop Arundel’s \textit{Constitutions} of 1409.\textsuperscript{224} It may have been politic for the translator of a vernacular text, with a general audience in mind, to omit such exhortations to prohibited activities, and it is conceivable that the Version A translator’s lack of anxiety around this issue means that his or her work was completed prior to 1409.

\textbf{Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432}

Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, is a composite codex consisting of at least six manuscripts, most of which are likely to have circulated independently prior to their

\textsuperscript{222} On Misyn and Heslyngton see Cré, \textit{Vernacular Mysticism}, pp. 63-64. For the suggestion that Heslyngton was the recipient of Misyn’s \textit{Emendatio} translation (as well as the \textit{Incendium} translation for which there is MS evidence) see Margaret Laing, ‘Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism: The Translations by Richard Misyn of Rolle’s \textit{Incendium amoris} and \textit{Emendatio vitae}’, in \textit{Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems}, ed. by Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Margaret Laing (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 188-223 (p. 189). See also the translator’s prologue in Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 1, lines 1-6, for Misyn’s awareness of a wider audience for his work.

\textsuperscript{223} Harvey, \textit{Fire and Mending}, p. 112, lines 12-17.

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PLATE 1. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, fol. 90v
acquisition by the Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (1581-1656). Volume one (fols 1 to 58) consists of thirteenth-century vellum in good condition written with iron gall ink. Volume two (fols 59 to 121) is made up of fifteenth-century laid paper and is in less good condition, with some tears, soiling, fragmentation and staining. Fols 70 to 76 were miscollated in a nineteenth-century binding, and the single sheets of fols 59 to 66 have been refolded 8mm away from the spine and pasted together to make up a quire. The final volume (fols 122 to 155) is fifteenth-century laid paper in very good condition.

Of interest for the present study are two low-cost booklets that comprise the second part of volume two:

1) Fols 88r-89r ‘How men þat be in hele schulde visite sike folk’; a prose treatise derived from the pseudo-Augustinian *Visitatio infirmorum* and Anselm’s *Admonitio morienti*. Extant in six Middle English versions, it was widely used by priests in ministering to the dying. The version from which this partial copy is derived was the most popular, going by the number of manuscript copies, and was composed in the Southeast Midlands between 1400 and 1425. See *IPMEP* 161; Jolliffe, 225


* inc. *[M]y dere sone or doustar in God [. . .]*

* expl. *[. . .] is heelpe to þe soule and wille þou or nyle þou.*

* fol. 89v originally blank.

2) Fols 90r-121v Richard Rolle, *Amendinge of Lyf*; IPMEP 651, 652; Wells Rev: 3065 (15); the base text for the present edition.

* inc. Tary not for to turne the to God [. . .]*

* expl. *[. . .] with outen cesynge. Amen.*

Although these appear to have been produced independently, copied by different scribes on different paper, the recto of the first *Visitatio* folio and verso of the last *Amendinge* folio are more worn and smudged than the remainder giving the appearance of having once circulated together. The grain of the paper of fols 88 to 89 is vertical, and of fols 90 to 121 is horizontal, measuring between 195 x 135mm and 195 x 140mm, mostly with ruled spaces of 145 x 100mm containing between 22 and 26 lines of text. The entire *Visitatio* translation and the closing folio of the *Amendinge* text are exceptions to this, having a larger written area of at least 170 x 115mm and containing respectively between 36 and 40 unruled lines of text. Red ink is found in only two places, the title ‘How men þat be in hele schulde visite sike folk’ on fol. 88r, and the expunction of a misplaced line on fol. 112v. Otherwise the text is very simple with no illustrations, flourishes, or further rubrication. Some capitals are marginally more extravagant than others, for example the ‘T’ and ‘A’ on the opening folio of the
Amendinge text, but these are little more than paragraph indicators. A space for an enlarged capital ‘M’ at the opening of the Visitatio translation has been left blank for a rubricator who never attended to the work.

The scribes write in hands that Marvin Colker describes as late-fifteenth-century secretary. The Visitatio translation is copied by a single scribe, and Rolle’s Amendinge by two different copyists. The first Amendinge scribe copies four fifths of the text and is generally very careful, other than on fol. 112v where several folios are skipped and a sentence copied and then expuncted from a passage eventually found on fol. 117r: ‘maker, she is þanne made partenere of lyht unfourmed, and þan after is she enspired and filled with the’. Soon after this, from the foot of fol. 115r, a second scribe completes the Rolle text, but this scribe is noticeably less vigilant than the earlier one. Fol. 115v is ruled, possibly by the previous scribe, but from fol. 116r the pages are unruled and the number of lines increases from 22 to 26. When this second Amendinge scribe gets to fol. 121r, he or she re-copies an entire page already found on fol. 116r. Only at the end of the page does the scribe realise the error, and then runs a number of diagonal lines through the whole page. The final folio (121v) has almost no margin and contains 40 lines of text, suggesting that the content of two folios was squeezed into one.

There are a number of corrections and marginal notes throughout the Amendinge text, most of which Colker judges also to be in fifteenth-century hands. The first Rolle scribe provides no chapter headings or numbering for the first chapter, and only

227 Colker, Trinity, II, p. 864.
headings for chapters two to six. One of the correctors therefore inserts the missing numbering for chapters one, and seven to eleven (the second scribe provides both heading and numbering for the final chapter). This same corrector also notes an inconsistency in the scribe’s dialect, possibly a relict, and on fol. 92v expuncts the southern form ‘seye’, adding the northern form ‘sawe’ in the margin. He or she also glosses the word ‘qwentise’ in the margin with ‘sor trichery[e]’ on fol. 94f, and makes marginal insertions of words omitted by the scribe on fol. 99v (‘desire and oure’) and fol. 113v (‘dispise’), but corrects only the first scribe’s work. Biblical quotations in the opening folios are also highlighted with marginal brackets, possibly by the same corrector. A different corrector makes further marginal notes, such as on fols 98f-99v, drawing attention to Rolle’s six groups of ‘3 þinges’ that ‘make a man foule’, ‘clensen a man’, ‘kepen clennes of herte’, ‘clennes of mouthe’, ‘clennes of werke’, and ‘confourmes oure wile to Goddis wil’. On fol. 114f, in another fifteenth-century hand, a reader notes in the margin ‘triplex amor’ and alongside this underscores the opening of Rolle’s passage on the ‘þre degrees of loue’. A fourth hand marks the text internally rather than using the margin, and is by far the most careful early reader of the Amendinge text, if the number of corrections may be used as an indicator. This corrector’s insertions and expunctions have been made to the work of both scribes, and can be found on fols 91f, 94f, 95f, 96f, 100f, 101f, 101v, 105f, 109f, 110f, 115v, 116v, 117f, 117v, 118v, 119f, 119v, 120f, 120v, and 121v. There is also evidence of later readership of the manuscript, where ‘Iesu, Iesu, Iesu payed’ is written in the margin of fol. 101f in a sixteenth-century hand. Next to this, in the same hand but this time written in lead point, are the words: ‘Iesu suffer[ed]’.
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There is no internal indication of provenance in either the *Visitatio* or *Amendinge* text, and the earliest external reference is found in the catalogue which Samuel Foley made of the Ussher collection after it was gifted to Trinity College by Charles II in 1661. The Foley catalogue lists the texts as, ‘How men that be in health, should visit sick folk’, and ‘Admonitions for a Godly life in old English: begin (tarrie not for to turn)’, but makes no mention of authorship.228 Another catalogue wrongly describes the entire collection as ‘Liber fratris Henrici de Dunstable’, after a thirteenth-century colophon on fol. 23r which relates only to the first portion of the codex.229 Of an earlier audience for the booklets nothing is known; however, if the two did indeed circulate together the presence of the *Visitatio* translation (a priest’s manual) strengthens the possibility that they were both owned by a priest. One could imagine the first chapter of *Amendinge* being read aloud by a priest at a sick parishioner’s bedside, and if death happened to be averted (as was the case with Julian of Norwich, for example) the hearer might then have been eager for the priest to complete all twelve chapters.230

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229 Dublin, Trinity College, MS 7/2, fol. 29r. This MS is dated 1670 and is the earliest extant catalogue of the Ussher collection, probably compiled by Sir James Ware. The Augustinian priory at Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, was founded in 1132 by Henry I (see *The Victoria History of the County of Bedford: Volume I*, ed. by William Page (London: Constable, 1904; repr. 1972), pp. 371-77).

230 Julian of Norwich writes that when very ill and seemingly near death, she received the ‘rightinges of haly kyrke’ (confession, absolution, and extreme unction), and was later visited by her ‘curette’ who
Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.v.30

The manuscript is bound in leather, and bears the binder’s name and date of binding: ‘Stoakley, Cambridge, 6 May 1918’. There are 168 vellum folios, the work of a single scribe, numbered in a modern hand, with four flyleaves front and back. The size of each folio is 244 x 160mm, with a written space of 175 x 108mm consisting of thirty-one lines of ruled script. Other than the flyleaves, some of which have paper replacements, the folios are bound in twenty quires of eight. Catchwords are in the scribe’s hand. There are five illuminated initials in the manuscript, painted in blue, red, white, orange and gold, and covering six or seven lines with flourishes extending across the length and width of the page (on fol. 141r for example). Other capitals are coloured in blue ink and ornamented with red flourishes extending between two and seven lines. Chapter headings and numbers are in red and added by the rubricator. Paragraph marks alternate in red and blue.

There is some evidence of serious study of the manuscript, or at least careful correction by the scriptorium responsible for its production. Avril Henry identifies notes and corrections in at least three hands. The scribe appears to have gone back over his or her own work, carefully making corrections and even glossing words that may have appeared too archaic or difficult because of dialect. For example on fol. 144r the scribe has written ‘fagen’, which is later glossed ‘i.e. flateren’; similarly on fol. 149r the gloss ‘i.e. preisinge’ accompanies the word ‘loovinge’. In addition there came to be with her and comfort her as she died. See Watson and Jenkins, Writings, pp. 65-67, 129-133 (p. 65).


232 See Henry, Pilgrimage, i, p. xxxii-xxxiii, for a full description.
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is a second set of emendations in a small, neat, corrector’s hand. Thirdly, the rubricator also makes occasional corrections.

The manuscript is written entirely in the vernacular, and contains just two main texts:

i) Fols 1r-4v The flyleaves contain notes and pen trials in a variety of hands from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

1) Fols 5r-140v The Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode; an anonymous Middle English prose translation from the first recension of Guillaume de Deguileville’s French poem Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine written in 1330-1; IPMEP 263; Wells Rev: 2552 (192); for an edition based on this manuscript with collations from the other five copies see Henry, Pilgrimage.

inc. To þilke of þis regiown whiche han noon hows [. . .]

expl. [. . .] which God grawnte to alle quike and dede. Amen.

2) Fols 141r-164v Richard Rolle, Amendinge of Lyf; IPMEP 651, 652;

Wells Rev: 3424 (15); variants from this manuscript are noted in the critical apparatus of the present edition.

inc. Tarye not for to turne þee to God [. . .]


Both of these texts were popular in the fifteenth century. There are more than sixty extant copies of Le Pèlerinage, and manuscripts of a number of translations into German, Dutch, Spanish, and English. There has been some disagreement as to the dating of Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.v.30. In 1869 William Wright described it as a fifteenth-century copy, noting of the original translator:
That he lived and wrote after the time of Chaucer may be inferred from his adopting that poet’s verse translation of the alphabetical acrostic (fols 108r-111v) known as *Chaucer’s ABC*, or *La Priere de nostre Dame*. 233

The Cambridge University Library catalogue, completed two years prior to Wright’s publication, dates the manuscript at ‘the close of the fourteenth century’ citing palaeographic evidence. 234 Hope Emily Allen seems to follow the catalogue’s dating rather than Wright’s, describing it as ‘late 14th century’, with Valerie Lagorio and Michael Sargent following suit: ‘1375-1400’. 235 Like Wright, however, Henry notes the presence of Chaucer’s translation of ‘the ABC to the Virgin’ in her edition, and dates it in the first half of the fifteenth century. 236 Robert Raymo follows Henry, but is more specific ‘1425-50’. 237 A. J. Minnis notes that the ‘ABC’ is unlikely to have been one of Chaucer’s early poems, and that all ‘the English translators of Deguileville, rather than translate the poem for themselves, prefer to use Chaucer’s version’. 238 I am therefore inclined to follow Henry’s dating, which is not too specific but places the text firmly in the fifteenth century.

Before being housed in the Cambridge University Library, this manuscript was part of the library of John Moore, Bishop of Ely (d.1714). On fol. 3r there is written

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237 Wells Rev: 2552.

‘Johannes bysshop’ in a hand other than his own. 239 On the same folio the name
‘Thomas Hows’ is written twice in a fifteenth-century hand. On the verso is found
another mark of ownership; Allen reads it as ‘Liber Johannis Wales’, but Henry
prefers ‘Liber Johannis Malet’. 240 On fol. 3v is found ‘A le bone estoire bone guerdon’
in a sixteenth-century italic hand, and ‘compare another copy Ff.v.30’ in a modern
hand. Another note in a modern hand reads ‘f. 4 gone’; a fact which is evidenced in
the offsets on fols 3v and 5r. Another fifteenth-century hand can be found on fol. 68r,
where ‘Wille Crane did me’ is written into a space in the text. This same hand is
responsible for numerous notes and jottings throughout the manuscript, for example
fol. 79v ‘In my be [ . . . ]’; fol. 80v ‘In my begynnynge’; fol. 81r ‘I in me by gynde God
me spede’; fol. 84v ‘I’; fols 111r-112r ‘Wyll’; fol. 140v ‘W [ . . . ] m [ . . . ]’; and marks
on twelve other folios. The beginning of a conveyance can be found on one of the end
flyleaves (fol. 165v), which locates the manuscript at one time in Devon:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc scriptum indentatum peruenerit ego
Williamus Dalyng Junior dedi conssesse [?] et hae carta mea confirmaui
Williemo P. de M. in comitatu Deuoniensi armigero etc. omne meum
messuageum et terram meam in manibus de anton gefferd habendum et
tenendum omne singulum. 241

239 Henry, Pilgrimage, p. xxxii. Cambridge University holds many of John Moore’s manuscript
documents, some in his own hand. For example: accounts (Dd.14.26[8]); a library catalogue (Oo.7.49);
and letters (Add.2.no.192; Add.51.nos.204-5; Add.4251.nos.977-8).

240 Allen, Writings, p. 241; cf. Henry, Pilgrimage, p. xxxii. I have not been able to identify this owner,
but note that Serenus Cressy (the first editor of Julian of Norwich’s writing) addresses a letter to fellow
Benedictine, John Mallet, in 1674 concerning matters of editing. See Patricia C. Brückmann, ‘Cressy,
2007] (para. 7 of 8).

241 Cited in Henry, Pilgrimage, p. xxxii.
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There is insufficient information here to make any firm comment on the early provenance or readership of the manuscript, although the fact that both texts are in the vernacular does point towards a lay audience.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322

Bound in an eighteenth-century purple velvet cover, Douce 322 bears the arms of Francis Douce (1757-1834) on the inside of the front cover.242 The volume consists of 102 vellum folios, all in good condition. The foliation is modern. A study of the contents reveals that at least one folio is missing between fols 97 and 98, and possibly another between fols 100 and 101.243 The folios measure 280 x 190mm, with on average forty lines of text written neatly into a ruled area of 210 x 140mm in two columns 65 mm wide. Ian Doyle judges the manuscript to be the work of a single fifteenth-century hand, although the scribe does seem to adopt different styles on fols 1⁰-9⁰, 10⁰-17⁰, 18⁰-20⁰, 20⁰-97⁰, and 98⁰-101⁰ respectively.244

This edition was clearly an expensive one, with a large collection of texts, elaborate initials throughout, capital flourishes, a number of illustrations, and some illuminations.245 The initials ‘KL’ that head every month of the opening calendar, for

242 See description in A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Which Have not Hitherto been Catalogued in the Quarto series, ed. by Falconer Madan and others, 7 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895-1953; repr. 1980), IV, pp. 593-5.


example, are produced in red, blue, and green ink, with a thick gold border around each. Fol. 10r is headed by a coat of arms in red, blue, and gold belonging to the Baron family.246 Also on this folio there is a historiated initial ‘P’, in which is found a depiction of the naked, miserable Job lying on his ‘donghyll’ praying to God, who peers down from the heavens and quite literally illuminates the scene. On fol. 15r another poem is illustrated: ‘A tretyse of parce michi Domine’. The poet is depicted reclining amongst the grass and flowers of a forest clearing, birds are in the trees and one is depicted as singing ‘parce michi Domine’. A flourished initial ‘S’ is found on fol. 18r, accompanying a Latin treatise on the sacraments with English verse translation. Coloured in red and white with gold surrounds, there are blue, orange, and green floral patterns within the letter, and flourishes that extend to fill the entire margin, top and bottom, with bursting flowers of red, pink, blue, and green. In contrast, the verse on fol. 19v is accompanied by an image of ‘dethe’. A skeletal figure is depicted holding a bell in one hand and a spear in the other. All around this spectre are written the words ‘dethe, deth, deth’. This introduces a number of passages on the theme of death, including an excerpt from a translation of Ars Moriendi, the ‘booke of crafte of dying’, the incipit of which on fol. 26v contains a historiated ‘T’, depicting a man on his deathbed being attended by a priest.

The opening of the Amendinge text (fol. 78r) is one of the most beautifully decorated folios, and was clearly highlighted by the scriptorium as a significant text for the client. At the foot of the page is a quartered shield incorporating the arms of both the

246 See also description in Bodleian Library, Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce Esquire to the Bodleian Library (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), p. 55.
Knollys and Baron families. The top right and bottom left quarters of the shield depict the blue inverted ‘V’ with three yellow sheaves on a red background of the Baron family (also found on fol.10'); the remaining quarters contain the large gold cross surrounded by nine small white crosses on a blue background of the Knollys family. Perhaps most striking on this folio is an extravagantly flourished and illuminated initial at the opening of the Amendinge text. The ornate ‘T’ is coloured pink and white, with gold surrounds. Flourishes extend over half the height of the page, culminating in two flower heads. An illuminated red shield sits in the middle of the initial, and in the centre of the shield is a heart, pierced and bleeding on the left side. Golden rays shine from three sides of the heart, and above it sits the monogram ‘Ihs’. At the four corners of the shield are star-like clusters. Throughout the entire manuscript numerous blue initials are boxed with red designs and given red flourishes which extend half the length of the page (see, for example, fol. 78'). The individual text and chapter headings are mostly in red, and many ordinary capitals are rubricated alternately in red and blue, especially nearer the beginning of the codex. Paragraph marks throughout also alternate in red and blue ink. Latin summaries of the main body of the text, in red with a blue border, are added in the margins by the rubricator.

The contents of the manuscript provide an elaborate compendium on the religious life, particularly appropriate for a devout lay or monastic audience. It opens with a liturgical calendar and miscellaneous poems and prayers, followed by treatises on confession and the sacraments, a number of texts in the genre of Ars moriendi, and finally works addressing the eucharist, tribulation, and prayer:

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i) Fol. i\textsuperscript{r} Fly-leaf dedication, in a fifteenth-century hand.
   
   *inc.* These booke in whome is contente dyuers deuowte [. . .]
   
   *expl.* [. . .] nece to be for seyde gentylman William Baron.

ii) Fol. 1\textsuperscript{v} A contents page.

1) Fols 2\textsuperscript{r}-7\textsuperscript{v} A calendar in English verse by John Lydgate;
   
   
   *inc.* Ihesu Lorde for thy holy circumsicion [. . .]
   
   *expl.* [. . .] hit ys made after the forme of a compote manuell.

2) Fol. 8\textsuperscript{r} ‘Canticus Amoris’; a poem attributed to Lydgate; *IMEV* 1781; *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924), pp. 61-5.
   
   *inc.* Ihesu thy swetnesse who myght hit se [. . .]
   
   *expl.* [. . .] with the to dwell withoutyn ende. Amen.

3) Fols. 8\textsuperscript{r}-9\textsuperscript{v} ‘Quia amore langueo’; a poem describing the relationship between the Virgin Mary and humankind;
   
   
   *inc.* In a tabernacle of a toure [. . .]
   
   *expl.* [. . .] and lerne to synge: *Quia amore langueo*.

4) Fol. 9\textsuperscript{v} A prayer concerning Christ’s suffering; extracted from a longer English poem; *IMEV* 2352; *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 135-136.
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inc. Now, now Ihesu for thy circumcision [. . .]

expl. [. . .] we may rejoyse euer ṭy presence. Amen.

5) Fol. 10r-15r ‘Pety Job’; wrongly ascribed here to Rolle; IMEV 1854;

Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems from Oxford MSS Digby

102 & Douce 322, ed. by J. Kail, EETS, 124, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1904), i, pp. 120-43.

inc. Lyef Lord my soule thow spare [. . .]

expl. [. . .] euer with the dwell, through parce michi domine.

6) Fol. 15r-17r ‘A tretyse of parce michi domine’; wrongly ascribed in the text to Rolle; IMEV 561; Brown, Fifteenth Century, pp. 208-215.

inc. By a forest syde walking as I went [. . .]

expl. [. . .] sheweth to vs hys blessed face. Amen.

7) Fol. 17r-18r ‘The seuyn dedely synnes’; an English prose confession;

IMEP 4, 74; IPMEP 309; Jolliffe, C.21; Wells Rev: 2358

(211); The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS, Part I, ed. by Carl Horstmann, EETS, 98 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1892), pp. 19-21, edits another copy of this text.

inc. Pryde I knowledge me gyilty, and yelde me to God [. . .]

expl. [. . .] all the holy company of heuen.

8) Fol. 18r-19r ‘sex obseruanda omni Christiano in extremis’; a Latin prose treatise on the sacraments, with English verse explicit;

IMEV 741.

inc. Solucio debiti ab obligacibus absolvit [. . .]

Euery man and woman hath grete nede . . .

expl. [. . .] that Cryste for vs ordeyned. Amen.
9) Fol. 19r ‘A description of feythe, hope and charyte’; an English prose treatise; IMEP 4, 75; Jolliffe, G.9; Wells Rev: 2291 (54).

inc. Feythe ys knowlege yeuyn to vs [. . .]

expl. [. . .] to thy neyghbor in God and for God.

10) Fol. 19v ‘Thorough two thyngs principally may a man knowe whether he be meke or no’; an English prose treatise; IMEP 4, 75; Jolliffe, G.29; Wells Rev: 2297 (78).

inc. Yef hys hert be nat meued through hys owne wyll [. . .]

expl. [. . .] and hys mouthe be shut from unmeke answere.


inc. Syth that ye lyste to be my costes [. . .]

expl. [. . .] ffor Adams synns must dye of nature.

12) Fol. 20r English verse on mortality, from Lydgate’s Fall of Princes; IMEV 3143; MacCracken, Minor Poems 2, pp. 655-7.

inc. O worldely folke auerteth and take hede [. . .]

expl. [. . .] by thy dethe had the victory. Amen.

13) Fols 20v-25v ‘howe we shull lerne to dye’; an English translation, from cap. 5 of Heinrich Suso’s Latin treatise on the preparation for death, Horologium sapientiae; IMEP 4, 75; IPMEP 465; Jolliffe, L.8 (b); Wells Rev: 2365 (221), and 3125 (80); for an
edition of another translation of the whole text see Carl Horstmann, ‘Orologium Sapientiae or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom aus MS Douce 114’, Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie, 10 (1888), 323-389.

inc. Disciple sythen hyt ys so that deth yeueth nought to man [. . .]

expl. [. . .] and euerlastyng felicite. Amen.

14) Fols 25v-26r ‘A chapitre taken oute of a book cleped toure of all toures’;
a fifteenth-century translation of the first chapter of the section of the Somme le roi on learning to die; other than this and two other related manuscript references, nothing is known of the source, Toure of All Toures; IMEP 4, 76; IPMEP 234; Jollife, A.1 and L.1; Wells Rev: 2260 (6); Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. xxxii, pp. 68-71.

inc. Ayenst hys wyll he dyeth that hath nat lerned to dye [. . .]

expl. [. . .] to kunne wele for to lyue wele for to dye.

15) Fols 26v-38v ‘The booke of crafte of dying’; an English translation (c. 1410) of one of the two versions of Ars moriendi, drawn mostly from part III of Jean Gerson’s Opusculum tripartitum, and intended to assist lay people at the time of death in the absence of a priest; IMEP 4, 77; IPMEP 234; Jolliffe, L.4 (a); Wells Rev: 2361 (216); this copy is edited by Mary E. Scott, ‘Go, Crysten Soul: A Critical Edition of The Craft of Dying’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Miami University, 1975).

inc. For as moche as the passage of dethe [. . .]

16) Fols 39r-52r ‘A tretyse of gostly batayle’; a prose conflation of Dives and Pauper, Pore Caitiff, Three Arrows of Doomsday, and Pains of Purgatory, intended for a lay as well as a religious audience;

*IMEP* 4, 77; *IPMEP* 120; Jolliffe H.3; Wells Rev: 2331 (173);


*inc.* Brother or suster that de syrest to come [. . .]

*expl.* [. . .] whyche man was ordeyne d to in hys furst creation. Amen.

17) Fols 52v-61v ‘A ladder of foure rongys’ or ‘scal a celi’; English translation of the *Scala claustralium* or *Scala celi*, variously attributed to Augustine, Anselm, Bonaventura, and Bernard, but probably written by the Carthusian monk and prior, Guigo II (d. 1188);

*IMEP* 4, 78; *IPMEP* 76; Jolliffe M.1; Wells Rev: 3113 (69);

*Deonise hid Divinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to the Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. by Phyllis Hodgson, EETS 231 (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 100-117, edited from a different base text, but with variants from this copy.

*inc.* As I was occupyed on a day in bodyly trauayle [. . .]

*expl.* [. . .] fro vs all eu ylles that vs myght lete hym to loue. Amen.

18) Fol 62r A treatise on the eucharist, attributed in the rubric to ‘Seynt albert the bysshop’, the Dominican theologian Albertus Magnus (1206-1280) who taught Aquinas; *IMEP* 4, 78; *IPMEP* 572.
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inc. Furst when ye rescue oure Lorde in fourme of brede [. . .]
expl. [. . .] the soule rescue hit nat worthyly than hit ys in heuenn.


inc. Hec sunt que Maria Magdalena [. . .]
expl. [. . .] hec magistrum Adam Cartusiensem.

20) Fols 62v-63r ‘A lytell shorte tretyse that telleth [. . .] of tribulacion’ or The Six Masters. A text derived from the Twelve Profits of Tribulation, the most popular of several English translations of the thirteenth-century Tractatus de tribulacione; IMEP 4, 79; IPMEP 287; Jolliffe J.2 (c); Wells Rev: 3127 (81); see also Barratt, Tribulation, a Middle English translation of an Old French prose treatise, the Livre de tribulacion (c. 1270), itself a translation of the Tractatus.

inc. The furst mayster sayde that yef any thyng had bene better [. . .]
expl. [. . .] to brynge vs to hys blyssse that neuer shall haue ende.

21) Fol 63v ‘Nota de paciencia infirmitatis’; a Latin treatise also attributed to Adam the Carthusian, and found in other MSS alongside The Six Masters.

inc. Si sciret homo, quantum ei infirmitas [. . .]
22) Fols 64r-77v ‘the xij prophetis and euangelistes of tribulatioun’; an English translation of the shorter version of *Tractatus de tribulacione*, known also as *De duodecim utilitatis tribulationis*; IMEP 4, 80; IPMEP 142; Jolliffe J.3 (b); Wells Rev: 3127 (81); see Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, II, pp. 45-60; and Barratt, *Tribulation*, pp. 134-143.

*inc.* Lord God graunte vs helpe of tribulacion to the soule that art distroubled and tempted [. . .]

*expl.* [. . .] the whiche kyngdom brynge he all us that suffered dethoure Lorde Ihesus. Amen for charyte deo gracias.

23) Fols 78r-94r Richard Rolle, *Amendinge of Lyf*; IMEP, 4, 80; IPMEP 651, 652; Wells Rev: 3424 (15); variants from this manuscript are noted in the critical apparatus of the present edition.

*inc.* Tary thow nat to turne to God [. . .]

*expl.* [. . .] into worldys of worldys withouten cesying. Amen.

24) Fol 94r-97r ‘Meditatio Sancti Augustini’; an English translation of a Latin treatise ascribed to St Augustine; IMEP 4, 81; IPMEP 574; Jolliffe I.32.

*inc.* Seynt Austyn the hooly doctour techeth thorough declaracion of holy wrytte [. . .]

*expl.* [. . .] have mercy on me. Ihesu. Ihesu. Ihesu. Amen.

25) Fols 97r-97v ‘How a man or a woman of sympull kunnyng shall make hys prayer to God almighty’ or *Prayer for a Layman*; from the final chapter of a fourteenth-century treatise, the *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, often attributed (falsely) to Rolle
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and addressed primarily to the laity; the text here ends abruptly, probably due to a missing folio; IMEP 4, 82; Jolliffe M.15; Wells Rev: 3086 (41); *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, ed. by Margaret Connelly, EETS, 303 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 41-43.

**inc.** Furst when thou shapest the to pray [. . .]

**expl.** [. . .] nothyng may be but synne and wrecyndness that cometh of me, wherfore Lorde I beseeche [*incomplete*]

26) *missing* ‘a confession whyche ys also a prayer made by Seynt Brandon’ or *St Brendan’s Confession*; a popular confessional prayer spuriously attributed to St Brendan; missing from Douce 322, but its presence in the original MS at this point is known from the contents page on fol.1\(^{v}\), and from fol. 84\(^{v}\) of Harley 1706, which is almost certainly a copy of Douce 322; *IMEP*, 4, 82; *IPMEP*, 311; Wells Rev: 2358 (211); see also Doyle, ‘Books’, p. 229; *The Middle English St Brendan’s Confession and Prayer*, ed. by Fumio Kuriyagawa (Tokyo: Keio University, 1968).

27) Fols 98\(^{r}\)-98\(^{v}\) Another form of confession, based on the Ten Commandments; the opening is missing due to the lost folio mentioned above, but the full text is found in Harley 1706, fol.85\(^{v}\); *IMEP* 4, 82 mistakenly indexes this as ‘St Brendan’s Form of Confession’; Wells Rev: 2358 (211).
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inc. [. . .] for I haue ben false to the God and to man also to the my Lord God in false behestes and couenaunts that I haue ofte made to the and thyne [. . .]


28) Fols 98r-100v ‘Quinque Sensus’; another form of confession, based this time on the five senses; IMEP 4, 82; cf. Jolliffe C.31 which divides the text differently; see also Wells Rev: 2358 (211).

inc. Thow hygh excellent Lord God lowly to the [. . .]


29) Fols 100r-100v ‘De Carta celestis hereditatis’ or ‘charter of heuenly herytage’; a tract from the Poor Caitif that was often copied independently; this version has an imperfect ending, which may indicate another missing folio between fols 100 and 101; in Harley 1706 this text comes after the next two items rather than before them, which again points to some disruption and even subsequent reworking of this last section of Douce 322; IMEP 4, 83; IPMEP 166; Jolliffe B; Wells Rev: 3135 (87); see also Ralph Hanna, ‘The Origins and Production of Westminster School, MS 3’, Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 41 (1988), 197-218 (p. 198).

inc. Euery wyse man that cleymeth hys herytage [. . .]

expl. [. . .] blyssed ensample yeuyng of the my Lord Ihesu Cryste.
30) Fol. 101r ‘Septem opera misericordie corporalia’; an imperfect version of the Seven Works of Corporal Mercy in English; the MS ends here abruptly, although Harley 1706 (fols 90r-94v) gives a good indication of what the original ending of Douce 322 may have looked like; IMEP 4, 84; Peter Revell, Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations: A descriptive list of MSS in the British Library (New York: Garland, 1975), p. 117.

inc. Fede the hungry, yeue drynke to the thrysty [. . .]

expl. [. . .] all trespasses ayenst me as thow techest me [incomplete]

The inscription on the fly-leaf, listed above, is worth returning to. Written in a different hand to that of the scribe, and on a different piece of vellum, it is of particular interest in identifying some of the early readers and owners of the manuscript:

These booke, in whome is contente dyuers deuowte tretis and specyally þe tretis þat is called ars moriendi, ys of þe æfte of William Baron Esquyer to remayne for euyr to þe place and nonrye of Detforde and specially to the vse of Dame Pernelle Wrattisley, sister of the same place by licence of her abbas þe whiche Pernelle is nece to þe for seyde gentylman William Baron.

The presence of the Baron and Knollys arms on fol. 78r helps further in identifying the individuals mentioned. Ian Doyle judges the manuscript to be the work of ‘a professional scriptorium working with the assistance of non-commercial literary resources’ and dates the work as c. 1470-80.248 The term ‘nece’ in the inscription, in

fact refers to William Baron’s granddaughter, ‘Pernelle’. Dame Parnel Wrottesley was born between 1462 and 1473, the sixth child of Jane Baron and Sir Walter Wrottesley, Sheriff of Staffordshire, Governor of Calais, and Merchant of the Staple. Jane Baron was daughter and heir to William Baron, armiger, of Berkshire, and officer of the Royal Exchequer in London from c. 1430 to c. 1470. As well as bearing her grandfather’s coat of arms, Parnel’s book testifies to the importance of her maternal grandmother’s family, the Knollys. Parnel’s great-grandfather was Thomas Knollys, a grocer and citizen of the City of London, and lord of North Mimms manor in Hertfordshire. In 1445 or 1446, when Thomas died, William Baron was executor of the will, which included a bequest of 10 marks to his sister-in-law, Beatrice Knollys, who was then a nun at the Dominican priory in Dartford, Kent.

Following in her great-aunt’s footsteps, Parnel Wrottesley may have been sent to the Dartford priory for her schooling as a child. Parnel’s parents married around 1456, and the parchment family pedigree shows that she was the fifth daughter, with an older brother born in 1457. This means that the earliest Parnel could have been born was 1462, and the earliest she could have entered Dartford Priory was 1475, two years after her father’s death. The one sure date we have is 1512, when William Wrottesley of Reading, living in the parish of St Olave’s Silver Street, London, left a bequest to ‘Dame Parnell byynge within the nonry of Dertforde’. William was Parnel’s brother, and as the second son he inherited the Baron estates in Berkshire from his

249 MED necce, n., a granddaughter.
250 Most of the family history that follows is drawn from Doyle, ‘Books’, and Lee, Nunneries, pp. 173-4, the primary source for both being George Wrottesley, A History of the Family of Wrottesley, Collections for a History of Staffordshire, New Series, 6, 2 (Stafford: Staffordshire Record Society, 1903), pp. 216-241.
251 Lee, Nunneries, p. 174.
mother. As a nun, Parnel was technically not permitted any personal possessions, but William left her 13s. 4d., his best ‘furre’, and coral prayer beads ‘gawded’ with silver and gilt, so that his sister might pray for his soul. The only other possession we know that Parnel owned was MS Douce 322. Given the two coats of arms, the manuscript was almost certainly commissioned by Parnel’s grandparents. It may have been produced specifically as a gift for Parnel, but given that the inscription is in another hand and on different vellum, it is more likely that the volume was first used by the grandparents and later inscribed and gifted to the young novice.

In addition to being owned and read by Parnel, and most probably first by her grandparents, Douce 322 was loaned around 1500 to the Benedictine nuns at Barking Abbey, where a copy appears to have been made: London, British Library, MS Harley 1706. 252 What happened to Douce 322 after Dartford Priory was dissolved is not known, but the good condition of the manuscript suggests that it was well cared for. Parnel would have been between sixty-six and seventy-seven years old at this time, although the absence of her name on the first pension list of Michaelmas 1539 suggests that she had died by then. 253 The next sign of ownership is from the eighteenth century, and a note in the Bodleian library catalogue: ‘the property of Ebenezer Mussel’. 254 An auction-sale catalogue also records that in 1766 Francis Douce bought the manuscript from Mussel. 255


253 On “Dissolution and the Survival of Community” at Dartford see Lee, Nunneries, pp.109ff.

254 Bodleian, Catalogue, p. 55.

255 Doyle, ‘Books’, p. 239, n. 5.
Other Version A Manuscripts

There are two other Version A manuscripts that are not used in the present edition, but are nonetheless important to mention: London, British Library, MS Harley 1706; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18. In addition to these two vernacular manuscripts, I also provide here a brief description of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54, which contains a copy of the Latin recension of *Emendatio* related to the Version A translation.

London, British Library, MS Harley 1706 has a modern red leather binding, with 216 numbered vellum folios and a single modern flyleaf. The original fly-leaves are on fols 1, 2, 215 and 216. The work of four sixteenth-century scribes is evident in the main body of the text, exhibiting linguistic characteristics of Northamptonshire, and there are also numerous notes in different hands in the flyleaves and margins of the text. The folios are 260 x 190mm, with a written area that is usually around 220 x 140mm in two 65mm columns and with 45 lines per column. Harley 1706 lacks the extravagant flourishes, illustrations and illuminations of Douce 322, but is nevertheless an attractive volume with red and blue flourished initials throughout. Chapter titles and headings are often found in red, as are some capitals and paragraph marks.

On the recto of the first folio is written, probably in an eighteenth-century hand:

‘David John Lidgate monk mad the Callender of this Book. Rich Hampole heremite

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257 See *LALME*, i, p. 110 (LP 4273) which locates the MS and identifies four distinct hands.
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PLATE 4. London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, fol. 67v
who deceased 1049 wrote things memorable in this book’ with a later correction of
‘David’ to ‘Dan’ and ‘1049’ to ‘1349’. On the verso are written a number of recipes
that A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts describes as ‘Divers
Medicinal Receipts’. Over the page, both recto and verso, there are further recipes in
the same and other hands. In the margin of the opening of the calendar (fol. 3r) is
written ‘Edmond Jernyngham’ and at the foot of the page ‘Elizabeth Oxnford’. On fol.
4r is found ‘Elizabet Vere’ and in a similar but less sure hand on fol. 11r, ‘thys ys my
boke Elysabeth beaumount’. The same hand is found on fol. 216r, ‘to my ly [. . .] ecend [. . .] elizabeth beaumount’, and ‘Elysabeth Oxnford’ on fols 93v and 95v. On
fol. 214r, in the most confident hand, she again writes: ‘thys yes my boke quod
Elysabeth Oxynforde’ and then at the foot of the page she copies a recipe from fol.
215v: ‘Take a pound of the flowyrys of cowslopys in the month of may and stepe tham
in oyle of olyff’. One very bold but unpractised hand marks a capital ‘A’ on fol. 3r and
in the same hand ‘Elysabeth Rokewod’ in capitals on fol. 37r. Partly smudged, at the
foot of fol. 156v is written: ‘my wyfe gayne’ in another hand, and fol. 172v ‘I prays
you of younge’ in the same hand. Another signature is found on fols. 191v and 211v,
‘margeret otwell’, and ‘I praye you of your marce in your prayers thenke’ is written
on fol. 213v in yet another hand. Other names are discernable: ‘John Wylkyns’ (fol.
1v), ‘Welyam Corwell’ (fol. 2v), ‘Mari Nevil’ (fol. 18v) and ‘Tomy Yeacens’ (fol.
216v).

One of the early readers of the manuscript was evidently Elizabeth Beaumont, a
grandchild of Sir Henry Scrope.258 The oldest of nine daughters, Elizabeth was heiress

258 James Tait, ‘Scrope, Sir Henry (b. in or before 1268, d. 1336)’, rev. by Nigel Ramsay, Oxford
to her father, Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton and Sir Henry’s younger son.\textsuperscript{259} Elizabeth’s aunt, Joan Scrope, was Prioress of Dartford from 1470-72.\textsuperscript{260} There were also close family links with Barking abbey, where Elizabeth’s sister Ann Scrope was a nun from 1485-1527, and her cousin Margaret Scrope from 1513 until the convent’s dissolution in 1539.\textsuperscript{261} On 24\textsuperscript{th} April 1486, Elizabeth Scrope married William, first Viscount Beaumont. The Beaumont family also had connections with Dartford Priory through William’s aunt, Margaret Beaumont, who was prioress there from c. 1442 to 1460. William died on 19\textsuperscript{th} December 1507, and had for some time prior to this been suffering from mental illness. The following winter Elizabeth married William’s long-time friend John de Vere, 13\textsuperscript{th} Earl of Oxford, but just five years later he too died. Elizabeth outlived her second husband by twenty-four years, and a reference in her will to her state of ‘pure widowhede’ suggests that she may have been a vowess. Towards the end of her life ‘old Lady Oxford’ was asked by Henry VIII to be governess for the five-year-old princess Mary. Cardinal Wolsey wrote with the offer, questioning if her health would permit; Elizabeth declined.\textsuperscript{262} On 26\textsuperscript{th} June 1537 Elizabeth died, with Barking Priory heading her list of bequests.\textsuperscript{263} The names of ‘Edmond Jernyngham’ and ‘Elysabeth Rokewod’, identified in Elizabeth’s will as a ‘nephew’ and ‘one of my maidens’, are found on folios 3\textsuperscript{r} and 37\textsuperscript{r} of Harley 1706. Whether these signatures were written after Elizabeth’s death, and whether either

\begin{thebibliography}{9}

\bibitem{260} Lee, \textit{Nunneries}, p. 147, n. 60.

\bibitem{261} Doyle, ‘Books’, p. 234.


\bibitem{263} Doyle, ‘Books’, p. 236.
\end{thebibliography}
inherited the manuscript, cannot be ascertained.264 Doyle suggests that between 1550 and 1557 John Bale, apostate Carmelite friar and Bishop of Ossory, probably had access to Harley 1706, and the inscription ‘Margaret Otwell’ on fol. 191v points to another possible owner.265 E. Bernard’s Catalogue of 1697 next makes mention of Harley 1706 as belonging to Henry Worseley, of Lincoln’s Inn, whose whole collection was acquired by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and later by the British Museum.266

Much less is known about Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18.267 The ninety-eight folios and two fly-leaves front and back are of vellum, sized 160 x 120mm with a boxed but not lined written area of 115 x 85mm. There are around 22 lines of text on each page. The inside cover contains an early catalogue number ‘KD 18’ and in the same hand on fol. 1r ‘Rich Hampole’. A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English identifies three scribal ‘languages’ in the manuscript (two from Northamptonshire) but suggests that these are all written in a single hand.268 Valerie Edden agrees, and judges the single bastard Anglicana hand to be from the first half of the fifteenth century.269 A rubricator has added blue initials, with red flourishes filling the full page

265 Doyle, ‘Books’, p. 239.
266 Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti, ed. by Edward Bernard, 2 vols (Oxford, 1697), II, part 1, no. 6853.
268 LALME, I, p. 147. The presence of several ‘languages’ suggests that the scribe copied largely what he or she saw, without ‘translating’ the dialect; see the notes on types of copying in LALME, I, p. 13.
in most cases. Some capitals are emphasised with red, and paragraph marks are made in red. Other larger capitals are flourished with simple illustrations, for example on fol. 36v a gargoyle is poking his tongue out in the ‘d’ of ‘don’, and a mysterious creature is found in the ‘B’ of ‘Blessid’; similarly figures appear in the ‘W’ of ‘Worschipe’ and the ‘S’ of ‘Sopeli’ in fol. 10v. Pointers are found in the margins of several pages, especially toward the beginning of the manuscript. These are mostly emphasised by the rubricator earlier on, but later are in black ink only. The rubricator sometimes doubles as a corrector, such as on fol. 9r where ‘coumfort’ is crossed out in red. There are occasional scribal self-corrections, such as on fols 83v and 90r, but these are infrequent. Catchwords are found at the end of some quires, for example fol. 14v, but not all. The manuscript comprises a liturgical calendar (fols 1r-6v), the Amendinge text (fols 7r-37v), Richard Maidstone’s Penitential Psalms (fols 38r-64r), a list of saints with accompanying Latin prose entitled ‘Litania’ (fols 64v-68r), and finally a copy of Rolle’s Form of Living (fols 68v-93v). The Form text concludes with an incomplete sentence, ‘preie for richard heremite þat’ (fol. 98v), which Ogilvie Thomson suggests might be descended (distantly) from a copy bearing Rolle’s own signature. Concerning provenance, nothing is known prior to the seventeenth century. On 31st December 1634 Sir Kenelm Digby gave 238 vellum manuscripts to the Bodleian Library, of which Digby 18 was one. The former owner of the collection was Thomas Allen, Digby’s tutor at Oxford, who bequeathed most of his manuscripts to his pupil.

270 Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. xxxix.


Finally, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54, is a late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century priest’s manual, made up of 160 parchment folios, and three fly leaves.\(^{273}\) The page is 175 x 130mm, with a ruled area of 135 x 85mm, containing 26 lines of text. Three-line capitals are rubricated in blue and red ink. The texts are all written in Latin, and include a copy of the *Speculum ecclesiae* by Edmund of Abingdon (fols 1\(^r\)-24\(^r\));\(^{274}\) Rolle’s *Emendatio* (fols 24\(^v\)-45\(^r\)) followed by a hymn, versicle and prayer; a manual on the Apostles’ Creed, sacraments, sins and virtues, beginning ‘Primo notantur que Christiani’ (fols 46\(^r\)-110\(^r\)); and ‘Parabole Salomonis’, collections of passages on related subjects from the Bible and writings of the Church Fathers (fols 110\(^v\)-155\(^r\)). A note has been added in a fifteenth-century hand concerning the character of a true priest (fol. 155\(^v\)) as well as two marks of ownership (fol. 157\(^v\)):

‘John Archar’ in a fifteenth-century hand, and ‘Liber Henrici Jacksoni, MDC, Maii xxi liberati, Coll. Corp. Christi, Oxon.’. Although just one among the 108 *Emendatio* copies, this text certainly did reach the audience Rolle appears to have intended it for.

\(^{273}\) See Falconer, *Summary*, ii, pt 1; and Scott, *Index of Images*, i, p. 50. My thanks are due to Prof. Alexandra Barratt for viewing the manuscript and identifying it as a priest’s manual.

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PLATE 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54, fol. 24"
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III. EDITORIAL METHOD AND CHOICES

The publication of Bernard Cerquiglini’s controversial 1989 study, *Éloge de la variante* (or *In Praise of the Variant*), might be seen as marking the end of the era of the traditional critical edition. We live in what has been described as a ‘post-critical age’ and, as Murray McGillivray writes, this requires a reassessment of the way medieval texts are edited:

> Our post-critical age demands an editorial vehicle that responds to the real nature of medieval textuality by presenting medieval works in their original state, as a series of varying manuscript texts. But we should not in our regard for manuscript culture abandon the textual knowledge that can result from the process of textual criticism.

It is no longer possible to present a Lachmannian stemma with confidence, or to emend a medieval scribe’s work with the certainty that one is any closer to the elusive authorial (or translator’s) holograph. But neither is it sufficient to give up and return solely to the pre-critical naïveté of transcriptional editing.

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Difference and diversity are perhaps the primary characteristics of this new epoch of textual editing, with recent editions adopting a wide variety of approaches. At one end of the spectrum Watson and Jenkins, influenced by the Kane-Donaldson-Russell editions of *Piers Plowman*, have reinvented the critical edition (or as they term it the ‘synthetic approach’), creating a unique editorially crafted text from the three independent textual witnesses to Julian’s *Revelation*.\(^{279}\) They respond to the critique of such an approach by noting that a synthesis of texts is not only about the ‘rights or genius of the author’ but also bears a ‘strong responsibility to the material or the reader’.\(^{280}\) Conversely, Bella Millet’s edition of *Ancrene Wisse* prioritises a single best-text from among the many of versions and manuscript copies of the work, but notes:

> An edition for general scholarly use cannot limit itself to a [single] corrected text [. . .]; the edited text has to be contextualized within the broader historical development of *Ancrene Wisse*. [. . .] In this edition, it is treated not as a separate and self-contained ‘version’ [. . .] but as a single stage in a multi-layered and sometimes multi-stranded process of revision [. . .] a point of entry to the textual history of the work as a whole.\(^{281}\)

Although the contexts of *Ancrene Wisse* are very different from the vernacular translations of Rolle’s *Emendatio*, in general the present edition tends more towards Millet’s methodology. Of the five Version A translation copies described in the


previous section, I have chosen just one (T) as the base text for the edition. This manuscript has served well as a point of entry into the complex weave of translation, copying, and early reading that is the *Amendinge* text. Substantive variants from two other copies (C and D) have been recorded in the textual apparatus, and on occasion emendations made to the base text from these two witnesses. Two further copies (H and Dg) have been studied in some detail, and judged to have little to contribute towards the specific purposes of the present edition, namely to approximate (in so far as that is possible) the absent Version A translator’s holograph.\(^{282}\) One of these (Dg) could be termed the ‘worst-text’, and as such would make an interesting study in its own right, but I have chosen not to undertake this project here.\(^{283}\) In the textual apparatus and end notes, and by including in the appendix parallel transcriptions of these three texts alongside one of the Latin texts (B), my aim has been to hold in tension McGillivray’s two poles of ‘regard for manuscript culture’ and the ‘process of textual criticism’.

Cerquiglini notes: ‘Editing [. . .] is choice: one must cut and know the reasons for this challenging gesture.’\(^{284}\) In what follows here I will explain in some detail why certain Version A copies have been chosen for this edition and why others have not. As was mentioned in the previous section, there is a close relationship between the Harley

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\(^{282}\) Elizabeth Scala, *Absent Narratives: Manuscript Textuality, and Literary Structure in Late Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 1, suggests that, ‘The primary function of the medievalist is to locate missing stories. Lost manuscripts, anterior sources, and earlier textual versions structure the way we think about the literature of the Middle Ages. Medieval literary works always bear witness to an other text’.


\(^{284}\) Cerquiglini, *Praise*, p. 22.
1706 and Douce 322 manuscripts. Commenting at some length on these two codices Ian Doyle notes:

The first half of [Harley 1706] is substantially a duplicate of the whole (when perfect) of [Douce 322] although the former has had a good deal added to its contents, while the latter has lost some of its leaves, subsequently to their first making. [. . .] Harley reproduces most features of the appearance and arrangement of Douce, but careful comparison shows that the latter is in detail and almost always verbally superior, so that it was probably prior in preparation to Harley, and possibly the sole exemplar for it. [. . .] We are therefore justified in taking Douce as practically being or effectually representing, for our purposes, the original compilation, and have no need to suppose another. 285

An example of common error, which unmistakably links the two manuscripts, occurs on fol. 67r of Harley 1706 and fol. 78r of Douce 322. Both open their copy of this vernacular translation of Rolle’s Emendatio with an identical Latin incipit, ‘qui obijt anno domine millesimo xlix’. None of the other Version A texts record this incipit, although it is found in the Latin (B, fol. 24v), but with a significant difference, ‘qui obijt anno domine millesimo ccc xlix’. The error caused some confusion for at least one of the subsequent annotators. On the original flyleaf of Harley 1706, in what is probably an eighteenth-century hand, is written, ‘Rich Hampole heremite who deceased 1049 wrote things memorable in this book’. A later reader picks up on the mistake and corrects it to ‘1349’. Another common feature which links both codices is the illustration of ‘deth’ on fol. 19v of Douce 322 and fol. 19v of Harley 1706. This is

one of numerous drawings in Douce 322, but in Harley 1706 it is the sole image, 
penned simply in black and red ink with the word ‘deth’ written repeatedly around it 
in red ink. It is also possible to see an unsuccessful first draft of the drawing in Harley 
1706, which the apparently amateur artist then erased before starting again.

Concerning the ‘verbal superiority’ of Douce 322, as alluded to by Doyle, there are 
numerous examples throughout the common texts found in both manuscripts, but I 
will focus here on chapter one of the Amendinge text. For instance, on fol. 68r of 
Harley 1706 the scribe appears to insert a theological synonym:

[H] for Goddes loue

[D] for Crystes loue

[C] for Crystes loue

[T, 49] for Cristes lufe

[B] pro Christo

The D scribe’s reading here is clearly the superior one, supported by T and C, and 
highly unlikely to have derived from the H scribe’s text. Similarly on the same folio 
the H scribe writes ‘well-moche’, as compared to ‘well-nygh’ in D, the latter being a 
reading paralleled in both C (‘well-nigh’) and T (‘wel-neye’, line 75). There are also 
several instances of the H scribe inserting words not found in D, C, or T. For example:

[H] no maner off conforte of the worlde, ne of the flesshly solace

[D] no maner comfort of the world, ne of flesshly solace

[C] no manere counfort of þe world, ne of fleshly solace

[T, 74] no maner conforte of þe worlde, ne of flesshly solace

These and numerous other examples that might be cited all support Doyle’s 
hypothesis that the first half of Harley 1706 is a direct, or very close, copy of Douce
322. For this reason the variant readings from H are not included in the textual apparatus of the present edition.

Another Version A text I have chosen not to use is that found in the Digby 18 manuscript. A comparative study of Dg alongside T, C, D, and the Latin B, reveals it to be an inferior copy full of scribal errors. This can be seen by looking at just one folio from chapter twelve of *Amendinge* (fol. 33v) in which there are no less than ten occasions where T, C, and D all agree against the Dg scribe’s reading. Three of these occur in the first few lines of the folio. The first scribal error here, a case of eyeskip, is found in the second sentence.

[Dg] In redyng speke we wiþ God

[T, 882-83; also C, D] In redynge spekes God til vs; in prayere we speke with God

[B] In leccione loquitur nobiscum Deus; in oracione cum Deo loquimur

The very next sentence is significantly changed by the Dg scribe, who alters the punctuation and omits the word ‘styen’.

[Dg] In meditaciouns anngels come doun to vs and techen us þat we are noust in preier. Þei offren up praiers vnto God

[T, 883-85; also C, D] In meditacion anngels comen doune to vs and techen vs that we [erren] nought. In prayere thai styen vp and offren oure prayere vnto God

[B] In lecccione angeli ad nos descendunt et erudient, ne erremus; in oracione ascendunt et preces nostras Deo offerunt congratulantur nostro proficui, qui sunt nuncij inter Deum et nos

Immediately following this other key words are omitted which again change the meaning of the text.
[Dg] Meditacioun is so to be take aftir redyng

[T, 888; also C, D] Meditacion of God is to be taken after redynge and prayere

[B] Meditacio in diuinis post leccionem et oracionem assumenda est

The sheer density of scribal errors and emendations in Dg renders it unhelpful for the present edition.

Although a superior text to both H and Dg, and providing useful variants for the purposes of this edition, the copy of Amendinge found in the manuscript Douce 322 has not been chosen for the base text. The manuscript exhibits lavish rubrications and illustrations, and even Latin marginalia, but there is no evidence of any corrections to the text. The producers of the manuscript appear to have been more concerned with creating a beautiful codex for a wealthy client than with textual accuracy. This is evidenced, for example, on the opening folio of D (fol. 78r) where the scribe inserts a Latin incipit to parallel the vernacular introduction and list of contents. The Latin wording is very similar to that found in B.286

[D] Incipit libellus Ricardi heremite de Hampole de emendacione peccatoris, qui obijt anno domini millesimo xlix° apud sanctimoniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xij° capitula videlicet: de conuersione peccatoris

[B] Incipit libellus Ricardi heremite de Hampole de emendacione peccatoris, qui obiit anno domini millesimo CCC° xlix° apud sanctimoniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xii capitula videlicet: de conuersione peccatoris

However, as was mentioned earlier, the D scribe makes a significant error in this opening line, dating Rolle’s death as ‘anno domini millesimo xlix°’ and omitting the

286 Cf. the incipit found in one of the other Latin recensions, Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.v.64: ‘Hic est libellus de emendatione uite sive de regula uivendi. Et distinguitur in xii capitulis’ (Watson, Emendatio, p. 33, lines 1-2).
rather important detail ‘CCC°’. Had there been a corrector for the work, this would have been easily picked up and amended. Douce 322 is a no-expense-spared manuscript, so the absence of a corrector perhaps says something of the anticipated level of education of the intended audience, with more money put into appearance than accuracy.

Another characteristic of D, again linking it with B or a closely related text, is the presence of Latin marginal notes that accompany the English text throughout. These were probably included to make the work look more impressive for the client, rather than to serve a practical purpose. I have examined four of the Latin texts that Amassian links with this Version A translation, and only in B are these marginalia found.287 There are sixty-four of these Latin notes in B, thirty-eight of which are also found in D. The only Latin marginal note in D that does not match B word-for-word is found on fol. 86v of D and fol. 35r of B:

[D] Nota: de stabilitate cordis in oracione

[B] Nota: de stabilitate

The producers of D do not demonstrate a concern for directly writing in, or translating Latin, and it is therefore unlikely that the additional words are the work of the scribe or rubricator.288 More likely is that the D scribe’s exemplar was not B, but a closely related text, and that this omission is an error on the part of the B scribe. These Latin


288 This fact is evidenced by the parallel English and Latin incipits (fol. 78v). Both appear to be copied from different sources, as the English is not a translation of the Latin.
marginalia are not found in any of the other Version A copies, even H, which is in all other ways a close copy of D.

The D scribe also has a tendency to make scribal improvements to the English text where it might be judged hard to read or understand. Again, this points to an audience-focused scribe, more concerned with attractiveness and lucidity than creating an exact copy of the exemplar. There are a number of examples of this in D, such as on fols 78\textsuperscript{v}, 78\textsuperscript{r}, 82\textsuperscript{r}, 83\textsuperscript{v}, 84\textsuperscript{r}, 85\textsuperscript{r}, 86\textsuperscript{r}, 87\textsuperscript{v}, 88\textsuperscript{v}, 90\textsuperscript{r}, 91\textsuperscript{r}, and 93\textsuperscript{v}. I will not expand on all of these here, but a typical example is found on fol. 84\textsuperscript{r}:

[D] he shall nat be in power to lyfte vp

[T, 392-93; also C] he shal not mow lyft vp

[B] non leuabit

All three vernacular readings relate to B, but T and C are more likely to record the original translation, with the D scribe replacing the word ‘mow’ with a paraphrase for the reader. Elsewhere the scribe retains an older or more difficult word, but adds a gloss alongside it, such as in fol. 91\textsuperscript{r} where the D scribe writes ‘halsyng or clyppyng’ compared to T’s ‘halsinges’ (line 838) found also in C. There is only one word in B, ‘amplexibus’, so it would seem that the tautology is the work of the D scribe for the purpose of clarification.

There are occasions also where the D scribe attempts to improve on the exemplar, but in so doing moves away from the Latin. Although the incipit and marginalia mentioned above suggest that the scribe had access to a copy of the Latin text, he or she did not seem to refer to it in such instances. An example is found in fol. 87\textsuperscript{v}:
Oure Lord seyth by the prophete Jeremy thus: ‘Haue thow ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassyng, of my pouerte, of my bytternesse; and drynke the gall of my sorow and my peynes’.

Oure Lorde says be þe prophete Jeremi thus: ‘Haue ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassynge, of my pouert, of my bitternesse and drynke of galle, my sorowe, and my peynes’.

Dicit dominus enim per Ieremiam: Recorde, inquit, *transmigracionis mee et paupertatis et absinthii et fellis* et doloris et amaritudinis.

The quote is drawn from Lamentations 3:19, identified above in italics. In B, there is a list of six prophetic characteristics which the reader is invited to keep in mind: ‘transmigracionis’, ‘paupertatis’, ‘absinthii’, and ‘fellis’ are the biblical examples, with ‘doloris’ and ‘amaritudinis’ added by Rolle. The T and C readings record a close translation of the Latin found in B. The D scribe adjusts the meaning of the sentence, possibly having misread the exemplar, but in so doing he or she departs from the original Latin. Another example of the D scribe’s fluid attitude towards his or her exemplar is found in folio 85r:

do awey al peyne that ys to come in purgatory

do away alle Payne þat is to come

omnem possumus futuram penam abolere

The D scribe’s reference to purgatory may have been intended as a clarification of meaning, but by making the text more specific the scribe in fact limits the broader sense of Rolle’s choice of words.
In addition to these examples of expansion, it is also possible to isolate a number of scribal errors in D. The text is much cleaner than Dg, but there are still at least forty-one occasions I have been able to identify where the D scribe appears to have copied from the exemplar erroneously. By comparison, I have found only eighteen such scribal errors in C, and eight in T. A number of the errors in D are omissions, sometimes of significant portions of text, for example in folio 79r:

[D]  and put awey all vnprofitable occupacions and worldly nedys, so that oure hert all holy and perfytyely turned to God, that hit may gladly and meryly dye, and that thow euermore haue God before the eyen of the soule.

[T, 49-54; also C] and putte away alle vnprofitable occupacions and worldly nedes, so that oure herte, alle holy and parfitely turnede to God, may gladly and merily dye til ale þinge þat may be lufede or geten in þe worlde, and when it is þus spered [C: spred out] and made brode þurh heuenly desires, þat it þen euermore haue God before þe eyen of þe soule.

[B]  et dare obliuioni omnes ocupaciones inutiles et negotia secularia, quatenus animus noster in toto ad Deum conuersus omnia que in mundo sunt amanda vel querenda medullitus moriatur; extensus igitur et dilatatus ad superna desideranda deum ante oculos semper habeat.

Omitting the section of the original paragraph highlighted in italics above, the D scribe adds ‘and that thow’ so that the new sentence makes sense to the reader. T, C, and B all agree against this reading. The reason for the omission is unclear, but it is interesting to note that the missing segment also contains a mistake in T, which reads ‘spered and made brode’ [closed and made wide] and makes no sense. C reads ‘spred out and maad brod’, which is a reasonable translation of B ‘extensus [. . .] et
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dilatatus’. The D scribe’s exemplar may have been damaged or illegible at this point, but he or she clearly did not refer to the Latin text, apparently solving the problem by omitting this part of the sentence altogether. There are fourteen similar omissions in D, compared to only three in C and T. While the number of scribal errors and intrusions is far less than in Dg, the D scribe’s practice of holding easy comprehensibility above transcriptional accuracy precludes the use of D as the base text for the present edition.

A close study of the two best texts, T and C, makes it clear that they are not direct copies of one another (unlike D and H). It also appears that the T scribes have made marginally fewer transcriptional errors than the C scribe, hence the choice of T as a base text for the present edition. What follows here is a summary of the errors and variants found in T and C, divided into two categories: firstly those found in only one of the two texts, and secondly common errors shared between the two. There are three omissions I have been able to identify in T. The first, on fol. 94v, is the work of the first T scribe:

[T, 149-51] Þei þat duellen in habundaunce of worldly ryches, þe secunde is worldly dignitee

[C; also D] Þei þat dwellen in habundaunce of worldly richesse ben desceyued bi fyue things whiche þei louen: þe firste is richesse, þe secunde is worldly dignite

[B] habundantes in temporali habundancia per quinque que amant decipiuntur: per diuicias, per dignitates
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The error is due to eyeskip on the part of the T scribe. Soon after this, on fol. 96v, the same scribe appears to have omitted the word ‘only’ from a sentence. Again, C, D, and B all agree against T.

[T, 221-22] and settes his loue and his desire in ioynge of his Creatour

[C; also D] and seteth his loue and his desire only in ioyinge of his Creatour

[B] et in solo Conditoris sui gaudio desiderium suum ponit.

Finally, on fol. 120r, there is another example of eyeskip, this time by the second T scribe:

[T, 980-82] Therfore what man so euere yit feles bitynge and remorse `of`

conscience for his synne that is passed, thofe he haue longe tyme
done pennaunce.

[C; also D] Þerfore what man so euere feeleth bitinge and remorse of

conscience for his sinne þat is passed, þouh he haue long time doon
penance, wite he wel þat he dide not yat parfite penance.

[B] Igitur qui quamuis longo tempore penituerit adhuc tamen morsum

consciencie de reatu sentit, sciat quod perfectam penitenciam nondum
egit.

The only other scribal errors I have been able to detect in T are minor. At the end of fol. 90v the first T scribe writes ‘chaungynges’ (line 36), which C, D, and B all agree should be in the singular. In addition there are three spelling mistakes:

[T, 52] ‘spered’; as has already been mentioned above, T makes no sense here; the C reading ‘spred out’ is preferable.

[T, 624] ‘clythes’; C and D read correctly ‘cloþes’. The MED defines the noun ‘clithe’ as a ‘plaster or poultice’, which also makes no sense.

The final spelling mistake is made by the second T scribe:
‘arre nought’; C and D both read ‘erren not’ which follows B ‘ne erremus’. The MED does not record ‘arre’ as a spelling variant of ‘erre’.

C appears to contain marginally more scribal errors than T, but far less than any of the other Version A texts. I have identified eighteen errors peculiar to the C scribe, three of which are omissions. For example, on fol. 92r the wording found in T is found also in D, and both follow the Latin. There are, however, several significant words missing from C:

[T, 72-74; also D] so þat he myht loue Ihesu Crist. He flees fro synne as a drunken man; he has none eye ne no beholding to no maner conforte of þe worlde, ne of flesshly solace

[C] so þat he mihte loue Ihesu Crist, to no manere counfort of þe world ne of fleshly solace

[B] vt deum amet. Volat a vicijs quasi ebrius, ad ea que seculi sunt non respicit solacia

Given the care for the text which the C scribe generally exhibits, the omission of half a sentence may have been more intentional than a mistake, removing the ambiguous simile chosen by Rolle of a drunken man. The other two omissions are more straightforward. On fol. 142r C reads: ‘Soo þat oure al holly and parfytly turned to God’. B makes more sense, ‘quatenus animus noster in toto ad deum conuersus’, the translation for which is found in T (and D), ‘so þat oure herte, alle holy and parfitely turnede to God’ (lines 50-51). The C scribe has clearly failed to copy ‘herte’ into the text. Similarly on fol. 147r the C scribe (like the D scribe) omits the phrase ‘foule wordes’, translated from the Latin ‘vel turpiloquia’, which is found in T (line 271).
There is no need to list all the remaining scribal errors found in C; two examples should suffice. In fol. 142\(^r\) C mistakenly reads ‘whose colde sorwes sorwinge’ whereas T records ‘whos colde soules sorouyng’ (line 80), which is found in D also. B concurs with ‘quorum frigidam mentem dolendo’. The C scribe appears to have had a slip in concentration, writing ‘sorwes’ for ‘soules’; understandably given the word ‘sorwinge’ that follows immediately. In fol. 145\(^r\) the C scribe seems not to recognise the verb ‘lovuen’ [to praise]. B reads ‘amare deum, laudare’ which is correctly translated in T (and D) as ‘to lufe God, to lovue God’ (line 175). The C scribe may have mistakenly judged this as dittography, writing only ‘to loue God’.

I have been able to identify only two possible errors common to T and C. Firstly, on fol. 100\(^r\) of T:

[T, 340]  In mete and drynke *and slepe*

[C]  In mete and drink *and sleep*

[D]  In mete and drynke

[B]  In cibo et potu

Also on fol. 104\(^r\):

[T, 445-46]  þe brede *of lye* þat come fro heuen

[C]  þat bred *of lyfe* þat cam fro heuene

[D]  that brede that came from heuyn

[B]  pane qui de celo descendit

These two examples could arguably be common errors, thus linking T and C, but equally they could point to a different Latin exemplar used by the Version A translator.
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There are similarly possible errors common to T and D. The first example is found on fol. 98r of T:

[T, 272] In werke synnes a man ayeyns God in many maneres
[C] In werk sinneth a man in many manere
[D] In werke synneth a man ayenst God in many maneres
[B] Opere peccat multis modis

C follows the Latin most closely, and the T and D scribes both record an addition to the text. On fol. 113r of T there is another example:

[T, 718] I be neuer delyted in behol dyng of goostly þinge bot godly and gostly
[C] I be neuere delited in bihol dinge of thing but godly and gostly
[D] I be neuer delyted in holdyng of gostly thyng but godly and gostly
[B] speculacione nuncquam nisi diuinitus delecter

If these are indeed common errors, they affirm a close association between T and D, but like the examples linking T and C, they may also suggest differences between B and the Latin exemplar used by the Version A translator.

The common errors shared by T and C, and T and D respectively, are few and readily explained by a different Latin exemplar. I have been unable to find any errors common to C and D. Most likely is that these three manuscripts are all independent witnesses to the Version A translator’s holograph. One last variant may be useful in affirming this independence:

[T, 739-40] Slyde into myn herte with þi sweteful brenynge and brenne þe entrelles of myne herte
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[C] Write into myn herte with þi sweteful brennynge and brenne þe entrailes of myn herte

[D] Come into myn hert with thy swetefull brennyng and brenne the entrelles of myn hert

[B] Dulcifluo ardore illabere calore tuo penetralia cordis mei incende

The word ‘slyde’ in T is closest to the Latin ‘illabere’, and the preferred reading. Where the word ‘write’ in C came from is unclear; it may be a misreading of ‘rite’ from the verb ‘ritten’ (MED, ‘to cut through (armour)’) or simply a guess on the part of the C scribe where the exemplar is hard to read. The D scribe records a third, independent reading ‘come’ which could also conceivably be a translation of the Latin.

In conclusion, the two best-texts from the Version A group are T and C. Both appear to be close but independent copies of a common exemplar. There are marginally fewer errors in T than in C, and it has therefore been chosen as the base text for the present edition. Although there is a tendency in D to paraphrase or attempt to improve on difficult readings, it is generally an evidential and probably independent copy of the same exemplar. The H text is almost certainly a copy of D, and therefore has not been used here, other than for its useful insight into early audience. The worst-text is Dg, which has likewise not been incorporated into the apparatus of the present edition.
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IV. LANGUAGE

Although the fifteenth-century scribes who copied the Version A translation are all anonymous, these early readers of Rolle’s work have left behind a unique legacy—their language. The present study of scribal language utilises a system of dialectal analysis put forward by Angus McIntosh and his colleagues in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (from here *LALME*). Leaving to one side the intricacies of the ongoing methodological debate over McIntosh’s approach, my goal here simply has been to position the present base text and two supporting texts within the matrix of linguistic data constructed in *LALME*. To achieve this I have produced full linguistic profiles for the two T scribes (from here T<sup>1</sup> and T<sup>2</sup>), taken from the entire text, and a selective profile for the C scribe. The outcome of the process has been to identify two or three existing *LALME* profiles that match most closely the new profiles. In the case of the T<sup>1</sup> scribe (whose language is demonstrably close to the T<sup>2</sup> scribe) this has resulted in a positioning north of Nottingham, somewhere within a circle of approximately fifteen kilometre radius, centred on the juncture of


291 Appendix A contains a full linguistic profile for the T<sup>1</sup> and T<sup>2</sup> scribes based on the questionnaire in *LALME*, i, pp. 552-6. Note also my earlier comments on the T and C scribes, Introduction, p. lxxxvii.
Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, West Riding. The geographical placement of the C scribe’s language is within a similar sized area in Essex. An existing *LALME* profile has been the primary source for a brief study of the D scribe’s language.

The *T* ¹ and *T* ² Scribes

By selecting certain key items from the linguistic profiles, studying the associated *LALME* dot and item maps, and then applying the ‘fit’-technique, the language of the *T* ¹ scribe (and similarly the *T* ² scribe) may be shown to match fairly closely the language found in three *LALME* manuscripts: Manchester, John Ryland’s Library, MS 179 (LP 70); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 32 (LP 110); and San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 139 (LP 591). By first considering selected items from the linguistic profiles of the *T* ¹ and *T* ² scribes the means by which this conclusion has been reached is outlined below.

**Item 8: THEM.** The *T* ¹ scribe uses two basic forms, with almost equal frequency: ‘hem’ (17 times) and ‘þaim’ (22 times). The dot maps (see figs 1 and 2 below) indicate where *LALME* have positioned these forms from other scribes’ manuscripts; the small dots representing all the *LALME* survey points, and the larger dots the location of a particular form. Forms of the ‘h-’ type (fig. 1), such as ‘hem’ in T, are

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292 The county boundaries used in *LALME* are mostly those that pre-date the local government reforms of 1974 and 1975; see *LALME*, II, pp. ix, 381.

293 See *LALME*, III, pp. 123-4, for the D scribe’s profile (LP 6240).

294 The dot maps, listed numerically, can be found in *LALME*, I, pp. 305-568. *LALME*, II and III, consist entirely of item maps and linguistic profiles respectively. On the ‘fit’-technique, see *LALME*, I, pp. 10-12; also Michael Benskin, “The “Fit”-Technique Explained”, in Riddy, *Regionalism*, pp. 9-26. Profiles for the three MSS mentioned here (70, 110, and 591) can be found in *LALME*, III, pp. 392, 612, 648.
Fig. 1 THEM: ‘h-’ type, all forms (from LALME, 1, dot map 40)
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Fig. 2 THEM: ‘thaim’ forms, with medial –ai– or –ay– (from LALME, i, dot map 42)
rarely found north of Lancashire, the southern boundary of Yorkshire, and the southern parts of Lincolnshire. By contrast the ‘thaim’ type (fig. 2), found in T as ‘þaim’ (and less frequently ‘thaim’ or ‘þaym’), is predominantly a northern form with its southern boundary passing through Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and the smaller counties south of Lincolnshire. The equal occurrence of both forms in the base text is a distinctive characteristic of the T\textsuperscript{1} scribe. By drawing an isogloss along each of the identified boundaries, and shading the areas in which the respective forms are not found, it is possible to identify an unshaded region where manuscripts commonly using both forms have been located (see fig. 3 below).\textsuperscript{295} LALME has some 130 geographically positioned manuscripts in this region, although it is very unusual for both forms to be used equally in a text by a single scribe.\textsuperscript{296} By comparison, the T\textsuperscript{2} scribe is much more consistent, using only the southern form ‘hem’ (6 times). The geographical location of the language of the T\textsuperscript{1} scribe clearly cannot be identified from this one example, but by undertaking a similar study of other key items from the scribe’s profile, it is possible to narrow down a possible area and identify anomalous features such as relicts.\textsuperscript{297}

\textsuperscript{295} The isoglosses, as used in fig. 3 and elsewhere, are porous rather than water-tight boundaries. This can be seen in fig. 2, for example, where there are a handful of southern examples of this predominantly northern form.

\textsuperscript{296} See LALME, vol. 2, pp. 28-29. Other manuscripts exhibiting a similar mixed usage are: LP 311, 314, 317, 434.

Fig. 3 THEM: identifying an area where both the ‘h-’ and ‘thaim’ forms are found in *LALME* sample MSS.
Item 9: THEIR. The main form used by the T₁ scribe is ‘þaire’ (25 times), with other spellings, ‘thaire, thair, þair’, used less frequently. This form is northern, with a similar boundary to ‘thaim’ above (see LALME dot map 54). The Tⱼ scribe uses this form alone, and with only one spelling: ‘thaire’. Another form, ‘þeire’, is used by the T₁ scribe (3 times), and may be localised to the east Midlands and around London (dot map 56).

Item 10: SUCH. The northern form, ‘swilk(e’, is used by both scribes. The boundary for this form stretches diagonally from the northern tip of Lancashire to the north-western corner of Norfolk (dot map 66).

Item 11: WHICH. Both scribes record ‘whilk(e’, another northern form which has an almost identical southern boundary to item 10 above (dot map 83). The T₁ scribe includes also a single southern form, ‘whiche’, perhaps indicating relict usage from a southern archetype or earlier copy.

Item 12: EACH. Both scribes also use the northern form, ‘ilke’, which has a similar boundary to items 10 and 11 above (dot map 84).

Item 13: MANY. The primary form used by the T₁ scribe is ‘mony’ (19 times), found predominantly in the west and north-west midlands, although there are a few rare occurences in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire (dot map 91). The T₂ scribe’s most

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298 All the dot maps referred to here are found in LALME 1, pp. 305-568.
common form is ‘many’ (5 times), found in both north and south, and is also used 3 times by the T₁ scribe.

**Item 16: MUCH.** Both scribes predominantly use the same spelling of the northern form, ‘mykel’, which has a boundary similar to items 10-12 above (dot map 106). The T₁ scribe also uses the spelling variants ‘mekyl’, ‘mykele’ and ‘mykyl’ once.

**Item 32: (AL)THOUGH.** The T₁ scribe uses ‘þof’ most frequently (7 times), but almost as often records a rare form ‘þof-al(le’ (5 times), which LALME locates chiefly in Lincolnshire and the close vicinity (dot map 208). The T₂ scribe displays both the northern form ‘thoff(e’, and the southern form ‘though(e’ found also in the midlands (dot map 197).

**Item 36: AGAINST.** The predominant forms used by the T₁ scribe, ‘ayeyns’ (14 times) and ‘ayens’ (5 times), feature a consonantal ‘-y-’ and are extremely rare in the north (dot map 221). This runs counter to the geographical location suggested by most of the previous items, and due to its frequency is probably a unique characteristic of the scribe rather than a relict. The T₁ scribe also records the more usual northern ‘-g-’ form (dot map 220): ‘agayns/ageyns’ (3 times) and ‘agayn(e’ (2 times). There are no corresponding forms recorded by the T₂ scribe for comparison.

**Item 91: BUT.** The northern form, ‘bot’, is used primarily by the T₁ scribe (>60 times), and the southern form, ‘but’, less frequently (15 times). T² records the northern form only once, otherwise choosing the southern form ‘but’ (33 times; see dot maps 375, 376).
Item 93: CALL. The T₁ scribe makes the lexical choice to retain the word ‘cleppynges’ (found also in C and D, and therefore probably the Version A translator’s choice originally). Generally a characteristic of manuscripts located in the south, ‘clepp-’ is also found in a small cluster of manuscripts placed in the northern Midlands (dot map 378).

Item 98: CHURCH. The distinctively northern form, ‘kyrke’, is found once in the T₁ scribe’s work (dot map 388).

Item 149: HIGH. Used primarily by the T₁ scribe, ‘heye’ is one of the less common forms, scattered around the country but with clusters in Norfolk, Herefordshire, and Essex (dot map 439). The T₂ scribe uses another relatively rare type ‘hy(e’ (dot map 440)

Item 202: OWN adj. Both the T scribes use the disyllabic form ‘owen’ (3 times each), found in the north and south (dot map 501). The T₁ scribe also uses the less common southern forms oune and owne (2 times each; dot map 498).

Item 208: RUN. The form ‘rynne’, used by the T₁ scribe, is rare and found more frequently in the north and midlands, although with an example on the Norfolk border and a few in Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and some southern counties (dot map 503).
Item 251: WHETHER. A less common form, ‘wheder(e’, is used by the T¹ scribe only, and found in both the north and south (dot map 566).

Item 257: WITEN. Used by both scribes, ‘wete’ is primarily a southern form, but also found in a cluster of manuscripts in and around Lancashire (dot map 581).

Fig. 4 below demonstrates the ‘fit’-technique for the language of the T¹ scribe. An overlay of isoglosses for a number of key items creates a manageable area within which the scribe’s language may be compared to that of certain LALME scribes. Table 1 below shows the results of one such comparison,²⁹⁹ and demonstrates a clear correlation between the language of the two T scribes, and that of one of the scribes of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 32 (hand A; fols 1ʳ-154ᵛ).³⁰⁰ This early fifteenth-century manuscript is located by LALME in Nottinghamshire (LP 110; grid ref. 473-366), and contains an English commentary on the gospels of Mark and Luke, and the Pauline epistles, which have been judged to be non-Wycliffite.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ In the tables below I use the protocol noted in LALME III, p. xiv, where parentheses indicate the relative frequency of variants in the texts. Single parentheses denote that the enclosed forms occur between one and two-thirds as often as the dominant form. Double parentheses are used when the frequency of the enclosed form is less than one third of that of the dominant form. The order in which multiple forms are recorded is firstly according to frequency, and secondly in alphabetical order.

³⁰⁰ See LALME, III, p. 392.

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Fig. 4 Selected items illustrating the ‘fit’-technique for the T-scribe.
Table 1. Forms Used by the T<sup>1</sup> and T<sup>2</sup> Scribes, Compared with Forms from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 32 (LP 110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>T&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>T&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>LP 110</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. THEM</td>
<td>hem, þaim</td>
<td>hem</td>
<td>hem, þem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((thaim, þaym))</td>
<td></td>
<td>(þem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. THEIR</td>
<td>þaire</td>
<td>thaire</td>
<td>þeire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((thaire, þeire, thair, þair))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. SUCH</td>
<td>swilke, swilk</td>
<td>swilke, swilk</td>
<td>siche (syche, syche, sych, sich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. WHICH</td>
<td>whilke (whilk)</td>
<td>whilke (whilk)</td>
<td>þee-whylke, þe-whylke, ((pe-wylke))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((whiche))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. EACH</td>
<td>ilke</td>
<td>ilke</td>
<td>ilke, ilkone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. MANY</td>
<td>mony ((many))</td>
<td>many ((mony))</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. MUCH</td>
<td>mykel</td>
<td>mykel</td>
<td>mykel (myche)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((mekyl, mykele, mykyl))</td>
<td></td>
<td>((mych))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. (AL)THOUGH</td>
<td>þof (þof-al)</td>
<td>though (thof)</td>
<td>þof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((þof-alle, thof))</td>
<td>((thofe, thoughe))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the twenty items listed above from the full profile of the T¹ scribe, fourteen match directly the language of Corpus Christi 32 (LP 110). This correlation of 70% is significant, being the highest of all twenty-one LALME profiles situated in the area defined by the isoglosses in fig. 4. Further to this, table 1 demonstrates an equally high correlation (69%) between the language of the T¹ and T² scribes, which is especially noteworthy given the much smaller item sample available for the T²
scribe. Although the two T scribes each demonstrate unique characteristics, their language may be located in a similar area according to the LALME methodology.

Common characteristics between the samples from the three linguistic profiles listed in table 1 include the usage of northern forms, such as ‘whilke’, ‘ilke’, ‘mikel’, and ‘owen’. Some points of difference between the scribes can be attributed to linguistic variation within a particular locale. For example, the T scribes for the most part use the northern forms ‘þaire/thaire’ (item 9, dot map 54) and ‘swilk(e’ (item 10, dot map 66), whereas the Corpus Christi 32 scribe records the southern form ‘þeire’ (dot map 56) and a relatively unusual form ‘siche’ (dot map 68). Although this might at first sight suggest an anomaly, a closer study of the dot maps reveals areas of overlap for all these variant forms in and around Nottinghamshire. Other points of difference could arguably be characteristics of the particular scribe, or his or her exemplar, and not directly indicative of locale. For example, the T₁ scribe’s use of the almost uniquely southern form ‘ayeyns/ayens’ (dot map 221), or the same scribe’s lexical choice of a predominantly southern form ‘clepp-’ (dot map 378).

Considering also the other LALME linguistic profiles from the region identified in fig. 4, two further best-match scribal hands emerge, each exhibiting a correlation of 65% with the language of the T₁ scribe. The first, Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 109 (hand B; fols 32²-163³), contains sermons in English and Latin, including a

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302 As was indicated earlier, the T² scribe was responsible for copying only 20% of the text; see above, Introduction, p. lxxxvii.
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Middle English translation of the Robert de Greatham’s *Miroir* sermon cycle. 303 An inscription indicates that at least part of the manuscript was copied in 1432, possibly by the Premonstratensian canons at Welbeck Abbey in Nottinghamshire. 304 *LALME* locates the language just north of Welbeck, in southern Yorkshire, West Riding (grid ref. 433-383). 305 The other best-match with the language of the T₁ scribes is San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 139 (hand C; fols 156r-187r), another fifteenth-century West Riding manuscript (grid ref. 461-402), that contains the text long attributed to Rolle, *Prick of Conscience*. 306

The C and D Scribes

The language of the C scribe is also mixed, but shares characteristics with *LALME* profiles from Essex. For example, the form ‘here’ (item 9: THEIR; dot map 52) is not found north of a diagonal line from southern Lincolnshire to mid-Lancashire. Although ‘swich’ is of a type predominantly found in the north-east (item 10: SUCH; dot map 74), there are also significant clusters in the Essex and Norfolk regions. The forms ‘whiche’ (item 11: WHICH; dot map 82), ‘eche’ (item 12: EACH; dot map 85), and ‘michel’ (item 16: MUCH; dot map 102) are all typically southern spellings. The final ‘-h’ of ‘þouh’ (item 32: THOUGH; dot map 205) and the consonantal ‘-y-’ of

303 For a recent MS description see *The Middle English Mirror: Sermons from Advent to Sexagesima, Edited from Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 250*, ed. by Thomas G. Duncan and Margaret Connolly, Middle English Texts, 34 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003), pp. xvii-xviii.


305 See LP 70 in *LALME*, III, p.612; note that the MS here is given its former designation (John Rylands Library, MS Lat. 179). Another hand from the MS is located more immediately in the Welbeck area (LP 169 in *LALME*, III, p. 394).

‘ayens’ (item 36: AGAINST; dot map 221) are very rarely found in northern manuscripts, and being quite unusual even in the south are useful in locating C. Similarly ‘wers’ is a less common form (item 259: WORSE; dot map 594), and the adverbial ending ‘-li’ (item 278: -LY; dot map 606) is also relatively unusual.

A summary of the ‘fit’-technique, using four of these key items, can be seen in fig. 5 below. Isoglosses of the forms ‘þouh’, ‘ayens’, ‘wers’, and ‘-li’ have been drawn, but these do not define a specific area as neatly as in fig. 4. For this reason small circles also indicate where the rarer forms are found within the areas defined by the four isoglosses. This process has enabled the search to be narrowed to clusters of manuscripts in Essex, Hertfordshire, Warwickshire, Norfolk, Wiltshire, and Worcestershire. Similarly to the process used above to indentify matches for the T1 scribe, a sample of twenty items from the language of the C scribe has been compared with the linguistic profiles of the LALME manuscript clusters. The end result is two LALME profiles, both located in Essex, that each exhibit a 70% correlation with the C scribe’s profile. Cambridge, Corpus Christi, MS 387 (LP 6370), comprises 116 folios in a single fifteenth-century hand, preserving a copy of Rolle’s English Psalter.307 A mark of ownership links the manuscript with the house of Augustinian canons at Westwood in Lessness (Kent), although the LALME location for the scribal language is in central Essex (grid ref. 548-185).308 The second close match is Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunterian T.3.12, which is one of the 240 manuscripts of the

307 See LALME, i, p. 130.

Fig. 5 Selected items illustrating the ‘fit’-technique for the C scribe.
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*Brut* or *Chronicles of England*, the standard account of English history from the Middle Ages.\(^\text{309}\) This particular vernacular version concludes the chronicle in 1419, and hand B (fols 11v-35r) is located by *LALME* in the south of Essex near London (grid ref. 572-192).\(^\text{310}\)

A full linguistic profile for the D scribe has been published in *LALME* (LP 6240) and is located in central Essex (grid ref. 545-210).\(^\text{311}\) Ian Doyle does not comment on the D scribe’s dialect, but based on other factors is very specific about where he considers the Douce 322 manuscript was produced:

> Willam Baron, a gentleman of a Berkshire family, was, from about 1430 to 1470, active both at Westminster and in London, as an officer of the Royal Exchequer and a participant in city affairs. He married a daughter of the important bourgeois family of Knollys (with Hertfordshire estates), lived for at least some years in the neighbourhood (St Bartholomew’s Close) where I believe Douce may have been executed, and was buried nearby in the London Charterhouse, from which certain of its contents may have been drawn.\(^\text{312}\)


\(^{310}\) *LALME*, III, p. 131. Pages from Hunterian T.3.12 have been digitised, see Glasgow University Library, ‘English Language Manuscripts Course Material’<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/teach/manuscripts/history.html> [accessed 24 May 2007].

\(^{311}\) See *LALME*, III, pp. 123-4; for the location see key map 6, *LALME*, II, p. 388. Note also the critique of *LALME* methodology for Essex MSS in Hanna, ‘Middle English Books’, p. 176, n. 49: ‘*LALME* places the language in central Essex (LP 6240) but fails to take into account the persistence of old London linguistic habits; the metropolitan dialect appears originally to have been of an Essex type and to have relied sporadically on Essex forms well into the fifteenth century, if not beyond’.

\(^{312}\) Doyle, ‘Books’, p. 228.
One of Baron’s acquaintances and a fellow resident of the Close was the well known London scribe, John Shirley (c.1366-1456), who spent the last decade of his long life at St Bartholomew’s Hospital and is known to have studied another of the English translations of Rolle’s *Emendatio* in some detail.313 Other bookish neighbours of Baron’s at this time were the Augustinian canons at St Bartholomew’s Priory and, as Doyle points out, the London Charterhouse.314

**Relicts and the Translator’s Holograph**

To this point, I have focused on identifying the primary linguistic forms used by the T, C, and D scribes. Both T scribes use predominantly northern forms, characteristic of Nottinghamshire or West Riding, while the C and D scribes exhibit southern forms associated with manuscripts located in Essex. In this section I present a comparative study of these four scribes, and attempt a brief analysis of how certain scribal characteristics, or relicts, may have arisen. *LALME* defines ‘relict’ as: ‘a form not part of a scribe’s own dialect, but an exotic that is perpetuated from an exemplar whose dialect differs from that of the copyist’.315 In some instances, a study of relicts can assist in determining the language and geographical location of a common

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315 *LALME*, 1, p.13.
INTRODUCTION

316 I do not consider there to be sufficient information concerning the anonymous T, C, and D scribes to make so confident an assertion here, but by examining less common forms the following study may provide further insight into the characteristics of the scribes in question, and thereby allow tentative conclusions to be drawn concerning the Version A translator’s holograph. The following table assists in making such a comparison of the language of the four scribes.

# Table 2. Forms Used by the T₁ and T² Scribes, Compared to the Language of the C and D Scribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>T¹</th>
<th>T²</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. THEM</td>
<td>þaim, hem</td>
<td>hem</td>
<td>hem</td>
<td>hem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((thaim,</td>
<td>þaym))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. THEIR</td>
<td>þaire</td>
<td>thaire</td>
<td>here ((her))</td>
<td>her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((thaire,</td>
<td>þeire, thair,</td>
<td>((here,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>þair))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>theyre))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. SUCH</td>
<td>swilke</td>
<td>swilke</td>
<td>swich</td>
<td>suche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(swilk)</td>
<td>(swilk)</td>
<td>swiche</td>
<td>((suich,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>suiche)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. WHICH</td>
<td>whilke</td>
<td>whilke</td>
<td>whiche</td>
<td>whyche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(whilk)</td>
<td>(whilk)</td>
<td>(which)</td>
<td>(whych)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((whiche))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. EACH</td>
<td>ilke</td>
<td>ilke</td>
<td>eche</td>
<td>eche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. MANY</td>
<td>mony</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((many))</td>
<td>((mony))</td>
<td>((manye))</td>
<td>((meny))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>T¹</td>
<td>T²</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. MUCH</td>
<td>mykel</td>
<td>mykel</td>
<td>michel</td>
<td>moche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((mekyl, mykele, mykyl))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. (AL)-THOUGH</td>
<td>þof (þof-al)</td>
<td>though, thof</td>
<td>þouh</td>
<td>though</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((thof, þof-alle))</td>
<td>thoughe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. AGAINST</td>
<td>ayeysns -</td>
<td>ayens</td>
<td>ayenst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((ayens)</td>
<td>((ayen))</td>
<td>((ageyne, agayn, agayne ageyns))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91. BUT</td>
<td>bot (but)</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93. CALL</td>
<td>cal[le], clepp-</td>
<td>calle</td>
<td>call</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93. CALL <em>ppl</em></td>
<td>called</td>
<td>called</td>
<td>called</td>
<td>called</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((called))</td>
<td>cleped</td>
<td>clepyd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. CHURCH</td>
<td>kyrke -</td>
<td>cherche</td>
<td>churche</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149. HIGH</td>
<td>heye -</td>
<td>high, hygh</td>
<td>hygh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202. OWN <em>adj</em></td>
<td>owen</td>
<td>owen</td>
<td>owen</td>
<td>owne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(oune, owne)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>T¹</th>
<th>T²</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>208. RUN</td>
<td>rynne</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>renne</td>
<td>renne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rennen</td>
<td>rennen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251. WHETHER</td>
<td>wheder,</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wheþer</td>
<td>whether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>whedere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257. WITEN</td>
<td>wete</td>
<td>wete</td>
<td>wite</td>
<td>wete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((wote))</td>
<td>((wote))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259. WORSE</td>
<td>wers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wers</td>
<td>worse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(wors,</td>
<td>((worse))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>worse)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278. -LY</td>
<td>-ly</td>
<td>-ly</td>
<td>-ly, -li</td>
<td>-ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>((-li))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Item 8 (THEM) here affirms the observation made earlier that this particular mixed form is probably a unique characteristic of the T¹ scribe.\(^{317}\) Given the consistency of the T², C, and D scribes, it is unlikely that this derives from the Version A translator’s holograph. The forms of item 9 (THEIR) are largely as might be expected, with the northern ‘-ai-’ type (dot map 54) being used predominantly by the T scribes, and the southern ‘h-’ type (dot map 52) by the C and D scribes. However, the presence of the rare form ‘þeire/theyre’ (dot map 56) in both T and D is noteworthy. One of the unique characteristics of the C scribe’s profile is the use of ‘suich(e’ (item 10: SUCH;\(^{317}\) See above, Introduction, p. cxli.)

\(^{317}\) See above, Introduction, p. cxi.
dot map 75), which LALME records in only sixteen manuscripts from Berkshire, Ely, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Norfolk, and Worcestershire.\(^{318}\) The first T scribe uses the northern form ‘whilk(e’ fairly consistently (item 11: WHICH; dot map 83), but on just one occasion introduces ‘whiche’ (dot map 82), a southern form (used also by C and D) that could arguably be a relict from the Version A translator. An unusual southern form is also found once in D, ‘meny’ (item 13: MANY; dot map 92). The T\(^2\) scribe exhibits mixed usage over item 32 ((AL)-THOUGH), recording the southern form ‘though(e’ (dot map 197) as well as the northern ‘thof(e’ (dot map 203). The consonantal ‘-y-’ in item 36 (AGAINST; dot map 221) is a fairly unusual southern form, but significantly is found in the language of the T, C, and D scribes. Other possible southern relicts have already been mentioned, and are again found in the language of the T\(^1\) scribe: ‘clepp-’ (item 93, dot map 378) and ‘oune’ (item 202, dot map 498).\(^{319}\)

There is clearly not enough data to locate the language of the Version A translator confidently, but a general pattern does seem to emerge. In most of the cases noted above, the possibility of relicts from an exemplar are evidenced by the northern scribes’ retention of southern forms. Unusual characteristics exhibited by the southern scribes are consistently southern rather than northern forms. While far from conclusive, this does suggest that the Version A translator wrote in a southern dialect, and that his or her work was later copied by both northern and southern scribes.

\(^{318}\) LALME, iv, p.18.

\(^{319}\) See above, Introduction, p. cxliv.
IV. EDITORIAL PRACTICE

T is the base text for the present edition. Emendations are identified in the edited text by square brackets, with the original T reading noted in the apparatus. Where these emendations are taken directly from C or D the source is indicated in the apparatus. The editorial omission of words or letters is noted in the apparatus but not the text. As a general rule, emendations to the base text are made sparingly, and only where an error on the part of the T scribes is clearly identifiable. Punctuation, capitalisation, word-division, and division into paragraphs are mostly modernised. An initial ‘ff’ or ‘ss’ has been read as a capital, and transcribed as appropriate. Abbreviations are silently expanded and given their conventional values, in both the base text and variant readings, and all otiose strokes have been ignored. Direct scriptural quotations are indicated in the text by quotation marks, and referenced in the end notes. Paraphrased scriptural and other references are noted only in the commentary.

The general aim of the apparatus is to record all substantive variants found in the C and D texts. Dialectal variants are not considered as substantive for the purposes of this edition. Where two or more manuscripts agree in all but dialect, both sigla are listed, but only the first spelling is recorded. The lemma is cited from the edited base text, with the sigla and any variants proceeding in the order TCD. The work of a corrector is identified by caret marks for additions (marginal or interlinear), and angle brackets for expunctions. If a siglum is not given in any particular instance, it is to be assumed that the other manuscript reading in question agrees with the lemma. However, if a word or phrase from a particular manuscript is missing at that point, such omissions are noted in the critical apparatus where they first occur.
AMENDINGE OF LYF
Tary not for-to turne the to God, ne drawe not a-lyte fro day to day. For f. 90r sodenly he takes wrecches in sharpnesse of deeth, and ere thy wene shal deu-
our hem bitternesse and hidousnesse of peyne. And sothely it may not be
toumbrede of vs how mony worldly wrecches that wicked presumpcion has
deceyued. For it is a gret synne forto truste in the mercy of God and not
cesse fro synne, supposyng that the mercy of God is so mykel that he wille
not gif to synners ryhtwise peyne for thaire synne, als some foles wene that
ther shal neuere Cristen man be demyped, do he neuer so yuele, the whilke is
a foule errour. And therfore whils the day lastes of this present lyf, be we
besy and do good vnto all. In this day shulde we neuer cese of goode
werkynge, so pat pe Deucl founde vs neuer vnoccupiede, for we wote nouht
how long it shal laste. For-why pe nyht of bodily deth comes as a pefe; in pe
whilke nyht oure lymmys arne bounden, oure wittis ar refte from vs. And
hen nowe we no goode werke worke, but ilke man shal receyue after his
dedys ouer ioy or turment. We lyuen here but on a poyn, pat is pe leste
pinge pat may be, yee and lesse pan a poynte, for yf alle pis present life be
likkened to pat life pat neuer shal haue ende, it is ryht nouht. How may we
pan withouten greauus | dempnacion waste and destroye pis short tyme pat is f.90v
lente vs here to loue God yn (and [to] do goode werkes, thurh whilke we
shulde come to pe blysse of heuen) | puruh vanyte and loue of pe worlde, and
alle day stonde ydel? But Lorde God turne vs and we shalde turne to pe, hel

on. D  22 ydel] ydel C, ydell ... heuen D  22 turne (2)] be turned C, torne D
how vs and we shal be hole, as who say, with-outen þe we mow neuere be
turned fro synne, ne be helede of oure seknesse.

But many þer are þat are nouht heled, but þaire woundes are corupte
and roten. For today þay turne þaim to God and tomorow þai are fro God,
today þai do penaunce for þaire synn and tomorowe þei goo agayne to þe
same synne, like vntile an hounde þat turneth ayeyn tile his vomete. Of
swilke men is written in Holy Writte thus: 'We haue curede Babiloun but it
is nouht made hole', for it is nouht turnede parfitley to God. What is þe
turnynge to God? Sophia a turnynge a-way fro þe worlde, fro synne, fro þe
Fende and fro þe flessh. What is ejfe-sonys a turnynge a-way fro Crist?
Nopinge but a turnynge to delitable and temporel goodes, to þe plesinge
shape of creaturis, to werkes of þe fende, and to lustes of þe flesshe and of þe
worlde. We are nouht turnede to God with goynge of oure bodely fete, but
thurh chaungynge of oure affeccions | and oure maners. Then turne we vs £.91f
vnto God, when we reyse vppe þe sharpeynesse and þe heyhte of oure mynde
vntil hym, besily thinkande and beholdande his biddynges and his
counsellies þat we myht fullfyl þaim in dede. And where-so-euere we be,
what-so-euer we do, goynge or sittyng, þe drede of God gos neuer oute of
oure herte. I speke not of þat drede þat has peyne, þat is a þrale drede þat
only abstenes fro synne for drede of peyne of helle, not for þe loue of God,
ne for þe lufe of vertue and of ryhtwisnesse. But I mene of lufe drede, þat is
when þe childe dredes for-to offende þe fader, thurh þe whilke lufe drede we
behолde what reuerence, what honoure and wirsshipe we may gif to so grete and so worði a maieste, euere more dредande to greue or to offfende it. To be turnede away fro þe worlde is not ellys but þor-to caste be-hynede and forto for-yetle all þe delectacions and delycys of it, and to suffre gladly and mekely for Cristes lufe alle tribulacions and anguysshes of it, and putte away alle vnprofitable occupacions and worldly nedes, so þat oure herte, alle holy and parfitely turnede to God, may gladly and | merily dye til aþe þinge þat may be lufede or geten in þe worlde, and when it is þus [spred] and made brode þurh heenly desires, þat ðe[þ] þen euermore haue God before þe eyen of þe soule, as þof it sawe God with-oute cesynge.

As þe prophete says: 'I sette oure Lorde euermore in my syht'. Nouht for a short tyme, as done al þose þat settene al erþely þinge þat is faire [and] lufely before þe eye of þaire soule, whilke þai beholde and coueite and haue þaire ioy and þaire delyte in. And also þe prophete says eft-sonys: 'Myne eyen are euere more to oure Lorde'. Sothely it is openly shewed be þese wordes þat we may nouht fle þe snares and þe trappes of temptacions bot if we myhtyly and with-oute stynttying reyse vp þe eyen of oure soule vnto God. Mony lettynges þere are þat drawen a man doune, þat he may not parfitely turne hym to God ne festen his eye vpon hym. Of whilke I shal shewe some: habundance of erþely riches, blauondissynge and fagynge of wom-<ref>

46-47 be turnede| <be> turn|ed> T, be turned CD  
50 herte| om. C, hert D  
51-53 til ... 
52 spred| spered T, spered out C, om. D  
53 it| is T, it C, om. D  
56 and| om. T, and CD</ref>
nouhte if Crist shal be lufede. For who-so desires truly for-to lufe Ihesu Crist, | nouht oonly-withouten heynesen, but with fulle gret ioy and glad-
nes, he forsakes and castes away ale þing þat may lete hym. Yee, in þis case he spares neiþer fader ne moder ne yet hym owen self, ne takes no comfort of ony erpelþyng. He dos violence to ale, he brekes alle obstacles and let-
tyngis, him þinke þat it bot lytel ale þat he may do, so þat he myht loue Ihesu Crist. He flees fro synne as a drunken man; he has none eye ne no beholding to no maner confort of þe worlde, ne of flessly solace, bot he gifes him-
self so holy inwarde to God, þat wel-neye he has loste ale outwarde wittis. He is ale gederd with-yne hym-selfe and ale reysed vp into Ihesu Crist, þat who-so sey him he shulde wen þat he were heuy or sori. Bot sekerly he has ful gret ioy. þer are mony þat seyn þai wolde fayn forsake þe worlde and turne hem holy vnto God, but þei sayn þei may not yette, for þei are letted þurh cerceynye occupaciones. Whos colde soules sorouyng we reprove, for with-oute doute if þei were onys touched with þe lest sparcle of þe loue of God, þei shulde seke alswiþe wip al maner besines what we þei myht come to Goddis seruice. Ne þei shulde not leue sekyng vntil þei hade founden it.

Bot þei feyne oft-tymes a | maner of excusacion þe whilke raper ac-
cusis þaim. Ryches drawes mony men o-bake, and mony are deceyuede þurh wymmen, and sumtyme mony þat longe tyme han lyued wele þurh hem are caste doune into þe depnesses of synne and wikednesse. For fairehed is sone lufede, and when it feles þat it is lufede, anone it cleues to, be affeccion, and so it is cast doune in-to synne. And swilke oone is wers after his conuer-

73 He flees ... beholding| om. C, be fleeth ... beholding D
sacion þan he was before, for þen is his fame and his lose defouled. And were he was before wirshipful and preisable, now is he holden of al wlat-
some and despysable.

I seye ones a man, þe whilke as men sayde had fyftene yere tamed his body with gret and wounderful penance, and afterwarde he fel with his seru-
antis wif, and myht neuer after be departid fro hir in al his lyf. In his dyinge þei sayde when prestes come to him he cursyd and waryde þaim and for-
soke to take þe wirshipful sacramentis of Holy Kyrke. Yunge men þerfore
newly turned fro þe word shulde fle besily al maner occasions þat drawes to
synne, and eschewe þurh a waker entencion al maner wordes and dedes
sterying to yuel. For ay þe more vnleful þat a þinge is in itselfe, so mykel | f.93
more sumtyme it is coueited and desirde. þe fende ryeses gretly agayne ale
swilke men as he sees are turnede fro hym, kyndelynge desires of þe worlde
and of þe flessh. And delectacions þat þei hade before tyme in synne he
brynges agayne to þaire þouht. He shewes forþe gret hardenesse and bitter-
nenesse of penaunce for-to make vs yrke with hit. He rayses vp fantasies with-
outen noumbere and new þouhtys and affecions þat profiten nouht, þe
whylke were before stille and o-slepe.

Amonge þese and al oþer þat fallen we shalde myghtely and manle vse
oure-selue, and as Cristes knyhtys take gostly armures of feyth, hop, and
charite, feyhtynge stalworthely ayeyns þe fende and al his suggestions and
yuel entisynges, destroyng and qwenchynge al flesshly and worldly desires,
euermore dersynge and sekyng of he lufe of God thurh despisyng and forsakyng of he worlde.

How a man shal despise he worlde: Capitulum secundum

Despisynge of he world is nouht elles bot an ouerpassynge of al erpely and fainlynge þinges, with-outen luf of þaim, þruh ðeruent lufe and desire of God and heuenly þinges, in þis lyf no þinge to seke bot | God, and to acounte and £93
tette at nouht al vayne ioyes and fleschly confortes of he worlde and of he flessh, vnnepes takynge his nedfulnesse, and if it ony tyme wante or faile, gladly and paciently forto suste. Þis is þe despisyng of þe worlde. Haue þow þis, þat þow be not slayne þruh lufe of it. On þis manere is þe worlde despised and not lufede. Alle þinges þat we lufen, we wirchippen. And sikirly a foule þinge it is for-to worchippe muke, and þat dos he þat lufes erpely þinge only for it-selfe. And þerfore erpeþy lordes and ryche men of worldly goode maken þeim-self servants and thrilles til most vile filthe and stykke, and han ioy and lykyng to be called lordes of men, þere þei ben hem-self servants of synne. Soþeþy þat man has lordeshipe of man it is not of kynde bot oonly of happe and fortune, bot þat a man is sugget vnto synne it comes oonly of a wickeede wyle. Do away þefore þis yuele wille and þow shalt be made fre fro þe fende and fro synne, made þe servaut of ryhtwise-
nesse, þe whilke teches þe nouht for-to lufe erþe þinges.

The lufe of God and þe lufe of þe | worlde are euens contrary, and þer-
for þei may not dwele togydere in a soule; þe bedstede is so narowe þat it

125 thrilles| thrilles CD 130 made| make C, made D
nedes behoues þat oon to falle oute. And þerfor ay þe clenner and þe more fully þow castis oute couetysse and erþely lufe, þe more ferently and bren-nyngly shalt þow tast and fele þe lufe of God; and ay þe more þi coueityse is, þe lesse is þi charite. A, þow wrecched soule, what sekes þow in þe worlde, where þow sees wele þat alle þinges are passande and deceuyande? Doo þat most fagen and plesen þe sonnest gon away and deceuyen þe. Where-to art 

þhou’ so besy for dedely þinges? And wherto coueitys þow with so grete affeccion swilke þingis as þow knowes welle shale perysh and were away? Sees þow not þat sone þei passen away þen þei may be geten? Bot I wote where þow duellest, þere is þe sete of þe fende, for he has so blynded þe, and þurh his qwentise deceuyed þe, þat þow coueites and desires fleande and 

passande þinges, and so þow lufes þat þou shulde hate. And þow despises lastande þinges, and cleues to þat þinge þat is vanyschyng away. And so þow art sete | and groundede vpon a wayke and deceuyable grounde, and £.94r þerfore when þow wenes þi-selfe forto stonde, þow shalt falle in endeles fire.

Pei þat duellen in habundaunce of worldly ryches [þen deceuyed bi 

fyue thinges whiche þei louen: þe firste is richesse], þe secundis is worldly dignitee, þe þridde is erþely powere, þe fer’þh is lufe of þaire flesssh, and þe fyfth is wayne worschippes and honures. þese constreyne þaim in synne and byndes in wickednesse; with þese lustes and delectacions are þai bounden so fast þat mony may not be lesed fro þaim tile deþe come; but þen is ouerlate

lesyng, when nouht foloues aftere but endeles damnacion. Þese fyue lettyn
a man fro despyseyng of þe worlde, fro þe lufe of God, fro knowynge of hym-
selwe, and fro appetit and coueitise of þe kyngdome of heuen. For sykirly þer
may no man be saufe bot if he fle þe worlde and leue to lufe ale þat is þer-in.
Late vs þerfore begyne whils we are hole and þe hete of oure younghede is
with vs, lest þat we be taken with deth or we witte, and seeke space of pen-
naunce and may noon fynde. For he þat abydes of amendinge whils he may
no more synne, synne leues hym and he not synne, and þerfor he is worthi no
mede of God. | Bot what may lyke or plese hym þat disposes hym forto lufe f.95'
Ithesu Crist? He shal defoule his youthethehede, he shal kepe ale his strenthe
vnto God, alle rychesse and honours of þe worlde shal he aconyte and set at
nouht, hym shal þinke þat alle bodily fairnesse is bot fals and veyne ioy,
and nouht worth. What shal I sey more? He dispises parfitly ale þinges of þis
worlde þat passen away als a shadowe.

A þow fleschly lufe, what fyndes þow in þe flessh þat þow hast so gret
delyte in it? If þow haue ioy and delyte in shappe and fairhede of body, why
beholdes þow not what is hydde with-inne in þe skyinne? Knowes þow not
wele þat fairenesse of flessh is bot an hillynge of foulnesse, enclynynge and
norischnynge of corrupcion, and oft-sithes cause of perdicion and endeles
damnpacion. Lat it þerfore suffice vnto þe, ale oþer þinges dispisede and set
at nouht, to lufe God, to lovuel God, to be with God, to ioy in God, not for-to
go fro God, bot for-to cleue to hym þurh continuell and brennyngde desire.
AMENDINGE OF LYF

For-to despice þe worlde, þe worlde it-selfe it steres vs, þe whilke is ful of so-
mony wretchednesse, for in it is malyce lastyng, perseçucion dounthristynge, envie defailinge, bacbityng knawyng, fals imposiciones of crymes, and bitter-
nesse of sclaundres; where ale þinges are confused, ale þinges inordinate;
where neiþer ryhtwisnesse is lufuede, ne soþefastnes is approved.

180 Also oþer þinges þer are þat shulde stere vs forto despise þe worlde:
þat is þe chaungynge of tyme, shortenesse of þis life, deth þat is certeyne, þe
comyng of deth þat is vnçerteyne, stablnesse of euerlastyngnesse, vanye of
þinges þat are nowe, and soþefastnes of þinges þat are to come. Chese þer-
fore what þow wilt. If þow lufe þe worlde, þow shalþ perysche with þe
worlde. And if þow lufe Ihesu Crist, þow shalþ regne and be kynge with hym
in endless blysse.

Of wilful pouerte: Capitulum tercium

190 ‘If þow wilt be parfte, goo and selle ale þat þow has and yeue to pore folke,
and come and folowe me’. In þis two, þat is in forsakynge of worldly þinges
and in folowyng of Crist, is heyste perfeccion. Bot sopely al men þat for-
saken worldly þinges foluen not Crist, for sume are worse aftere þey haue
forsaken þeire gudes þen þei were before. Þen yeue þei þaim to bacbitynge
of þaire euen-cristen. þe’i’ drede not to do away and lesen þe gude ðame
and lose of þeire euen-cristen, þen ar þei ful of envie, þei freten in malice,
þei sette þaim-selfe before al oþer in þaire owne syht, þei lovue and preysen

178 lastyngel om. D 179 knawyngel om. D 183 certeyne] certeyn C, vnçerteyn D
192-3 is … Crist] om. D 196 þen] þen <drede> T, þanne C, Then D 197 lovue and
preysel] lœue and preysel C, preyse C, preysen D
paire owne state and degre, and blames and damnes ober mennys lyvinge.
How trowes pow pe fende has deceyuede swilk maner of men, pe whilke
haue neiuer pe worlde ne God, whom be diuere sorowe wayes of errours and
wickednesse he ledes to euerlastynge peyne and dampancion.

Perfor vndistonde wele þese wordes þat ar sayde, and take pouert be
anoþer way. When he says þerfore: 'Goo and selle ale þat þow has', þow
shalt vndistonde changynge of þin affeccion and of þi thouhtys; þat where
þow was before proude, angry, enviouse and coueitous, be now meke, softe,
pacient, ful of charite, large and fre. And if þow haue keppe þe þruh grace
clene fro grete synnes here before, þow shalt now abstene þe, not oonly fro
ale yuel, bot also fro ale þe spices of yuel. And yf þow haue ony tyme be-
fore synned þruh outrage of mete and drynke, þow shalt now amende it þruh
fastynge and discret abstinsens. Yf þow haue before | ouer-mykel lufede þe 96
worlde, þow shalt now gedere þi-self al holy to þe loufe of God, and festen
ale þe scatterynges o-brode, and þe wauerynges of þin hert, in all-onely oon
desire of Ihesu and heuene þinges þat are ay-lastande. And sopely, if þow
do þus, þen skal thi willful pouert be medeful to þe, and ale þe anguysche and
dise þat þow suffres shal be to þe a glorius corone.

For oure Lorde says: 'Blessede are þei þat are pore in spirit', þat is þat
are meke in þaire owen felynge, 'for-why pairs is þe kyngdome of heuen'.
What is pouert bot mekenesse, þruh þe whilke a man sees his owen freeth?
And when he sees þat he may not come to parfite stabilnesse of soule bot
oonly þruh grace of God, al manere of þinge þat myhte let hym to receyue
þis grace he forsakys fully, and settes his loue and his desire in ioynge of his
Creatour. And ryht als fro oon rote comyn and spryngen mony braunches, ryht so fro wilful pouert, taken on þis manere, spryngen mony wonderful vertues. Nouht as sume done þat chaungen þaire cloþes bot not þaire soule; þei semen forto forsake worldly rychesse, bot þei cese not vnder þe cloþes of holynesse forto | gedere in-numerable synnes and wickednes. 

What is wers þen a proude pore man? What is fouler þan an enviouse beggere? þerfore if þow leue al þinge for God, beholde more what þow dispises þan what þow forsakes. Loke bisily how þow may folowe Crist in vertues. ‘Leres of me’, he says, ‘for I am myld and meke of herte’. Soþely pouert, be it-self, it is no vertue ne preisible, bot raper wrecchednesse. Bot for as mykele as it is an instrument of vertue, and it helpses to get endeles blisse, þerfor it is desirable. It makes a man not to be wirshippede bot to be dispised, þof-al he be vertuous, namely amonge myhty and ryche worldly men, whilk despite and reprowe to suffre mekely and gladly for Ihesu Criste is souereynly medeful. And þerfor oure Lorde Ihesu was pore in þis worlde, for he knewe welle þat it is ful harde to riche men, and to þaim þat abunden in delyces, for-to come to þe kyngdome of heuen. And þerfore þat we shulde more feruently coueyte and take þis pouerte, he behyht souereyn worship to þaim þat forsaken al þinge for hym, þat is to say power of dome, where he says þus in þe Gospell: ‘Ye þat haue for-saken al þinge and folowed me, ye shul sitte vpon twelf setes, demande | þe twelf kynredes of Israel’. 

223 manere] manere C, wyse and thys maner D  226 gedere] gadere to gidere CD 
233 blisse] blisse Þof-al he be vertuous> T, blisseþe C, blysse D  236 is ... Ihesu] om. D 
239 coueyte] coueyte C, couere D  242 vpon ... setes] om. D
Neuerþeles þof a man haue pouert, yee and wilful pouerte, and wante meknes, he is more wræchede þan he þat aboundes in riches; ne he shal not take in dome þe sete of dignite wyth þe apostles, bot he shal be clopede and couerede with a dowble mantel of confusion, þat is double damnacion of body and soule. Bot þei þat shyne in mekenes, þof-al þei abounde in ryches, neuerþeles þay shal be sete at þe ryht honde of Crist when he demes. Summen seyne: ‘We may not forsake alle, we ar seke and feble, and þerfore vs behoues holde sumeþinge wher-with we may lyf’. Þis is leful, bot þei are þe lesser worth, for þai dar not for Cristes sake suffre þe streytnesse ne þe hardenesse of pouerte. Neuerþeles þei may þruh Goddis grace come to þe perfeccion and heyght of vertues, and be rayseyd vp to contemptplacion, if þai forsak al occupacions and worldly nedes, and gif þaim bisyli and mekly to prayere and meditacion, and swilke þinge as þei haue of worldly goodes, lufe it not bot forsake þe lufe of it for Ihesu Crist. And wete þai ryht wele þat for-to get more þan barely nedes, it is of coueitise, bot forto forsake al for Crist, it is of perfeccion. And þerfor whils þei see heyere þinges abouen hem, þe whilke þei mow not ateyne to, þei shulde not be proude ne presumpteous | of' £98'

þat lytel þat þei haue, so þat þei myht come to þe reule and forme of goode lyuynge þruh meknesse and fereuent loue of Ihesu Crist.

How a man shal ordeyne and dispose his luyng: Capitulum quartum

That a man may ryhtwisly be dressed to be worship of God, to profile of him-self and helpe of his euene-cristen, foure þinges rynne to mynde to be saide. First is to knowe what þinges make a man foule, and þai are þre kynde of synnes: þat is of þouht, of mouthe, and of werke. In þouht synnes a man ayeyns God if he occupie not his herte in louyngis and lufyng, if he suffre it to be abstracte in diuerse þouhtes and to be rennende abowte in þe worlde. With mouthe synnes a man ayeyns God when he lyes, when he swerese, when he curses, when he bacbites, when he defendes errour þof it be him-selfe vnwitynge, when he spekes folowe wordes, foule wordes, or wayne wordes. In werke synnes a man ayeyns God in many maneres, in doynge lech[e]ry, in vnhoneste touchynge, in kyssynge in luste, in pollu[t]and hym-selfe, or withoute grete ned to stel, and in mony oper maneres.

Pe secunde is to wete what þinges clensen a man, and þei are þre, ayeyns þe þre synnes befor sayde: contricion of hert ayeyns þe synne of þe 98° þouht; confessioun of mouthe ayeyns þe synne of mouthe, þe whilke ouhte to be naked, hole and hasty; and satisfacion ayeyns þe synnes of dede, þe whilke has þre parties: þe first is fastynge, for he synnede ayens hym-selfe, þe secunde is prayere, for he synnede ayens God, þe þredde is almesdede, for

262 and dispose| om. C 264 euene-cristen| '3 thingis defele a man' T to mynde| to my
mynde C, or comyn to mynde D 267 louyngis and lufyng| praysinge C, preysyng and
louyng D 268 abstracte| abstracte C, abstracte or stered D 271 foule wordes| om. CD
wayne wordes| om. D 272 ayeyns God| om. C 272 lechery| lechry T, leechery C,
lechery D 273 pollutand| polluant T, polluting C, polluting D 275 what| '3 thingis
do kepen a man cleane' T
he synnde ayeyns his neyhbore. Neuerheles I say not ṭat he shal gif almesdede of oþer meny gude, bot he shal restore it, for ṭe synne is not foryeuen bot if it be restorede ṭat is taken, if it in any wyse may be done.

De bridd is to wete what þinges kepyn clennes of herte, and þei are

þre: þe first is wakere þinkyng on God, so þat þer be no tymne bot þat þow þinke on God, outaken slepe þat is comune to alle; þe secunde is bysines of þe kepyng of þe tvwarde wittes, þat þi tastynge and smellynge, herynge, seynge and touchyng be wisely restraynede vndere þe brydel of heuenly discipline; þe bridd is honeste ocupacion, as redinge of holy writte,
spekyng of God, writynge, or some oþer gude dede doyng. Also þre þinges kepyn clennes of mouth: on is avisinge befor or we speke, anoþer is to fle mykel þpeche, þe þredde is hatynge of lesynggis. Also þre þingis kepyn clennes of werke: oon is mesuryng and temperaunce of mete and drinke and slepe; anoþer is departynge fro yuel cumanye; þe bridd is besy þinkyng on þe deth, for þe wise man says: 'Thinke ay on þi last ende, and þow shalt neuere synne'. Þe fether is what byndes and confourmes oure wile to Goddis wil. And þai are þre: on is þe ensamplere of creaturis, þe whilke is getyn þurh consideracion; anoþer is homlynesse of God, þe whilke is geten be praire and heuenly meditacion; þe bridd is myhte and ioyinge in God, þe whilke is goten þurh lufte and contemplacion.
AMENDINGE OF LYF

Ch. 4

And so þe seruant of God þat is on þis wise ordeyned to lyfe, is as a tre
þat is sette besyde þe rynnynges oute of waters, þat is to sey, beside þe
flowynges of grace, þat he may euermore wax grene in vertue, þe whilke
shal yeue his fruyte (þat is gude werkes in esxample, and gude yiftes, vnto
helpe of his euern-cristen) in tyme, he shal yeue al þis to þe honour and þe
worshippe of God, not selle it for vayne ioy of þe worlde. Þerfor prayde þe
prophete when he sayde: ‘Godenesse, disciplyne, and cunnynge teche | me | f. 99v
Lorde. I haue trowe þei þi commaundementis’. What is discipline bot correcc-
and refourmyng of maners and of lyuyenge, nouht ellis? Firste þerfore
ar we entemede and tauht þurh discipline and ryhtwisnesse, and amende þe
fro yuel, and þer-apfter knowe we what we shulde do and what we shuld fleye,
and at þe last oure ‘desire and oure’ coueityse is taken fro erbely þinges and
raysede up vnto heuenly þinges.

When any man with al his besynesse and myht has dressede and con-
fourmede hym to þe will of God, and has encresced in vertues, and parauen-
ture ouerpasses, þurh stablenesse of lyuyenge and desire of Ihesu Crist, oþer
þat are of longer tyme þan he, he shulde not þerfore haue vayne ioy n[e]
yeue ony þinge of it vnto him-selfe, or holde hym-selfe heyere or better þan
þaim þat semen synners or yuel men. Bot he shulde holde hym vilest and
most wrecche of alle and deme no man bot hym-self, and sette al oþer men
abouen hym-self, and coueite not to be holde holy, gude and wiurshifful, bot
to be despisede and reprouuede of alle. And when he comes amonge men,
loke, in as mykel as in hym is, þat he be last in place and lest in opinyoun.

For ay þe gretter þat þow arte, so | mykel more make þi-self lowe in al f.100'

þingis, and þen sha’l’t [p]ou fynde grace before God to be maade hye; for gret is þe powere of God, and of meke men he is wirschippede and honured; þerfor of proude men þat seke þaire oune ioy and not Goddis wirschippe, he is despised.

If it befall, þat God forbede, þat þou hast ioy in þe fauoure of þe peple, and rescuyeste gladly þe fauoure and honoure þat is done to þe of men for þi gude fame and holynesse, wete þou ryht welle þat þou hast rescuyuede þi mede here. And þof-alle þow some chast and in pennaunce, neuerpeles whils þow hast more delite in fauor of men þan in ioy of angelles, þow shalt nouht haue in þe toþer worlde bot payne and tormentis of endeles dampnacion.

þow shalt þerfore at begynnynge parfitely despise þi-self and fle, pute away, and sette at nouht al worldly ioy, and sette al þin entente and þe luf of þin herte so fully and holly in God, þat þow do no þinge, n[e] þinke, bot only for luf and wirschippe of God, so þat al þi lyuynge inwarde and outwarde crie and shewe þe loyynge of God.

In mete and drynke and slepe þow shalt 'be' scarce and discrete. Þow shalt no þinge forsake ne putte away for þe tyme and place | þat cristen men f.100" vsen with þonkynge of God. Whils þow etes and drynkes loke þat þe mynde of þi God þat fedes þe passe not away fro þi herte, so þat þi herte be more
besy aboute þe lovuyng of God þanne aboute þi mete. And if þow do þus, 
þow shalt eschape and dryue away temptacions of þe fende, þat most bysyl 
waytes vs in mete and dryinke to desceyue vs. For vnwise men, eþer be 
vnmesurabl takynge of mete and drynkynge are casten downe fro heynes of 
vertue, or þurh ouermykel abstynence breken hem in þe selfe vertue, so þat 
þei may not for waykenesse and feblenesse fulfille ne bringe til ende þat þai 
haue begunne. And bolþe are displesaunce to God and ayeyns his wille. 
Mony are euermore so vnstable and vncenteyne in etynge and drynkynge þat 
þai taken al-ways eþir ouermykel or ouerlitel, and so þei holde no tyme ne 
no fourme of liuyng, whils þei holde now on better, now anoþer. Pai þat are 
vnwise and assaiede neuer yette ne felede þe swetnes of þe lufe of God, sup-
350 posen and wenen þat undescrete abstynens be souereyne holynesse. And þei 
wenen þat þei may not be made holy but þurh an vncustimable and 
| f.101' vnryghtwise abstynence, so þat þei may appere singuler and be knoen of 
men. Bot sikirly abstynence be it-selfe is not holynesse. Bot if it be discrete, 
it helps a man to be holy; y[i]fe it be vn discrete, it lettes a man to be vertu-
355 ous. Who-`soþ þerfore wolde take a singulere abstynence, he shulde fle syht 
and praisynge of men, for men demen hem mooste holy oft-tymes whom þei 
see most abstinent, when it is oft-sithes ofþerwise in soþefastnesse. For he þat 
has soþefastly tasted and felde þe swetnesse of þe lufe of God, he shal not 
deme any man more passande, or more holy, for abstynence of mete and 
360 drynkynge; bot so mykel shal he deme him of lesse pris þat he is holden more 
365 wonderful in abstynence anentys ofþer men.
It is best þerfore as I trowe, and mooste plesyng to God, þat a man con-
fourme hym in mete for þe place, and tymne, and honeste til þaim þat he is
conuersant wit-all, so þat he seme not a feynere of religioun. Wete þei wele
þat are swilke men, þat bof oon or two fel wele of þaim, al oþer shal dene
ypocricy of þaim and feinynge. Bot þer are sume þat on no wise wil not be
seyne comune amonges men, þat þei eþer ete so litell þat þei gare algates
men speke | of hem, or ellys þei sekyn oþer kynde of metys so þat þai may f.101½
be vnlike in sume-þinge to al oþer men whos abstinence be ferre away fro
me. Sopely it is helful councelie, and sikere, þat þei þat are of lesse absti-
nence holde þaim better þat are of more abstinence, and haue compuncion
of herte, for þei may not do so mykel abstinence as oþer men may. And on
þe toþer syde þai þat are of wonderful abstinence, þat þei holde oþer men
abouen hem þat do not so mykel abstinence in syht of men outewarde, whos
verture is hidde fro men in þe whilk þei passen. Sopely whils þeire abstinence
is so lovued and praisede of mony men, bot if it be borne vp and kept þurh
grete meknesse, befør God it is nouht. Bot oþer mennys vertue is so mykel
more þat it is not seyne nor knowen of men outewarde. Who may wete how
mykel a man brennes in lufe ayeyns God or how mykel he shynes in com-
passioun ayeyns his euen-cristen?

And with-outen doute þe vertue of charite passes with-oute compari-
soun al abstinence and al oþer werkes þat may be seyne. And oft it felles þat
þei þat shewen lesse abstinence befør men are more feruent and brennande in
lufe wipinne before God. For it behoues þaim | to be stronge þat shal my-
htely and manly traualye in þe lufe of God. And þerfore when a manys flessh

367 and (2) ... þaim | om. D  372 gare | make CD
is made wayke þurh ouermykel abstinence of mete and drynk and slepe, a man oft-tymes is made vnmyhty to pray; and mykel more þen he shal not mow lyft vp him-selfe þurh brenynge desire to God and heuenly þinges. Þerfore me were leuere þat a man failed for mykelenesse of lufe þanne for fastynge, as þe spouse says: ‘Telles to my lufede þat I languyse for lufe’. And sopely fastynge of bred and water plesses not God so mykel as þorsakynge of synne. Þerfor be þow stable in all þi ways, and after þis reule þat is yeuen to þe ordyne þi lif. And þof-al þow mai not in þe first begynynge atteyne ne come to þat þat þou coueitys, dispaire not þerfore ne mystriste not bot continue forth and perseuere, for by longe tyme and exercise þou shalte move come to perfeccon.

Whedere þou be in trauayle or in rest, lyfte vp always þe eye of þi soule vnto God, and lat neuere þi þouht go fro hym, for al þat tyme þat þou þinkes not on God, þou may acontent it þinge þat þow has loste. Lovue God in þi soule, and coueite euermore his lufe, þat slepe fynde þe neuere oþerwyse | occupiued þan euipher prayande or þinkande on God. And loke warly f. 102 þat þow be not scatred ne distracte with vayne þourystys, ne yeue þe not to ouer-mony besynessys, bot þis stablenesse of hert studie to gete, þat þow euipher drede þe noyes nor diseses of þe worlde, ne coueite not vnordinatly his gudes. For he þat dredes to suffre aduersites, knowes not yitte how he shulde dispise þe worlde; and he þat ioyes in euþely þingis is ful ferre fro heuenly þingis. It longes to þe vertue of strenthe, for-to dispise al aduersitees
and prosperites, yee and þe self deþe, for endeles lyf; and charite is only to
desire þe ioyes of heuen. Sô hely a parfite louver ioyes, and is fayne forto dye,
and yet suffres he þis lyfe with pacience. Whilk perfeccion, if þow may þurh
Gooddes grace come to, þou shalt not be wip-outen tribulacion, of whilk shal
now be spoken.

Of tribulacioun: Capitulum quintum

When þe deuel sees oon amonge a thousande turne hym parfitely to God,
and oonly seke and lufe aylastande þingis, take parfite penaunce, and clense
and purge hym of al filthe of body and soule: a þousande desceytes he | f. 103v
ordeynes to begile hym with, a thousande craftes he ordeynes þat he myht
brynge hym doun with and cast hym fro þe lufe of God to þe lufe of þe
worlde, and þat he myht make hym foule with filth of syn and wrecchednes,
and at last to make hatful and wlatsome to God þurh yuel and lecherouse
þouhtes. He reyses vp ayens hym persecusions and tribulaciones, reproues,
fals inposicions of crimes, and many maners of wretthe and hatreden, so þat
þurh aduersite he myht overcome and breke whom prosperite myht not dece-
yue. He puttes vnto hym now softnesse, nowe sharpenesse, nowe bitter,
nowe sweete. He bringse to his mynde ymagges of bodily þingis and fantasies
of olde synnes, and kyndeles his herte wip detectacion of olde lufe and
wrecchednesse, þe while he has before ben delited ynne, and he enflaumes
þe flesh with lusty brynnynges to flesshly synne. He begynnes with a litel
sparcle bot he wil not cesse, if he may, tile he brynge it to a gret fyre; and so

\[422\] bigie] bigie C, discene D  \[430\] ymagges ... þingis] ymagges ... things C,
ymaginacions D  \[431\] synnes ... olde] om. D
mykel þe more, with al maner of synes, he studies nyht and day to reyse
ayeyns hym al maner of anguysches and tormentis, for he knowes þat he is,
þurh | þe mercy of God and grace, ferre fledde and escapede fro his seruage f.103v
and powere. He sekes nouht ellys in al his myhtes bot þat he myht disseuere
and departe vs fro þe sweetest and most chaste cleppynges of aylastande lufe,
and þat he myht on þe toþer syde defoule vs and caste vs doune into þe slade
of wretchednesse and clay of erþely lufe.

Bot who myht þinke þe wodnesse of þat man, þat wolde forsake and
leue delytes and kynges mete, and go fede hym with swynes mete? And yte
is he more wode þat forsakes delicate deyntes of endles wisdome, þat is to
say þe lufe and desire of Ihesu Crist, þat is only and aylastande wisdome of
þe Fader, and makes hym-selfe sugete and seruante to vnclennesse of þe
þlessh. Whedere glotonye and lecheri ar not swynes filth? Yis sikirly, and
yte mykel wors, þe whilke who-so lufes, he fedes þe deueles. Bot how a
man shal feyth, and agayn-stande temptacions and tribulacions, pacience
shal teche þe; of whylke shal now be sayde.

Of pacience: Capitulum sextum

Þay þat are delynges and childre to þe heye kinge of heuen þurh feyth, hope,
and charyte haue gret designdacion to þal doune and be fede wyth vneson-
able bestes mete; þei dispise al vnleful lustes and worldly solace for þe lufe
of Ihesu Crist. For sofely he þat is fede wip þe brede of lyf þat come fro
heuen to fedde mankynde, he suffres not his affeccion ne his lufe to bow ne
to fal doun to þose þinges þat þe deuyl steres and entises to. When temptacions and tribulacions rysen agayns a man, lat 'hym' þanne take his gostly armoure, þat is, feyth, lufe, and pacience, and so manly to go to bataile. For temptacions and tribulacions are ouercome and vengi[s]id þurh pacience, feyth, and lufe.

What is pacience bot a gladde and wilful suffrynge of contrarious thynes- ges, nouht ellys? He þat is very pacient grucches in noon aduersitee, bot ay lovues God in al tyme. And ay þe more meke and pacient þat a man is in tribulacion here in his lif, þe more glorious and heyer shal he be in þe blesse of heuen. Perfor with gret ioy and gladnesse shulde we suffre tribulacion and anguysshes, bitternesse and Peynes, sekenes and diseases, for thurh hem oure synnes are purged | and clensed, and oure meritys are eked and encresced. f.104v

And þe apostle says þat alle þe paynes and passiouns þat we may suffre here in þis lif are not euen worthi to þe ioy comande, þat shal be shewed and yeuen to vs in þe blesse of heuen. Sikirly either behoues vs here in þis lyf be brent with þe fire of Goddis lufe and tribulacion, or ellis efter þis lyf be greuously and sore pyned and turmented with þe fyre of purgatorie or of helle. Chese þerfore what we wyl, for þat one shal we not eschewe, and here we may wip lyht penaunce - yee and with ioy if we wil cleue fast to God - do away alle Payne þat is to come. Perfor are tribulacions sent vnto vs þat þai shulde cal[l]e vs ayeyn fro lufe of þe worlde, and þat we be not more greu-

ously punysshed in þe tothir worlde. For the synnes behoues to be clensid
with sorowe and bitternes þat we done here with lust and lkyng. If synful
men pursue vs, þai noyve vs nouht if we suffre it paciently, bot to hem-self;
for þof-al þay bryng into vs a lytel payn, neuerþeles it is to vs a coroune, and
to þaim-self | endlesse turment.

Yuel men and synners are suffred to passe oute of þis present lyf
wipouten mony tribulaciones or disease, to whome in þe tothir world is no
ioy ordeyned bot payne. And þerfore holy men lufen tribulaciones and angers,
for þai knowe welle þat þai shal come thurh hem to endeles rest. And on þe
contrary syde, synners and wicked men euer more gruchyn, and als mekyl as
þai may eschewe and fleen hem; for whils þaire herte and þaire lyfe is fully
and vnmesurably yeuen to erthly þinges, þai are vitterly pryued and departed
fro hope of þe blyss of heuen; oonly in ovtwarte thinges þai fynde com-
forte and solace, for þai haue vitterly loste þe sauour of heuen.

Þer is no resonable soule here in þis lyf, þat ne eijbir it cleues þourh
lyfe to his Creatour, or to a creature. If it luf more a creature, it loses and de-
partes fro God and gos wip þat it lufes to endeles payne; and swilke loue in
þe begynnynge is trauyle, in þe myddes it is wretchednesse and langour, and
in ende it is hatereden and sorowe. If he lufe more his Makere, he shal nedes
forsake and leue to lufe alle þat is of þe worlde; and þe hym shal thinke ioy
and sweetesse to speke of hys lufed, a delicate fedyngne more swete þan all
deyntees; hym thinkes to haue hym in mynde, he spares the wyndowes of
hys outwarde witnes that deth entre not in at thaim, ne þat he be not vnonprofit-

484 þe tothir] þat oþer C, the other D 489 vitterly] bittrely C, vitterly D 498 lufed] lonue C, loned D
ablely ne vaynly occupied in no worldly vanite. And for als mykel as sume-
tyme ther ryse agayns hym despitcs and reproues, scornynys, and sclaun-
dres of the fende and of wicked men, therfor it is nedeful to hym to take þe
shelde of pacience, and þat he be more redy for-to forgethe than forto fargye
wronges and diseses that are done to hym, and for-to pray besily for thaire
counsersacion that haten hym, and charge not þof he plesel not alle men, bot
drede he in al thynges to offende God.

If he haue temptacion of the flessh, lat hym stryue to overconme it and
putte it vnderfote, so that the wille of the spirit selle 'not' doune to consente
and fullyngynge of synne. If thow fele temptacion, and nouht consente therto,
it is to the mater of vertue and of meryte. For no man knowes of 'hym-self' f. 106'
wheder he be stronge or weyke, bot if he be asayed. And a manes paciens
may nouht be knownen whils he is quitete and [in] rest, bot when he is asayed
thurh wronges, tribulacions, or disseses; the it is seen wheder he be pacient
or nouht. Mony men ar meke and suffryng as longe as men pleses thaim. Bot
also sone as a lyht blaste of ryhtwise correccion touches thaim a litel, thof'it
be done for charite and for thair amendment, als sone thaire herte is turned
into bitternesse of ire and malencolye; and if þai here on worde ayens þaire
wille, þai wil yeue two more felle and more bitter agayne; frome whos

couseyle God kepe my soule.
Therfor al þe fyre dartes and þe assautes of oure enemy shulde be sloken and brought to nouht, þurh mekenesse and sweetnesse of Cristes loue, ne we shal not yeue stede ne consente to no temptacion, be it neuer so stronge; for ay þe more þe batayle is, þe more gloriose is þe victorie and þe heyere corone is ordeyned for þe ouercomer. For as þe apostel says: ‘Blessed is þat man þat sufferes temptacion, for when he is proued and examined as golde in þe fire of tribulacion, he shal take þe coroune of endeles lyf’. Sopely þanne bare þe nouht doute þen þou arte in þe way of perfeccion, if despite be as lefe vnto þe as lovuyng, pouert as riches, penaunce and scarsenesse as delyces and deyntees, so þat þou myht thurh Goddes grace wip-outen chaungynge of hert suffer al þise; and þat þou in no-pinge falle fro þe heynesse of þouht. Lothe and hate, as mykel as þou may, louynges and preisynges of men; for þat is full comendable, if þou be worþi preisyng and fle to be praysed of men. For þe tounges of fagers and flatereres deceuyes mony man, and þe lippes of babciters confoundes wip-outen noumbre. Perfore despise þou boldely and utterly al fauore and vayne ioy of men, and suffer gladly and paciently al babcitynge and hatred of þe worlde, so þat þurh yuel lose and goode lose, þurh flaterynge and tribulacion, þou cese nouht to haste þe to þe kyngdome of heuen.

Oft-tymes we fallen, so þat þurh mony fallynges we leren to stonde after|warde more strongly. He þat is stronge dredes nouht, and he þat is pa-
cient is nouht angerde for no tribulacion þat may falle. As þe wyse man says: 'It shal nouht heuey þe ryhtwise man, what-so-euer befallte hym'. If þou be disp[o]sed on þis wyse, þou shalt lyhtly overcome alle temptacions of þe deuel and of þi flessh; and þou shalt skolen and bryngte to nouhte al þe malice of þe worlde; and alle tribulacions and angeres shal þou trede vnder-fote thurh pacience and lufe; and þou shalt cleue to God Ihesu Crist wip alle thi soule.

**Of prayere: 'Capitulum septimum'**

If þou be in temptacion or tribulacion anoone rynne to prayer, for if þow pray purely with cleene affeccion and gude entente þou shalt haue redy helpe. Bot sumtime þer comen dispersions and wauerynges of herte, and rauyshen þe þouh into diuers pinges, and wil not sufre it to stonde hole ne to rest in þe lovuynge of God. Then parauenture it were goode þat a man gaf hym for a while to meditacion of God and holy write, or of þe passion of Crist and swilke other, vntil þis herte were more stabled, and so make an ende and fulfille his prayere. Who-so euere forsakes parfitly for þe loue of Ihesu al worldely ocupacions, and settis hym-self stably and sadly to gostly and heuene lyhtacions and to holy and deoute prayr, I trowe þat wipin a shorte tyme wip þe grace of Ihesu Crist he shal fynde his herte sadde and stable to lufe and to pray, so þat his þouhtis shal not be disparpled into diuerse pingys ayeyns his wille, but he shal rather rest in stilnesse and.softenesse of endles pees.
It helpes mykyl to stablyng of þe herte a man ofymes to gyf hym to
deute prayer and to syngle psalmodie. For thurh besi praiers we ouercome
þe fendes and make vnmyhty al þaire malyce and deceites; þai are made
wayke and as it were with-outen strengthe as longe as we are myghty and
deute in prayinge. Sothly þose men þat of longe tyme and vse haue in cus-
tum to pray, sumtyme þei felen more sweetenesse and gretter fer oure of
praynge þan ọpe sum. Therfore as longe as þat fer oure and sweetenesse 
lastes it is gude þat þei cese nouht of þaire prayngis. And when þai cesen, þat
oft-sithes hapyn s' for coruption of þe bodely kynd, þay may þen go to
meditacion of holy write, or ellis go do sume other gude dede, so þat for no-
thinge þai suffre not þaire mynde ne þaire luфе go waueringe aboute fro
God; bot when þai come agayne to praiere þat þai may þenne be more fer-
uent and brendande in God þan þai were before. Soþely þan pray we vereily
when we þenke on noon other þinge, bot al ọure herte and ọure entencion is
lyfted vp til heuen and ọure soule is enflawmed wip þe fire of þe Holy Gost.

On þis maner þe wonderful habundance of Goddes goodnesse shal be
founden in vs. For fro þe innermoste deuociun of ọure herte ryses þe loue of
God. And þan al ọure praiere shal be with feroure and affeccion, we shal
not þan ouerlepe wordes for hastinesse bot fully souande i[1]k a siable
with a myghty voice and an ynwarde dissiere we shal offre to ọure Lorde Ilhesu
Crist. When ọure herte is kyndled | wip þe hote luфе of God þen ọure praiere is  

brent intil odour of sweettenesse in ọure mouthe and offred vp into þe syht of

ofte-times CD  572 ellis go do] om. D  573 not] om. C waueringe D, wand-
drying D  579 innermoste] indereste C, innermost D  581 ilk] ik T, every C, eche D
584 intill] into C, in the D
God. It is not than yrksome nor heuy some bot gret yoy and myrthe forto pray. For wh'en in praiy gostly sweetnesse vspeakeablely is yette in the soule, than that praiy is turned into so mykel yoy than no voice ne worde may shewe it.

Dis is ageyns hem that gif baim first to meditacion ore that gif baim to praiy, nouht knowynge that he worde of God is brennande, purh whilke al the filthe of oure synnes is purged and oure soules are enflaumed and made brennande in the luf of God. Pei seyn that first wil yeue hem to meditacion that paire herte myht so be made stable, bot so mykel he latlyer pai come to sta-blenesse that pei ar not comforted, ne made stronge to continuell praiyer. Sothely bifo we may not als sone as we wolde geder oure hert to-gider vntil one thinge, we shal not perfoure leue of, bot be litil and be litel studie we forto waxe and encresse, that Ihesu Crist wil wochesafe | sumtyme forto stable vs f.109½ and make vs sadde, to that whilke meditacion most helpes if it passe nouht mesure an’d discrecion.

Of meditacion: 'Capitulum octauo'

It is gude often to think on that precious passion and on that peyneful deth of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste, and to brynge ofte-tymes to mynde how mony paynes and disseses he has suffred for vs, in goynge, in prechynge, in tholyng of hungre and thirst, hote and colde, in suffrynge myssaynges and reproues, so that a wretched servaunt and an vnprouitable shulde not thinke heuy forto folowe his emperour and his lorde. Sothely who-so wenes and sayes that he duelles in Ihesu Crist, as he went so behoues hym to folow. That
is to say in meknes, in wilful pouert, paciens, myldenesse, chastite and charite, and in meke suffrynge of al maner diseses and reproues for his sake as he did for vs, and in fulfilyng of al other gude vertues pis is pe way in pe whilk Crist went for vs, yeuyn vs example pat we shulde folowe hym.

Oure Lorde says be pe prophete Jeremi thus: ‘Haue ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassynge, | of my pouert, of my bitternesse and drynke of galle’; f.109v my sorowe and my peynes, thurh whilk I passed oute of pis worlde to my Fader. Sothely ofte pinkyng or meditacion of pis gloriumouse manhed, on pe bitter passioun and pe doleful deth of oure Lorde Ihesu Crist, confoundes pe fende and destroys al his myht and hys deceytes; it sleekes fleshly temp- tacions and kyndles pe soule to pe loue of Ihesu Criste; it reises vp oure pouht aboue al ethly pinges, and clarifies it and purges it from al filthe of synne. I trowe pat pis meditacion is most profitable of al other til hem pat are newly turned to Criste. And perfore is pe glorious manhode of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste set before vs, for in it we haue bothe materue of ioyng and of so- rowynge: of ioyng for certeyntye of oure redemption, of sorowyng for pe viletie and pe gretnes of oure synne. For pe whilke synne to be done away, Goddes soune oure Lorde Ihesu Crist toke oure kynde and clothed hym with cl[o]thes of oure dedelynesse. In pe whilke he suffred so hydous a passioun, and so cruel | and so disputouse a deth. For a boystous and a fleshly soule f.110v may not be rauysshed into contemplacion of pe Godhede, bot if it be first
clensed and made sotille from alle flesshlynesse and synne thurh meditacion and contemplacion of the manhede.

Bot when a man begynes to haue a clene herte and none ymage of bodyly thyng may begile hym, than is he taken vntil heyere thinges, and fortio ioy in pe lowe of pe Godhede. Sothely al gude thouhtes and meditacions are of God, and swilke he yeues til ilke man thurh his grace as he knowes, moste able, and acordantly for þair astate, degre and condicion. I myht telle þe meditacions, bot whilk are most spedeful to þe I knowe nouht, for-why I haue nouht seen thin inwarde affeccions. I trowe certeynly þat þose meditacions plese moste God þe whilk he sendes himself into þi soule. Neuerþeles þow may haue þe bygynynge of oþer menys techynge and þat I haue assayed in 'my'self, for if þow dispise þi doctours, supposynge þi-self f.110'

to fynde better þinge þen þay haue taktu þe in þaire wrytynge, wete þow wel þou shalt nouht taste þe lowe of God. For it is foly to say, 'God taktu hem, whi shal he nouht als wele teche me?' I answere þe, 'For þow art not swilk as þai were'. Thow arte proude and sterne, and þei were meke and mylde. Þai asked no-þinge of God presomptuously, bot mekeand þaim-self vnder al oþer, þei gate þe cunningge and grace of techers; therfor God hem taktu, þat we shulde be lered by þaire wrytynge and bokes.

Sopely if þi þouhtys and þi meditacions desiren þe lufe of Ihesu Crist and coueiten his lovynge, as me þinke, þou art wele disposid. Bot neuerþeles þose þinges or meditacions in whilk þou feles most sauour and swet-
nescie to God are moste profitable to he, for meditacion wiþ-outen sweetnesse
profites lytel.

Of redyng: 'Capitulum nonum'

If þou coueite to come to þe loue of God, and forto be kyndled wiþ þe desire
of heuenly ioyes, loke þat þou be nouht necglygent ne rekles forto rede holy
writte, and moste in þose places where | it teches forto fie þe quentise of þe f. 111'
fonde and where it spekes of þe loue of God and of contemplatif lif. And
harde sentence þat þou may not lyhtly vnderstonde, leue þaym to wisemen of
gret wittes þat haue in custome of longe tyme forto dispute in holy writte.
Sothely þis werke of redyng helps us gretly to profite and to waxe in þe
loue of God. In it we knowe oure defautes and in whilk þingges we synne, in
whilke nouht, and what thinges we shulde do and what forsake. In holy
writte soltelly apperes to us þe fals craftes of oure enimys. It steres us forto
loue God, and reyes oure herte up forto lovue hym. It ariues to oue a delicate
borde if we delyte us in it, as in al deynte and delices.

Neuerþeles no coueityse of praisynge or flauour of men stere us to þe
loue of holy writ, bot only entencion and desire to plese God, that we may
knowe how we shal lofe him, and þat we may teche þe same to ouere brother.
And nouht for þat we wolde be holden wise or cunnynge anentes men, but
we shal raper hide oure cunnyng and holde it pryue þen forto shewe it forthe
for lovuyng and praisynge | of men. As þe prophete says, ‘In my herte I haue f.111”
hidde þi worde Lorde, þat I synne nouht to þe’, þat is to say thurh vayne shewynge. Therfor al þe cause of oure spekyng se shal be oonly þe lovyngge of God and edificacion of oure euen-cristen, þat þat may be fulfillid in vs þat þe prophete says of him-self in the psalme: ‘The lovyngge of God is ever-more in my mouthe’. And þat is when we seke nouht oure oune lovyngge ne speke nothing ayeyn þe lovyngge and worship of God.

Of puryte and clenes: ‘Capitulum decimum’

Thurh þi seyne degrees before saide we comen to clennessse of soule, in þe whilk God is seen - that clennessse I mene þat may be hadde in this lyfe. Bot how may clennessse be hadde here where a man is so ofte defowled, at þe lest with veniale synnes? For as þe prophete says, ‘Þe fete of seyntes nedes to be wasshyn, for þei haue drawen pouder wip hem fro þe erthe’. Or who may say ‘I am clene of synne’? - as who say, ‘no man in this lyfe’. For as holy Job seis, ‘If I be wasshen wip water of snow’, þat is with sothefast penauce, ‘and my hondis shyne as moste clene’, þat is for gude werkis, ‘neuerþeles | in £.112’ filthe þou shalte dippe me’, þat is for veniale synnes þe whilke may not be fled, ‘and my clopes shal lothe me’, þat is my flessh an’d my sensualite, wip whilk a resonable soule is cledde, shal make me abominable. The whilke flessh is so frele and so buxome forto lufe þe farenes and þe vanite of þe worlde, þat it ofte-tymes makes a man to synne. Perfor biddes þe apostle þus, ‘Synne regne not in youre dedely body’; as if he saide þus, ‘synne may not
vnbe in youre body of deth', þat is in your flessh and sensualite, 'bot it may vnregne'; þat is þe vnleful sterynges þat spryngen oute of yow be corruptcion of youre flessh may be restreyned and casten downe by reson and myght of þe soule, þurh þe merite and þe deserte of þe gloriousse passioun of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste.

Therfor what clennesse may a man haue in þis lif? Sothely grete and lovuable if he ryhtwisly and besilie vse hym-selfe in studye of redyng, of praiynge, and of meditacioun as it is before sayde. For þof a man be frelee synne sumtyme venialy, neuerþeles for his hole entent þat he has vnto God it is | done away. For þe feroure and brennyng of charite þat is in his soule f.112^ consumes and wastes to nouht al þe rouse and filth of synne, as yif a droppe of water were caste in a grete brennand fire. The vertue therfor of a clesed soule is forto haue þe mynde euermore contynuelly directe vnto God, so þat in þat state al his thouht is in God, al his mynde is spread in God and sumtyme when he spekes with oþer men. Sothely in a clene consciens is no-thinge bitter, no-þinge sharpe, ne no-thinge harde, bot alle þinge swete and softe, lykande and esy. Fro clennesse of herte ryses þe songe of ioy, dytie most swete, and alle myrth and gladnesse. For then ofetymes so grete vnspekeable gladnes is yeuen of oure Lorde to swilk a soule, þat heuenly melodie is in-yetted, and ioy vnseable is feled.

698 loyuable| louable C, loouying D 703 clesed| clensed C, clene D 705 al (2) ...
God| om. D 706 Sothely| om. D 708 Fro| Fro C, for D 708 dytie| and ditee CD
711 in-yetted| inytete C, in hit D
Of pe loue of God: 'Capitulum vndecimum'

O thou sweete lyht and delitable þat arte my Maker vnspekeable, lyhten þe face and þe sharpenes of myn eyen with þin vmmade | clere bryghtnesse, so þat my f.113v soule, myhtyly clesed from alle vnclenesse and made wonderful þoruh heuenly giftes, may flee sweftly into þe he'ye te of sweetest and myryst loue. A swete Ihesu, brenne me with þi loue þat I may sitte and rest in þe, wonderfully ioyande, and þat I be neuer delyted in beholdyng of goostly þinge bot Godly and gostly. A þou loue, enflaume me my herte for-to loue God, so þat I brenne nouht bot in the sweete halsynges of hym. O goode Ihesu, who shal yeue to me þat I may fele þe þat now maist nouht be seen nor feled bodily? Yette þi-self into þe entrelles of my soule, come into my herte and fille it with þi ful briht sweetnesse. Make drunken my soule with fervent wynne of þi sweetest loue so þat I, foretyng alle yuels and alle deceyuande ymages of bodely þinges and þe oonly halsinge with þe armes of loue, I may be glad in body and vnspekeablely enioye in soule in God my Ihesu, þat is my saeouere. A my dereworth sweete Lorde Ihesu, departe no more fro me bot dwell continually with me in þi blessed sweetnesse, for þi presence is alle my conforte, f.113v and oonly þin absence makes me sorye.

O þou Holy Gost þat enspires where þou wilte, rauyssh me to the, a creature whilk þou made of nouht; and make me oon with þe thurch þi sweete yiftes so þat my soule, al holy supped up in þi delycate ioy, 'dispise', cast

715 myhtly| mihtily C, myght be D  
716 sweetest and myryst| sweetest and merieste C, 
swetest D  
718 goostly þinge| thing C, gostly D  
724 ymages| ymages C, 
ymagnaciones D  
725 halsinge| halsinge C, halsyng or clypyng D
away, and set at nouht al þinge in þis worlde; and thurh þi yeuynty þat it may take gostly yiftes, and thurh endles ioy and gostly songe it may beholde þe þat art lyht vnspe’k’able, and alle holy be molten in þi loue. O Lorde, brenne with þi holy fyre of loue my n[e]yrs and my herte, þe whilk fire shal brene in þin autere with-outen ende. Come, I beske þe, softe and verray ioy; come þou sweetnesse most desired; come my welle beloued þat art alle my conforte, haue pitee on my languysshyng soule. Slyde into myn herte with þi sweeteful brenynyng and brenne þe entrelles of myn herte. And with þin inwarde lyht lyhtnande me, fede my body and my soule with so huge ioy of loue þat it may nouht be tolde.

In | swilk maner of meditacions haue delyte, so þat þou may sumtyme come to þe inwarde felonyng of loue. Loue suffres nouht a louefyng soule forto duell in hir-self, bot it rauysshes hire oute [o]f hir-self vnto hire loued, so þat she is more verely where she loues þan þer þe body is þat leues and feles by hyre. Ther are þre degrees of loue: on is insuperable, the secunde is inseperable, and þe thridde is called singuler. Thi loue is insuperable when no-þinge þat is contrarie to Goddis wille may overcome it, bot it is ayens alle temp-tacions euermore myhty and stronge, wheder þou be in ese or in anguyssh, in hele or in seknesse, so þat þe thinke þou wolde nouht for alle þe worlde to haue it with-outen ende any tyme greeu God. And þe were lefere, if eijer
shulde be, to suffre alle þe peyne and woo þat myht come to any creature, or þou wolde do ony þinge þat shulde displese him. On þis maner shal þi loue be insuperable, þat no-þinge may bryng þe doune to synne, bot þou arte sprynge vp þurh vertues.

Blest art þou if þou be in þis degre, bot yete shalt þou be more blest if þou holde þis degre and myht come to þe secunde þat is insuperable. Insuperable is þi loue when alle þi herte, and þi þouht, and þi myht is so holly, so entierly, and so parfitly feste þed, set, and stabled in lhessu Criste þat þi þouht comes neuer of 'of' hym ne neuer is departed fro him, outakyn slepyng þyme. And als sone as þou arte wakande þi hert is þinkand on hym, as if he were bounden in þi herte, him þou syhhes after, to hym þou criþes, praiande euer to be holden in his loue, desirande brendallly with grete affeccion þat he wolde vouchsaufe to lese þe fetters and bondis of þis dedly lyf and bryng þe to hym-self, whome oonly þou desires and coueiteþes. And specialy þis name, lhessu, shalt þou honour and worchip, holdyng þe besly in þi mynde with-outen cesseþng. And þerfore when þe loue of lhessu Criste is so gretely feste þed þin herte, þat þou for no-þinge in þe worlde may be twynnþed nor departed fro þat affeccion, it is called þe most heye loue. When þi soule is on hym euer þinkynge, no tyme hym foryetþynge, bot vndepartableþy cleuues to lhessu Criste, thi lufe is called insuperable and euerlastande.

What loue may be more than þis? Yit is þere the thridde degre þat is called synguler. In þis degre of loue is he þat excludes fro hym and forsakes

753-4 or þou | er þou C, than that thow D  755 doune to] <to> don to deo C, doun to D
760 and (2) | om. D  760 and (2)] om. D  761 of of] of C, oute of D  763 syhhes]
alle maner conforte bot oon hat is in Ihesu Criste; when no ping may suffice to him bot Ihesu. A soule hat is set in his degre loues Crist for him-self. Ihesu she thirstes, Ihesu she coueytes, hym oonly she desires, in him she bre-nes, and in hym she brennandly restes. No ping is swe te to hire, no ping saury bot if it be menged with Ihesu, whos mynde is as a melodie of musike in a fest of wynne. When she may haue Ihesu hir pinke she has al ping with hym, withouten whome alle things are lothy, al things are watsome and foule. But for als mykel as she tro wes to haue him with-outen ende in the blys of heuen she stondes stably, she sayles nought in body, ne is not cast downe in soule, but she luftes lastendly and suffres al thinge gladly. And ay f.115v

the more she lyues in this degre, ay the more is she kynded in luft and maade heyere in grace. Sothly to swilk a man acordes weelle solitarynesse, the whilk may suffre no felawe. For ay the lasse that he is occupied with outward things, and letted with heuynes, charges and besynesses of this lif, the more ioy of luft has he with-inne in his soule. In so mykel that he is made impassible in his soule, or what angiyssh or what disese falle outwarde, his soule is euermore ioyande in God.

O thow my soule, payle thow fro the luft of the worlde and melte holly in the luft of Ihesu Crist, that euermore it be swe te, softe lykinge, ioyinge, and plesinge to the for-to speke of Ihesu, for to wryte, thinke, or rede of Ihesu, euermore to pray him, euermore vnesably to love him. A swe te Ihesu, my soule deouute vnto the desires for-to se the, she cryes for-to fare

778 sweete so sweete C, sweete D   788 heuynes] heuynes ses T, heuynesse C, heuynesse D   besyness D bisynesses C, heuynesses D 792 fayle] faile C, fayle and fayle D   794 thinke or rede] thinke or rede C, for to thinke or to rede D 796 forto fare] forto come C, for to fare D
unto the, she brentes in the, and languysseth in the lufe. O thow endeles lufe thow hast ouercomen me, and thow hast wounded my herte, aylastande swetnesse and incomparable faynesse. And now ouercomen and wounded I £ 116

800 fayle, nerhand I dye, and vnnethes I may lyfe for ioy, for I may not suffice in this dedly flessh to bere the swetenesse of so grete a maiestee. Alle my herte is festned in desire of Ihesu, and it is al turned into the fire of loue, and al chaunged in-til anothere fourme and ioy. And therefore, gude Ihesu, haue mercy on a wreche, shewe the to the languysshynge, be leche vnto the wounded. I feele me not seke but onely languysshynge in the lufe.

805 Sothely he that lufes not the, Ihesu, he loses al that he is, and he is more than wode that folowes the not. But I pray the, gude Ihesu, that thow in the mene tyme be to me ioy, loue, and desire vntil I may see the God of goddes in Syon. Sothely charyte of al vertues is moost noble, moost hy, and moost sotylle, the whilke couples to-gidere the lufand and the lufed and festnesse Ihesu Crist with a chosyn soule endelesly. Charite refourmes in vs the ymage of the souereyne Trinite and makes a creature lyke vntil his Makere. O the yfte of lufe, how worthi is it before al othere yifles, the whilke chalanges to it the hyest degre with aungels. Euer the more thow takest of lufe in this lif, so mykel hyere shalt thow be in the blysse of heuen. O thow singulere ioy and endeles lufe, that byndes his possessours with bondes of vertues and rauysshes hem aboue al ethly things vntil heuen.

810 O derworth charyte, who-so has noust the, in the erth leses al that he has. And if he begynne to ioy in the, anoone he is reysed vp aboue al ethly

thinge. Thow boldly entres into the priue bedstede of the endeles kynge | of f.116° heuen, thow allone dredes not forto rauyssh Ihesu Crist, he it is whom thow hast souht and whome oonly thow hast loued. Crist is thyn owen, holde him fast for he may not forsake the whome thow oonly coueytes to be buxom to. For with-outen the no-thinge may plese him; thow makest alle thinge sweete and sauory; thow art the sete of heuen, the felowshipe of aungels, a wonder-
ful holynesse of saintes, the sight of blysse and lif duellande with-outen ende. O thow holy charyte, how swete and how comfortable art thow the whilke makest hole that was broken. The fallynge of aungelles thow restores; thow makes fre him that was thrale, and thow makest man euene til aungelles; sittande and restande thow reyses vp and liftes vppe wonderfully; thow makes softe, eyse, pesable, plesaunt, and restfull in conscience.

In this degree is lufe chaste, holy and willfull, lufande the lufed oonly for him-self and not for his, festnande him-self al in his lufed, no-thinge sekynge but him; welpaide of him, ferenent and gretly brennande, he byndes him in him, hastie in wonderful manere, al thinges ouer-passand, spredua'nde himself oonly til his lufede, al othere thinges despisande and foryetande; in his loue vnspekeably ioyande, him thinkande, stiande vp in desire and fal-
lande in his lufed, goa'nd in halsinges, lapped in kissynges, and al molten in the fire of loue. Sothely a trew louere of Criste neithere he kepes ordre ne he coueuytes degree in lufynge, for in this present lif ay the more ferenent and ioy-
and he | is in loue, so mekel coueytes he more brinnyngely to more loue. And f.117°
if he myght euermore lyue, him shuld thinke that he myght neuer stonde still and no more profite; but rathere ay the longere he lyfed the more feruent and brennand shulde he be in the lufe of Ihesu Crist. For God is of endeles gret-

845

nenesse, of vnspekeable sweetnesse, and til al creatoures incomprehensible, and therfore he may neuer be comprehended of vs als he is in endelesse heynge. But sothely whan a soule begynnes to brynne in desire and lufe of his Makere, she is than maade partenere of lyght vnfourmed, and than after is she enspired and filled with the yiftes of the Holy Goost and feles heuenly ioy. Than she ouerpasses al ethely thinge and is lifted vp to fele the sweetnesse of endeles lyf. And whan she feles thus-gates the sweetnesse of the Godhede she is al Brent in-to sacrifice offerd vnto the kynge of heuen.

850

O lufe stronge brennande and wilfull that may noust be quenchd, that castes down al the heght of myn entent into thi seruage, and suffers it to thinke on noone othere thynge but on the, thow chalange to the al that we sauour and alle that we are. Looke therfore that Criste be the bygynnynge of thi lufe, and also the ende, fore whome we lufen al thynge that we lufen ordinately, and to whome we shal referre al that we luf. Sothely [t]his lufe is than parfite whan the entent of the soule is lifted vp vnto God, so that the myght of lufe be so grete that no worldly ioy, ne no fleshly luste, shulde like thoughe it were leffull.

855

O thow lufe inseperable, O thow lufe singulere, though there were no mede to chosen soules, ne no tourmentes | ordeyned for synners, thow f.117” wold’c’st neuer the sonnere departe the fro thi lufed. It were more suffrable
865 to the and lesse pyne for-to be putte in euerlastynge tormentes than oones to synne dedely. Therfore sothely thow lufes God for him-self, and no-thinge elles, yee, thow lufes not thyen owen self but fore God. And so folowes it that no-thinge is lufed of the but God. Elles how shulde that be fulfilled here that holy wrytte says, God shal be ‘alle in alle’, if any-thinge leue in man of mannes lufe?

870 O thow derworth charyte, come into me and take me into the, and so present me ‘be’fore my Makere. Thow art sauorre makand saouury, odoure welle smelende, sweetnesse plesaunte, ferour purifiand, and conforte withouten ende duelland. Thow makes men contemplatyfe, thow opens the yat of heuen, thow speres the mouthes of accusers, thow shewes God that is invisible, and thow hilles the multitude of synnes. The we lufen, the we prechen, thorough whom we overcome the worlde, by whom we clembe the lededere of heuen. Come to me in thi sweetnesse, for the with me and with myne I comende now and euermore withouten ende. Amen.

880 Of contemplacion: Capitulum duodecim

Contemplacion, or contemplatyf lif, has thre parties: the first is redynge, the secunde prayinge, and the thride is meditacion. In redynge spakes God til vs; in prayere we speke with God; in meditacion anngels comen doune to vs and techen vs that we arre nought. In prayere thai styen vp and offren oure prayere vnto God, | enioyande of oure profite, the whike are messangeres now a-twix God and vs. Prayere is a meke afeccion of the soule directe in-to God,

875 speres] shettest C, sperrest D 884 arre] erren CD 884-5 prayere] prayeres CD
the whilke when it comes to him it has delyte, and it comes not fro him but constreyned. Meditacion of God is to be taken after redynge and prayere, where the halsynge of Rachel is. To redynge partenes resoun and sekyng, and inquisicion of sothfastnes, the whilk is fre lyght prynted vpon vs. To prayere partenes lovyng, ympne, beholdeynge, ouerpassyng, and wonderyng; and thus is contemplacion in prayere. To meditacion partenes inspiracion of God, vndestondynge, wisdome, and syghhyng, or mornyng.

If thou aske what contemplacion is, it is harde for to telle or vtterly diffine. Some say that contemplacion is a knowynge of hidde thinges for-to come, or ellys a cessenge fro al worldly occupacion, ore study of holy wryte. Othere seyn, and wele that, that contemplacion is a wonderfule lovoynge of heuennly thinges. The thridde seynge, and best, that contemplacion is, thourgh a wonderfule ioy of an vpraydes soule, deth of alle flesshly affectiones. Sothely me thinkes that contemplacion is a wonderful ioy of Goddes lufe conceyued in the soule with swetnesse of aungels loovynge. This wonderful ioyynge is ende of parfite prayere and of hyest deuocioun. This is a ioyynge of the soule, had for hire endelesse luffed, brestande oute be voyce into songe. And sothely this werke is a fullfylyngge and moost parfite of al othere werkes in this lif. And thercfor says the prophete, ‘Blessed is that folk that know wonderfull ioyynge’, that is ‘the’ contemplacion of God.

Sothely no man that is straunge ’and’ ferre fro God thourgh synne may thus-gates enioye | in lhesu, ne fele the swetnesse of his lufe. And thercfor he

895 say] seyn and wel C, seyen D  897 wele that] bettere C, well they seyen D
898 seynge] seyn CD  903 the soule] pe soule C, that the soule D  907 and] ne C, and D
908 thus-gates] thus C, nat on thys manere D
that desires besily to be kyndled with the fire of endeles lufe, forto be
enourned with pacience, meknes and myldnes, and with al manere clennesse
of body and soule, to be fulfilled with gostly oynementes and to be reysed vp
into contemplacion, late him seke vncessandly helful vertues with the whilke
he may in this lif be made fre fro synne, and in the tothere fro al payne, ioy-
and in blissful lyf. And if he do thus than shal he mow come in this lyf to this
wonderful ioynge of contemplacion. And theryore yeke he not for-to yeue
him to prayers and wakynges, and to vse him-self in holy meditaciones, for
sothely with swilke manere gostly traualies, with mournynges and wepynges
of inwardely compuncccion, is the lufe of Ihesu Crist kyndled, and also al
othere vertues and the yiftes of the Holy Gost are yette into the soule.

Therfore begyne he thorugh willful pouert that he coueyte no-thinges of
this worlde, that he may lyue soberly, mekly, and rightwisly before God and
man. For-to haue nought comes sumtyme of nede, but for-to wil nouht haue
comes of grete vertue. We may haue many thinges and yet wil to haue right
nought when we holde that we haue til oure nede, not to oure luste. Right as
he sumtyme that has nought coueytes to haue many thinges, right so he that
semes to haue many thinges has right nought, for that he has he lufes it
nought but oonly for his bodily nede. His necessarijs behoues the most par-
fite man to take, for ellys were he not parfite if he forsoke that thinge the
whilke him behoued to lyfe by. And theryore this manere is to be kep in
parfite men, that thai dispise for Goddis sake al erthely goodes, and yette of
the saame shal thai take thaire mete, thaire clothes, and othere necessaries. And if thai any tyme failye ore wante, he shal not gruce but thonge God of alle, and alle outrage shal he forsake in that that in him is. Ay the more a man is bren with the fire of endelesse light, so mykel more stronge and pacciente shal he be in all aduersites. He also is made meke with-outen feynynge that holds him' self despisable and nought, and is not stered til ire ore wretethore no harme ne no reprooue that man may say ore do to him.

Wherfore he yeues him to continuell meditacion, and therfore him is yeuuen of God to come til heuenly contemplacion, and wonderfullly swetly and brennandly for-to enioye in inwarde ioiynge, and with the eye of his soule purifyed als mykel as his dedly frete may suffre he sees and knowes God. Sothely whan he is sette in this degré he flees not ne rennes not aboute for-to gete outwarde thinges, ne he goos not any tyme with proude fote or felynge. But he has oonly his ioy and his myrthe in heuenly thinges, and therfore he is raussyshed in the sweetnesse of Goddes loue, and raussyshed he is wonderfullly gladded. Sothely swilke is lyf contemplatif if it be taken in due manere. Thorough longe exercise of gostly wirkynge come we to contemplacion of thinges of heuen. The sight of the soule is taken up and beholdes gostlye thinges, as it were in a shadue and not clerly. For as longe as we gone by faythe we see not but as it were thorough a mirrour and a liknesse. For though the ey of vnderstondyngke be besy forto behold gostly light, neuertheles the light as it is in it-selfe he may | not yitte see. And yitte he fe-

932 thonge] thanke CD 933 Ay the] pe C, ouerhemore D 936 himself] him CD
feruour of the light with him. And therfore says the prophet: ‘Als his
955
derknesse, so is his light’. Though al derknesse of synne be rauysshede away
fro an holy soule, and blaake clowdes are withdrawen, and the mynde that
was vnclene be purged, yette neuere-the-latter as longe as it is constreyned to
duelle in this dedly flessh it may not see that vnspakable ioy as it is in it-self.

Holy and contemplatif men beholden the ioy of God thorough reuelac-
960
cion. And that is eithere thorough openyng of thaire gostly witte for-to
vndirstonde holy writte, or elles the dore of heuen opynde vnto hem (that is
more); that, as it were alle obstacles a-twix God and hem done away, with
the eye of thaire soule clensed, thai be-hoolde heuently cytesynnes. Sume
men han taken booth; and therfore right as whils we are in derknesse of

965
synne we may ‘not’ se gostly light, the whilke a clene soule sees in contemplac-
ion, right so in contemplacion, the whilke lightnesseoure soule vnse-
ablye, we may not se that light clerly that we shal see in blysse. For Crist
puttes derknesse his hidynge place and he spekes til vs yit in a cloude, but
not forthy it is ful sweete that is feld. And soothely in that is shewed parfite

970
lufe, when a man lyuande in dedly flessh can-not ioyen but in God, ne no-
thinge wille ore couyetbe but God ore fore God.

Herfore it is wele shewed that holynesse stondes not in sobbyng or
rzyminge of herte, in teres ore many outwarde wirchynge, but it stondes spe-
cially in sweetnesse of parfite lufe and hye contemplacion. For mony haue
ben molten in teres and afterwarde haue fallen ayen 'vn'to synne, but ther
was neuer noone that euere woode fylle him eftsones with worldly
belsyneesse after that he had ones sotthastly tasted the sweetes of endeles £120'
lufe. For-to wepe and sorowe falles to hem that are newly turned bygynners
and profiteurs, but forto wonderfully joy in contemplacion falles oonly to hem
that are parfit. Therfore what man so euere yit feles bitynge and remorse
'of' conscience for his synne that is passed, thofe he haue longe tyme done
pennaunce, [wite he wel ]at he dide not yit parfite penance]. And therfore in
the mene tyme be his teres to him brede day and nyght, for wete he wele that
he may not come to the sweetes of contemplacion but if he first trauayle
himself with wepynges and sighynges of verry compuncion. The sweetes of
contemplacion may not be goten but with huge trauayles. Bot whan it is
had it is souereyne gladnesse and endeles conforte.

Yee, shortly to say, it comes not thorouge meryte nor deserte of man,
but oonly of the fre gifte of God. And sothely there was neuere man fro the
beginynge of the worlde vnto this day that euere myght be rauesshed into
contemplacion of endeles lufe but if he before forsooke parfitly al worldly
vaynte. And furthermore, him | behoueth to gif him-self lastandly to holy £120'
meditacion and deouute prayere or he myght come to heuenly contempla-
cion. Contemplacion is trauayle but it is swete, softe, and desirabyl. This
trauayle makes a man glad and not heuy. This may no man haue but ioyande,
and not when it comes but when it goos away he is wevy. O goode trauayle,
to the whilke men in dedely bodyes ordeyne hem. O noble besynesse, whilke

975 vnto] into CD  976 fyle] fowlc C, fyle or defoule D  978 turno] turned and CD
982 wite ... penance] CD, om. T  996 goode] goode C, that good D
setters and resters most parfitely fullifillen, for him nedes to be in grete rest of
body and soule whom the fyre of the Holy Gost verrely enflaumes. There are
many that can-not holde holyday, ne make Saturday in thaire soule, ne pute
oute vayne thoughtes fro thaire mynde. Thai may 'not' fulfille that the
prophet biddes seyande thus, 'Ceese ye and sees how swete oure Lorde is'.
Nought men cesyng he in body, but in soule deseruen to 'tast and to see how
swete oure Lorde is', and how swete the heete of contemplacion is.

Ilke a contemplatif man lufes oonlynesse that he may so mykel more
frely and ferentely use him-self in his affeccions and in his gostly wirkyng, 
that he is not letted with no man withoutenforthe. || Therfor se ye it is £121\[c]-
certeyne contemplatif lyf to be more worthi and mor meritorye than actif lyf. £121\[c]
And al contemplatif men thourough the sterynge of the lufe of God, lufynge
solitude for the swetnesse of contemplacion, arne cheffly breynynge in lufe. It
sh[es] that solitaye men, thourough the gift of contemplacion made hye,
attenyes to the hyeste and moost souereyne degre of perfeccon. But if it be
so that sum arne in that degre and s[t]atte, that on the oo syde thai haue
cought thourgh grace the hyght of contemplatif lyf, and yet thai fulfille on
the tothir syde the office of prechynge, thys passen solatyry men thof thai be
most hy in contemplacion and of gretest perfeccon, in that that thai shal
haue, al othere thinges lyche, a speciale mede in heuen that is called aureole for thaire prechynge.

A verrey contemplatif man is ofte raunysshed in so grete desire in-to that gostly vnseable lyght, that 'he' is demede of men as a fwoole and vnnsensible. And that is fore the soule is so fully enflaumed in the luf of Ihesu Crist that it vterly chaunges the bodily g[e]sture and is twynned and departed from al erthly and bodely wirkynges so that he is made as it were al anothere man. Sothly on this manere the soule is gaderde to-gidere in oon swetnesse of endelesse lufe, holdande him withinne besily, no more goand aboute sekande bodily and erthly delices. And therefore, fore she is so delicatly fedde al with inwarde delices, no wondere thof she be raysed vp in desire and say, ‘Who shal yeue me the, my brotheree, that I may f[ynd] the withouten and kysse the?’ That is, that I may be departed fro this dedly flessh and so fynd the and se the face to face and be festned to the withouten ende, ‘and than shal no man despise me.’

A deouute soule that is yeuen to contemplatif lyf and filled with louse of endlesnesse despises al the vayne ioy of this world and in Ihesu allone wonderfully ioyand, it coueytes to dye and be with Criste. The whilk fore als mykel as she is despised and not set by of the world, gretly she languysshesh in lufe and hugely desires that she myght be sette with thos chores of aungels.
in blysful ioy where no worldly dises shall mow dere hir. Theryfore sothely there is no-thyng more profitable ne more mery than is grace of contemplacion, the whilke rayses vs vp aboue al erthly thinges and presentes vs vntil God.

What is grace of contemplacion but a bygynnynge of endeles ioy? Nought elles. And what is perfeccion of this ioy but fulfilynge of this grace? In the whilk is keped til vs glorious gladsunnesse, a blест aylastandnesse and ioy with-outen ende to lyfe with saintes to dwelle with aungels. And that is aboue al this: to knowe God fully, to lufe him parfitly, to se the bryghtnesse of his glorious maieste, and with vnspekeable and wonderful ioiyng and melodey to lovve him with-outen ende. To whom be honoure, wirship, and endles blisse in world of worldes with-outen cesyng. Amen.

Here enden the xij chapitres of Richard heremyte of Hampole.
NOTES

These notes provide further information on specific features of the text, and in particular discuss textual issues around some of the substantive variants highlighted in the apparatus. All Biblical references and other of Rolle’s identifiable sources, are noted (for Biblical abbreviations see United Bible Societies, ‘The Bible on the Internet’ (2001) <http://www.biblija.net/help.en/abbrevs.en.php> [accessed 31 May 2007]). Research undertaken by Allen (Writings and English Writings) and Watson (Emendatio, and Invention) has been of particular value in the source-critical analysis of the text and is duly acknowledged. I have also sought to distinguish between characteristics inherited from Rolle’s Latin text, the work of the Version A translator and scribes, and where appropriate any evidence of later correction.

1 Capitulum primum: The T⁰ scribe notably omits the opening list of twelve chapters and does not name or number the first chapter at all. ‘Capitulum primum’ is added later, in the margin, by a corrector but with no other heading. By comparison, B in fol. 24⁰ opens with a full list of the twelve chapters:

Incipit libellus Ricardi Heremite de Hampole, de emendacione peccatoris, qui obiit anno domini millesimo CCC⁰ xlix⁰ apud Sanctimoniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xii capitula videlicet: de conversione peccatoris, capitulum primum; de contemptu mundi, capitulum ij⁰; de paupertate, capitulum iij⁰; de institucione vite, capitulum iiij⁰; de tribulacione, capitulum v⁰; de paciencia, capitulum vij⁰; de oracione, capitulum vij⁰; de meditacione, capitulum viij⁰; de leccione, capitulum ix⁰; de puritate mentis, capitulum x⁰; de amore Dei, capitulum xij⁰; de contemplacione, capitulum xij⁰.
The D scribe similarly opens with the twelve chapter headings, in both English and Latin, whereas C reads simply, ‘Heere biginneth þe xii chapitres of Richard hermite of hampool’.


2 draw not a-lyte*: translating ‘ne differas’ in B (OLD *differo*, tr., ‘postpone, defer’). The T scribe’s spelling, ‘a-leyte’, is not found in either the MED or OED and is therefore amended here to a more usual spelling. Under both *drauen*, v., and *alite*, adv., the MED identifies the phrase ‘drauen alite’ as meaning ‘delay’. C and D read ‘onlonge’ and ‘alonge’, defined in the MED under *along*, adv., (with the verb *drauen*) as to ‘prolong’ or ‘delay’.

3 thy: Although this could arguably be a typographic error, I have retained the scribe’s spelling here as the MED records it as a variant of *thei*, pron., ‘they’. There is only one one example of this spelling in the text, and one of ‘þey’. Most commonly used by the T scribes are ‘þei’ (x63), ‘þai’ (x35), and ‘þay/thai’ (x16). See Appendix A, item 7.

3 ere thy wene: T and D are closest to B, ‘inopinate’ (MED *wenen*, v. (2), ‘expect’; OLD *inopinatus*, a., ‘not expected’). C’s reading, ‘er þei werne’ (MED *wernen*, v. (2), ‘turn’) appears to be an error.

4 deuour ... peyne: T, C, and D agree, although the syntax (verb-object-subject) is more Latinate than Middle English. An example of close translation on the part of the translator.

5 presumpcion: Described as the ‘þridde braunche of pride’ in a fifteenth-century English translation of *Somme le roi* (Francis, *Vices and Virtues*, p. 16, line 31), and
one of the ‘hwelpes’ of the ‘liun of prude’ in Ancrene Wisse (Millett, Ancrene Wisse, p. 75, lines 245, 255). Aquinas similarly describes presumption as springing directly from pride, ‘Et talis praesumption videtur oriri directe ex superbia’ (Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 21, a. 4).

8-10 als ... errour: Found in T, C, and D, but not B. In contrast to the close translation mentioned above (see note to line 4), this sentence is an expansion of the Latin.

10-11 And ... all: Not a close translation of B, ‘Ergo dum dies est operamini’, nor a direct Biblical quotation (cf. Gal 6:10 and Jn 9:4). Although omitted in the Version A translation, B goes on here to quote the second part of Jn 9:4 directly, ‘Venit nox quando nemo potest operari’. Richard Misyn’s 1434 translation is closer to the Latin, ‘wirk 3e þerfore qwhils it is day: þe nyght truly cumys in qwhilk no man may wyrk’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 105, lines 23-25).


16-18 We ... ende: T, C, and D agree. B reads differently, ‘In puncto viuimus, immo minus puncto, quia si totum tempus nostrum eternitati comparatur nichil est’. The translator adds a gloss for the word ‘poynt’, not found in B, which moves the English sense away from the Latin (see above, Introduction, p. lxxx; also notes to line 16 and 748-56 below).

16 on a poyn: T, C, and D generally agree. The Latin ‘puncto’ has a temporal meaning here (OLD punctum, n., ‘moment, instant’). The translator, however, adds the gloss, ‘þat is þe leste þinge þat may be’ which gives the English meaning a spatial sense (MED poine, n. (1), ‘geometric point’). Cf. the debate in the 1970s concerning

20 to loue God yn: An expansion of the Latin. T and D agree. The C scribe alters the meaning by writing ‘inwardly’.

20-21 and … heuen: A seemingly clumsy translation by the translator. T and C mostly agree. The D scribe cuts these words in what appears to be an attempt at improvement, amending ‘do goode werkes’ to ‘leve good werkes’ and then placing the modified section at the end of the sentence.

20 [t]o: T reads ‘so’ which is clearly a scribal error; C and D both read ‘to’.

21-22 and (2) … ydel: Cf. Mt 20:6.

22 But … þe: Lam 5:21.

22-23 hel ... hole: Jer 17:14.

28 like … vomete: Cf. 2 Pet 2:22 and Pro 26:11. A Biblical simile added by the translator, not found in B. The phrase was used by Franciscan administrator, Bertrand de la Tour, after 1314 to describe trouble-makers in the order (Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, p. 171).

29-30 We … hole: Jer 51:9.
40-46 drede of God ... offende it: B reads, ‘Non loquor de timore qui penam habet set de eo qui est in caritate’. T, C, and D mostly agree. Misyn reads similarly, ‘Of dreyd I speyk nott þat has payn, bot of þat þat is in charite’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 106, lines 20-21). The translator, however, adds the technical theological term ‘lufe drede’ and defines it as ‘when þe childe dredes for to offende þe fader’.

51-53 til … þen: The D scribe omits these words, adding ‘and that thow’ so that the remaining sentence makes sense.

52 spred* and made brode: B reads, ‘Extensus igitur et dilatatus’. T reads ‘spered’ which is clearly a scribal error, and has been emended. C reads ‘spred out’ (MED speren, v. (1), ‘close’; MED spreden, v., ‘make wide’; OLD extendo, tr., ‘extend’).

The D scribe has omitted this whole sentence (see above, Introduction, p. cxxx).

55 I ... syht: Psa 15:8.


65-66 This … breke: Cf. Eccl 4:12.


73 He (1) … beholding: found in T, D and B. Omitted by the C scribe, with no attempt at correcting the second half of the sentence which now makes no sense.

89-90 conversacion: T and C agree against D ‘conuersion’. Judged an error by the MED (conversacioun, n., ‘mistranslation of L conversio’) but not the OED (conversation = CONVERSION [so also in OF]) and therefore is retained in this form here.
NOTES

93 seye: C similarly reads ‘seigh’; the T corrector and D scribe both record ‘sawe’.

*LALME*, vol. 1, p. 432, dot map 511, illustrates ‘sey(-)’ and ‘sei(-)’ as predominantly southern forms, with a cluster around Herefordshire.

98 word: The T corrector, C, and D all read ‘world’ or ‘worlde’. The *MED*, however, records ‘word’ as a legitimate spelling variant (*MED world, n.*, ‘world’) and so it is retained here.


109-10 feyth, hop, and charite: Cf. I Cor 13:13. Found in T, C and D, but not B. This Biblical allusion is added by the Version A translator.


125 tharlles: *MED* records this as a spelling variant for *thral, n.* (1), ‘slave’.

133-34 þe ... oute: Isa 28:20.
142–43 1 ... fende: Rev 2:13.

144 qwentise: T, C, and D agree. The corrector seems to have judged the word unfamiliar and so expuncts it and adds the gloss, ‘Sor tricherye’. Cf. numerous examples cited in MED, queintise, n., ‘deceit, trickery’ ‘plot, scheme’.

161 whils: C appears to amend the text to ‘til’, and D to ‘in to the tyme’. The T reading is most difficult, but does not appear to be in error (MED whils, conj., ‘until’).

164 defoule his youthehede: T and C both retain the figurative sense of the translation of B, ‘Iuuentutem suam calcabit’ (MED defoulen, v., 1. (b) ‘fig. trample on’; OLD calco, tr., ‘fig. trample on, spurn’; MED youthhede, n., ‘youthfulness’; OLD iuuentus, f., ‘youth’). The D scribe seems to have assumed a more literal meaning (MED defoulen, v., 3. (a) ‘make dirty, pollute’), and therefore misunderstands also the translator’s sense of ‘youthhede’ as a perilous time of life (cf. Ronald Sutherland, ed., The Romaunt of the Rose and Le Roman de la Rose: A Parallel-Text Edition (Berkely: University of California Press, 1968), p. 98, lines 4931-2: ‘In great parell is set youth-hede, Delyte so dothe his bridell lede’). Given this misreading, the D scribe adds ‘nat ~’ in an attempt to correct the text.

164-65: he (2) ... God: Cf. Psa 58:10.


Although not a direct biblical quote, note the Latin is almost identical to that found in Rolle’s earlier work Contra amatores mundi, ‘Fallax gracia et vana est ... pulchritudo’ (Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 74, lines 62-63).

167-68: ale ... shadowe: Cf. Wis 5:9.

175 to lufe God, to lovue God: T and D translate the Latin, ‘amare Deum, laudare’.

The C scribe appears to mistakenly view the two verbs as dittography and records only, ‘to loue God’ (MED loven, v. (1), ‘love’; MED loven, v. (2), ‘praise’; OLD
amo, tr., ‘love’; OLD laudo, tr., ‘praise’). Here and elsewhere the T scribe records a consistently reliable translation of the Latin by using the forms ‘lufe/loue/lofe’ (eg. lines 20, 67, 667) and ‘lovue/love’ (eg. lines 197, 795) to distinguish between the two verbs.

189 Of ... tercium: T, C, and D agree. B reads, ‘Capitulum tercium: De paupertate’. The translator entitles this third chapter ‘Of wilful pouerte’, unlike Misyn, who translates it more literally as ‘Of pouerte’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 109, line 30). Cf. Geoffrey Chaucer’s Wife of Bath’s Tale:

The hye God, on whom that we bileeve,
   In wilful povertie chees to lyve his lyf . . . .
   Glad povertie is an honest thyng, certeyn;
   This wole Senec and othere clerkes seyn.

Chaucer here cites Seneca’s teaching, ‘Honesta ... res est laeta paupertas’ (see Benson, Riverside Chaucer, pp. 120-1, lines 1178-84; also Richard M. Gummere, trans., Seneca: Ad Lucilium epistulae morales, 3 vols (London: W. Heinemann, 1953), i, p. 8).

190-91 If ... me: Cf. Mt 19:21. B reads, ‘Si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia que habes et sequere me’. T, C and D all include Jesus’ command to ‘yeue to pore folke’ (omitted in B) but like B omit reference to the promise of treasure in heaven (Vulgate, ‘thesaurum in caelo’).


**202-4 Perfor ... thouhtys:** T, C, and D agree. Cf. B which reads, ‘Tu vero que dicta sunt intelligens, per aliam viam accipias paupertatem; cum ergo dicit “vade et vende” et cetera notat mutacionem affectuum et cogitacionum’. Rolle’s exegesis of Mt 19:21 in the *Emendatio* would appear to have been aimed at a general audience who were not willing or able to embrace the religious ideal of poverty.

**208 spices:** A technical theological term, referring to the branches or subclasses of sin, penance, moral virtue, or in this case ‘yuel’. The term was in common usage; see, for example, John Gower’s *Confessio amantis*, ‘[Cheste] hath so manye sondri spieces Of vice, that I mai noght wel Descrive hem be a thousendel’ (*The English Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, EETS, e.s. 81 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900), p. 238, lines 466-68).

**216 Blessed e ... spirit:** Mt 5:3a.

**216-17 þat (2) ... felynge:** T, C, and D agree; not found in B. This explanatory note, added by the translator, spiritualises poverty and emphasises the meekness of those who are ‘pore in spirit’. Cf. the translation of Catherine of Siena’s *Il libro*, ‘Of þe excellence of hem whiche ben poore in spirit . . . . For sich oon . . . holdiþ himsilf meke & low in his owne sist’ (*The Orchard of Syon*, ed. by Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey, EETS, 258 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 368, lines 3, 17-19); and also the classic Augustinian commentary, ‘hic intelleguntur pauperes spiritu humiles’ (*Augustine, De sermone Domini in monte*, lib. 1, ca. 1, in CCSL, xxxv, 4).

**217 for-why ... heuen:** Mt 5:3b.

**230 Leres ... herte:** Mt 11:29.
NOTES

237-38 it ... heuen: Cf. Mt 19:23.


243 yee ... pouerte: T, C, and D agree; not found in B. The translator here, as in the chapter heading (see note to line 189), adds an emphasis on ‘wilful pouerte’.


247-48 Bot ... demes: Perhaps with a general audience in mind, Rolle firmly places the virtue of ‘mekenes’ above the practice of ‘pouerte’. Cf. the more rigid hierarchy outlined in his earlier work Judica me Deus, where those who cannot follow the ‘uiam paupertatis’ are relegated to a second order of judgement (see Daly, Judica me, p. 74, lines 5-17).

262 How ... quartum: B reads, ‘Capitulum quartum: De institucione vite’. In this fourth chapter Rolle ambitiously draws from classic works of religious instruction, and crafts them into his own rule by which his general audience might order their lives. The title of the chapter may have been intended as a parallel to the twelfth-century rule for anchoresses, De institutione inclusarum (Hoste and Talbot, Aelredi Rievallensis, in CCCM, t, pp. 635-82; see also Ayto and Barratt, De institutione; and above, Introduction, p. xlii).

263-65 That ... said: T, C, and D agree. B reads similarly, ‘Ut homo ad honorem Dei et comodi sui ac vtilitatem proximorum recte dirigatur, quatuor occurrunt dicenda’. Cf. Rolle’s The Form, which lists the ‘foure þynges’ that follow: ‘þat þou be right disposed, both for þi soule and þi body, þou shalt vndrestond foure þynges. The first is what thynge fileth a man. That other, what maketh hym clene. The þrid, what holdeth hym in clennesse. The fourth, what þyngge draweth hym for [to] ordeyne his wille al to Goddis wille’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 11, lines 323-27).

265 First ... foule: In this first of the ‘foure þynges’ Rolle draws loosely from the
thirteenth-century *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, attributed to Albertus Magnus, but now considered to be the work of Hugh of Strasbourg (or Hugo Argentinensis; see also above, Introduction, p. xlii). In his later vernacular work, *The Form*, Rolle translates excerpts from these passages from the *Compendium* more closely, as does the derivative fourteenth-century compendium *Speculum Christiani* (see Hugh of Strasbourg, ‘Compendium’, pp. 146-47; Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 196, n. 329-98; Watson, *Invention*, pp. 279-80; and *Speculum Christiani: A Middle English Religious Treatise of the 14th Century*, ed. by Gustaf Holmstedt, EETS, o.s. 182 (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 75-123).

266 pouht ... werke: T, C, and D agree. B reads, ‘cogitacionis, oris, et operis’. Rolle here identifies three parts to this first of the ‘foure þynges’. Cf. *The Form* which reads differently, ‘herte, mouth, and dede’, summarising more accurately the usual *Compendium* chapter headings: ‘de peccatis cordis’, ‘de peccatis oris’, and ‘de peccatis operis’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 11, line 328). In *Emendatio* Rolle has either intentionally altered the categorisation found in the *Compendium*, or has perhaps misread his source and then later corrected this in *The Form*. Looking at the opening of chapter 30 of the *Compendium*, if Rolle’s copy did not have a chapter heading it could have read simply, ‘Peccata sunt hec, cogitatio, delectatio, consensus’, from which Rolle’s wording in *Emendatio* could then conceivably have been derived (Hugh of Strasbourg, ‘Compendium’, p. 146).

266-68 In ... worlde: T, C, and D mostly agree. B reads, ‘Cogitacione peccat quis cum quid contra Deum cogitat; si cor suum non ocupat laudibus et amore Dei; si illud diuersis cogitacionibus abstrahi et mundo vagare permittit’. Cf. the *Compendium*, ‘Peccata sunt hec: *cogitatio*, delectatio, consensus, desiderium mali, voluntas peruersa, infidelitas, *indeuotio*, presumptio ... *inconstantia* ... contemptus
admonitionum, immisericordia’ (Hugh of Strasbourg, ‘Compendium’, p. 146; emphasis mine); and The Form, ‘The synnes of oure herte bene þese: il thoghtis, il delites, ... vndevocioun (if þou let þi hert any time be ydel without occupacioun of þe loue and þe praysynge of God), il dreed ... vnstablesnesse of thoght ... dispite of good consaille and of good techynge’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 11, lines 329-48; emphasis mine). This passage from Rolle’s Emendatio appears to be loosely derived from the first of Hugh of Strasbourg’s list of sins of the heart: ‘cogitatio’. In The Form Rolle translates excerpts from this passage of the Compendium more closely, but also borrows from Emendatio. So, for example, Hugh’s term ‘indeuotio’ (OLD indeuotio, f., ‘lack of respect’) is translated by Rolle in The Form as ‘vndevocioun’ (MED undevocioun, n., ‘absence of devotion’), and then glossed with his own translation of the parallel passage in Emendatio: ‘if þou let þi hert any time be ydel without occupacioun of þe loue and þe praysynge of God’ (cf. B, ‘si cor suum non ocupat laudibus et amore Dei’ [‘if he occupie not his herte in louyngis and lufynge’ (T)]). See also comment above, Introduction, p. xliii.

267 louyngis and lufynge: T and D agree; C mistakenly omits ‘louyngis/preysyng’ (cf. note to line 175 above). B reads ‘laudibus et amore’.

268 abstracte: T and D agree, although D adds the gloss ‘or stered’ (MED steren, v.(1), ‘lead (the soul from its Christian state)’). B reads, ‘abstrahi’ (OLD abstraho, tr., ‘carried away’).

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detraccio . . . mendacium . . . maledictio . . . vaniloquium . . . stultiloquium . . .
turpiloquium’ (Hugh of Strasbourg, ‘Compendium’, p. 146); and The Form, ‘Synnes of þe mouth ben these: . . . forswerynge . . . bacbitynge . . . lesynge . . . wreyynge . . . vayne speche . . . fool speche . . .’, which does not translate ‘turpiloquium’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, pp. 11-12, lines 349-360). In *Emendatio* Rolle selects seven of the *Compendium*’s much longer list of sins of the mouth, changes the order, and adds one of his own: ‘quando errorem licet ignorans defendit’ (B) [‘when he defendes errour þof it be him-selfe vnwitynge’ (T)].

271-74: In ... maneres: T, C, and D largely agree. B reads, ‘Opere peccat multis modis: luxuriando, lubrice tangendo, osculando, voluntate se polluendo, vel sine maxima necessitate furando, percuciendo, et aliis modis’. Note that only four of the *Compendium*’s much longer list of ‘De peccatis operis’ are selected by Rolle: ‘luxuria ... laedere ... furtum ... osculis’ (Hugh of Strasbourg, ‘Compendium’, p. 146; cf. The Form: ‘lechurie ... hurt any man in his body ... thefte ... swelighynge’ Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 12, lines 364-380). Rolle adds two sins of his own, ‘lubrice tangendo’ and ‘voluntate se polluendo’, and an interesting addition ‘vel sine maxima necessitate furando’, a reference to the licitness of theft if necessary to preserve life. The translator omits the final sin found in B, ‘percuciendo’.


275-300 Be ... contemplacion: Cf. The Form where Rolle himself translates and expands considerably on this passage from the *Emendatio* (see Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, pp. 13-15, lines 399-484).

275-81 Be ... neyhbore: T, C, and D agree. B reads, ‘Secundo, que mundificat hominem sunt tria contra tria predicta: scilicet, contricio cogitationis, expulsio omnis
affeccionis que non pertinet ad Deum; confessio oris, que debet esse integra, nuda et tempestiua; satisfaccio que habet tres partes, scilicet, ieiumium quia peccauit contra seipsum, oracionem quia peccauit contra Deum, elemosinam quia peccauit contra proximum’. Cf. the thirteenth-century penitential manual by Raymund of Pennafort, *Summa de paenitentia*: ‘videre quae sint necessaria in paenitentia vera et perfecta. Et quidam tria, videlicet: cordis contritio, oris confessio, operis satisfactio’ (Newhauser, ‘The Parson’s Tale’, p. 547). Cf. also an English translation of *Somme le roi*: ‘he schal schryue al openliche . . . clerliche and bareliche’ and ‘After þe schrift comeþ þe amendes, þat is fullfyllyng . . . as in fastyng, or in almesse doynge, or in biddynges of goode bedes’ (Francis, *Vices and Virtues*, p. 176, lines 11-13, pp. 183-84, lines 31-32, 1-3).

282-83 bot ... done: T, C and D agree. B reads, ‘quia nisi restituatur ablatum non dimittetur peccatum’. Cf. the commonplace statement from canon law, *Decretum magistri gratiani*, 2, 14, q. 6, c. 1, ‘penitencia non agitur, si res aliena non restituitur’ (Friedberg, *Corpus iuris*, I, p. 742). The translator has softened the statement, which is not found in B, by adding: ‘if it in any wyse may be done’ (T). In his *Form Rolle* also softens the text here, replacing the statement from the *Decretum* with a more general exhortation: ‘bot for to foryeve ham þat doth þe wronge and pray for ham, and enfourme ham how þay shal do þat ben in poynt to perisshe’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 13, lines 408-10).


287-89 vtwarde ... discipline: T, C, and D agree. B reads, ‘solicitudo custodie
exteriorum sensuum vt gustus, olfactus, auditus, visio, tactus, sub superna disciplina sapienter arceantur’. Cf. the second degree of ‘euenhed’ in an English translation of Somme le roi: ‘After, it bihoueþ to lede and gouerne wel þe fyue wittes of þe body bi resoun and bi euenhed . . . as þe eiþen to loke, þe eeren to heren, þe noseþerles to smelle, þe mouþ to taste and to speke, þe honden and al þe body to touche’ (Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 153, lines 15-20).

289-90 pridde ... doynge: T, C, and D agree. B reads, ‘honesta ocupacio, sicut legendo, vel aliquid de Deo loquendo aut scribendo, vel aliquid vtile faciendo’. The translator notably specifies ‘redinge of holy writte’, ‘spekyng of God’, and ‘writynge’ as work the reader is encouraged to pursue. Cf. The Form, drawn from this passage by Rolle, but written with a non-clerical audience in mind: ‘The þrid is honest occupacioun and profitable’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 13, line 415). In Misyn’s translation, the sentence is interestingly removed altogether, even though the passage does not then make full sense (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, line 17); this may evidence censorship. See further discussion above, Introduction, p. lxxxiii.

295-96 for ... synne: Sir 7:40. T, C, and D. B omits. This Biblical quotation is added by the translator.

301-6 And ... worlde: Cf. Ps. 1:3. B reads, ‘Itaque vir Dei in hunc modum ad viuendum institutus est tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, id est, iuxta fluenta graciarum (vt semper virescat in virtute) quod fructum suum dabit (id est bona opera in exemplum et bona data in subsidium) dabit inquam ad honorem Dei, non vendet pro inani gloria mundi’. Cf. also Rolle’s English Psalter: ‘Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus de cursus aquarum: quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo. And he sall be as a tre that is sett bysid the stremes of watirs: the whilk sall gif his froyte in his tyme. As wha say, he sall noght anly be goed in him...
selfe, bot he sall be as a tre . . . that has ay wetynge of the watirs of grace . . . that gifes his froit, that is, goed werkes in ensaumpile & goed dedis in help: he selles thaim noght for fauoure and lounyng of men, bot he gifes thaim for lounyng of God’

(Bramley, Psalter, pp. 6-7).


360-61 fle ... men: Cf. Mt 6:18.

395 Telles … lufe: Cant 5:8.

418 Of ... quintum: In this fifth chapter Rolle begins his adaptation of the traditional eremitic theme of tribulation for his wider audience. See above, Introduction, p. xlix.

419-23 When ... doun: T, C, and D largely agree. Not a direct translation of B, which reads, ‘Cvm diabolus vnum ex mille ad Deum perfecte converti viderit, Christique vestigia imitari, presencia despicere, et sola inuisibia querere et amare, perfectam penitenciam assumere, ab omni contagione mentis et corporis se purgare: mille nocendi fraude[s], mille artes pugnandi reparat’. Cf. the Misyn translation which is closer to B, ‘Qwhen þe feynd seis o mane of thowsandis, to god parfitely turnyd, cristis steppis felow, þis present warld despise, þingis vnseyn only to lufe and seek, parfite penance to take, fro all filth of mynde & body hym-self powrg [purge]: a thowsand begilyngis of noiyng, a [thowsand] craftis of feyghtyng he reparells’

(Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 115, lines 17-21). Rolle himself borrows loosely from this passage in the opening chapter of The Form, ‘whan [þe deuyl] seth a man or a womman amonge a þousand turne ham holy to God, and forsake al þe vanite and þe
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richesse þat men þat loueth þe world coueiteth, and seche þe ioy lestynge, a thousand wiles he hath in what manere he may deceuye ham’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 3, lines 21-25).

442-43 Bot ... mete: Cf. Lk 15:15-16.

448-50 Bot ... þe: Cf. Rom 5:3.

451 Of ... sextum: A continuation of the teaching in chapter five on tribulation, here applying it to the broader theme of patience. Cf. the fourth degree of ‘vertue’, in an English translation of Somme le roi, ‘As þe Holy Gost makeþ his knyat hardy to a-bide þe turmentes and þe sorwes þat beþ to come, riþt also he makeþ hym strong and suffryng to suffre hem whan þei comen; and þat is þe ferþe degree, þat þei clepen pacience’ (Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 167, lines 9-13).


455-57 For ... to (3): Cf. Jn 6:50. Note, however, that it is strength to overcome the attacks of the devil, not the Johannine gift of eternal life, that Rolle here suggests comes from eating the ‘brede of lyf’ (see also note to line 418 above).


460 vengi[s]jid: expuncted but not corrected by the T scribe or a corrector. The MED records the variant ‘vengise’ under venquishen, v., ‘defeat, overcome’, hence this emendation. B reads ‘vincuntur’. C reads ‘venquisshed’ and D ‘vencused’, both from forms of ‘venquishen’ recorded in the MED. In copying ‘vengiid’ the scribe may have mistakenly had in mind ‘veniid’, which the MED records as a variant of the past participle of vengan, v., ‘take vengeance’.

469-71 And (1) ... heuen: Cf. Rom 8:18. T, C, and D agree; omitted in B. Added by Version A translator.


521 fyre ... enemy: Cf. Eph 6:16b.

525-27 Blessed ... lyf: Jas 1:12. Note the translator inserts the words, ‘as golde in þe fire of tribulation’, possibly alluding to 1 Pet 1:7.

528 þen: meaning ‘but that’, or as glossed here ‘than that’. See MED than, conj., which notes this usage ‘with that unexpressed’. D reads ‘than’; and C ‘þat’.

543 It ... hym: Pro 12:21.


564 synge psalmodie: Rolle appears to encourage his readers to observe the monastic discipline of singing the psalms. Cf. Rolle’s English Psalter, ‘Verba mea auribus percipe domine: intellige clamorem meum. My wordis lord persayue with eres;
vndirstande my crye. The voice of halykirke ... says, “lord persayue my wordis,” that is the psalmodye of my mouth’ (Bramley, *Psalter*, p. 18).

569 oper sum: Not found in *MED*, but note entry in *OED* othersome, *adv. Eng.*

regional (chiefly Sussex), ‘at other times’. This may be a relict of a southern exemplar in this northern text.

570-72 And ... dede: Cf. Aelred of Rievaulx’s concern that his sister, and others living as recluses outside religious community, should not allow the praying of psalms to become too onerous (Hoste and Talbot, *Aelredi Rievallensis*, in *CCCM*, i, p. 645, lines 276-282; Ayto and Barratt, *De Institutione*, p. 6, ll. 219-23).

599 Of ... octauo: Addressing the second element of the Benedictine triad, ‘meditatio’. See also discussion above, Introduction, p. lvii.


605-6 Sothely ... folow: Cf. 1 Jn 2:6.

606-10 That ... hym: T, C, and D agree; B omits. An addition by the translator, summarising some of the main points from previous chapters, and specifying what it means to dwell in Jesus Christ.

611-12 Haue ... galle: Lam 3:19.
624 soune: T and D agree, ‘Goddes soune/Godys sone’. C has clearly misread ‘sone’ as ‘loue’.

623-25 For ... dedelynesse: T, C, and D agree; B omits. Added by the translator.

632 þe Godhede: Following this there is a large section of Latin omitted from B but found in another Latin recension, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.v.64 (see Watson, *Emendatio*, pp. 52-3, ll. 26-68).

652 Of ... nonum: Addressing the third element of the Benedictine triad, ‘lectio’.

654-55 be ... writte: Rolle’s encouragement to ‘rede holy writte’, especially when translated into the vernacular, may have become problematic after 1409 and the publication of Archbishop Arundel’s *Constitutions* (see note to lines 289-90 above). Article 7 of the *Constitutions* concerns the translating of holy scripture, and the reading of books containing such translation, threatening severe punishment for transgressors (Wilkins, *Concilia magnae*, III, p. 317; see also Watson, ‘Censorship’, pp. 828-9). The fact that there are seven independent translations of the *Emendatio*, and numerous fifteenth-century copies, suggests that this was one of the texts that received the requisite approval.

670-71 In ... þe: Psa 118:11.

674-75 The (2) ... mouthe: Psa 33:2b

677 Of ... decimum: T, C, and D all agree, but do not translate B at this point, ‘De puritate mentis’. Cf. Misyn who does translate the Latin, ‘Of Clennes of mynde’ (Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p.121, line 29). Note also that in the opening list of chapter headings the D scribe records both the Latin ‘De puritate mentis’ and the translator’s own version of this heading, ‘Of purete and clennesse’.

681-82 For ... erthe: Rolle may be alluding here to Jesus washing his disciple’s feet, in Jn 13:5-10, but the translator attributes it to ‘þe prophete’. Misyn translates more
closely, ‘Sayntis feet ar to be waschyd for þai draw duste of þe erth’ (Harvey, Fire
and Mending, p.121, lines 33-34).

682-83 who ... synne: Prov 20:9.

684-87 If ... me: Job 9:30-1.

691-96 synne (2) ... Criste: T, C, and D largely agree. Cf. B, ‘peccatum in nostro
corpore potest non regnare, sed non potest non esse’. The translator again adds to
Rolle’s text here.

691 Synne ... body: Rom 6:12.

699-703 For ... fire: This metaphor, of venial sin as a drop of water burnt up by the
fire, may derive from Hugh of Strasbourg’s Compendium (lib. 3, ca. 12, in Hugh of
Strasbourg, ‘Compendium’, p. 133) and is also found also in chapter 5 of Rolle’s
Contra amatores (Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 91, lines 285-8). See above,
Introduction, p. lix.

708 songe of ioy: Looking ahead to the final two chapters, Rolle here introduces what
he experiences and teaches as the ultimate goal of the contemplative life, ‘cantus
glorie’ (B). Cf. Rolle’s words of spiritual direction in Ego Dormio, ‘ðan for heynesse
of þi hert, þi praiers turneth in to ioyful songe and þi þoghtes to melodi. Þan Ihesu is
al þi desire, al þi delit, al þi ioy, al þi solace, al þi comfort, so þat on hym wil euer be
þi songe’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 31, lines 231-4). See also discussion
above, Introduction, p. lx.

Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.v.64 (another recension) which adds further:
‘In hoc statu potest homo cognoscere quod sit in caritate: eciam in illa quam
nuncquam amittet. Non tamen sine magno timore viuit - non ne tormentum incurrat,
sed ne dilectissimum suum offendat. Parco autem hic amplius loqui, quia ualde miser
michi uideor. Nam sepe caro mea affligitur et temptatur, quamquam quidem in hiis que dicta sunt, amor Dei et contemplatia vita contineantur. Aliquid tamen de illis specialius ad vtilitatem vstram dicendum est’ (Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, lines 33-41). See also Misyn’s Mending of Life which translates this, ‘In þis astate a man may know, þat he is in charite, þat hee sall neuer lose; withoute greet drede he lyfis not, not for suffiryng turmentry, bot þat his lufar he offend not. I spare to say more here, for me semys my-self a full greet wrech: for oft my flesch is noyd & assayd; fforsoth þof all in þis þingis beforesayd is godis lufe & life contemplatife continuide, zit sum-qwhatt of þame more specially to zour neyd & profett is to be sayde’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 21-28). See discussion above, Introduction, pp. xxix-xxx.

712 Of ... vndecimum: Ch. 11 consists of three contemplative meditations (lines 713-42; 792-831; and 853-879) interspaced with two didactic segments on ‘þre degrees of loue’ (lines 743-91; and 832-52). Large sections of the meditations are drawn directly from three of Rolle’s earlier Latin works: Super psalmum, Super canticum, and Contra amatores. The primary source of Rolle’s teaching on the degrees of love is Richard of St Victor’s twelfth-century mystical treatise, De quattuor gradibus violentae charitatis (see Dolan, Super psalmum; Murray, ‘Canticles’; Theiner, Contra amatores; and Dumeige, Les quatre).

713-42 O ... tolde: This opening meditation, drawn in part from Rolle’s own Super psalmum, is written in a style quite distinct from the rest of the Emendatio. Throughout the meditation, Rolle explores four key themes from his corpus of mystical teaching: heavenly light (line 714), devotion to the holy name of Jesus (line 717), and the states of ‘fervor’ (line 719) and ‘dulcor’ (lines 722-23). The positioning of this affective prayer provides a simple and accessible spiritual exercise for his audience seeking the ultimate goal of ‘canor’ (line 708). Commenting on these
mystical themes in general, Watson notes that they are ‘derived from all five senses: sight (Sight into Heaven), touch (fervor), smell or taste (dulcor), sound (canor). They occur in this order (to be understood as an ascending scale) in most of Rolle’s works’ (Watson, Invention, p. 66; cf. Allen’s similar grouping of ‘calor, canor, and dulcor’ in Writings, pp. 57, 71, 225).

713 O ... delitable: Eccl 11:7.

714 vnmade clere bryhtnesse: The Latin reads, ‘claritate increata’, which Misyn translates literally as, ‘clernes vn-made’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p.122, line 31). The Version A translator adds the noun ‘bryhtnesse’, perhaps for emphasis (MED brightness, n., ‘light’). This is a common theme in Rolle’s writing; see, for example, the English translation of Rolle’s Oleum effusum, ‘Þo name of Ihesu ... has lyghtynd my mynde with þo hete of vnmade light’ (Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, i, p. 187). At the end of chapter 19 of the Incendium Rolle defines this contemplative vision of uncreated or heavenly light as the entry point to an ascending scale of affective mystical experience: ‘primo quasi aperto celo supernos ciues oculo intellectuali conspicit’ ['he sees with his inward eye heaven open, as it were, and all the inhabitants there’] (Deanesly, Incendium, p. 202, lines 30-31; Wolters, Fire, p. 107).

717 A ... þe: Cf. B, ‘Tuo sapore succende quatenus sedeam et quiescam in te Ihesu’. Misyn’s translation is more literal, ‘kyndyll with þi savyr, þat I may sytt and rest, in þe, Ihesu’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 33-4). The Version A translator opens the sentence with the address, ‘A swete Ihesu’, underlining another characteristic theme in Rolle’s mystical schema, devotion to the name of Jesus. See, for example, a similar meditation in the final chapter of the short text of the Incendium Amoris (Deanesly, Incendium, p. 278, lines 1-2, 15-16); also Rolle’s English Psalter where there are numerous references to the Holy Name (eg. Bramley,
Psalter, p. 32). Devotion to the name of Jesus was widespread throughout the Middle Ages, deriving from such sources as sermon 15 of Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Sermones super cantica canticorum* (Leclercq, *Opera*, i, p. 87). For a useful study see Denis Renevey, ‘Name above names: the devotion to the name of Jesus from Richard Rolle to Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*’, in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VI*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), pp. 103-121.

719 _enflaume my herte_: An allusion to the second stage of Rolle’s scale of mystical experience, ‘fervor’. Such references are autobiographical for Rolle, although not overtly so in the *Emendatio* (cf. Deanesly, *Incendium*, p. 145, lines 1-12). Although describing deeply personal feelings, Rolle is sure to validate his mystical experience by the authority of scripture, such as in chapter 14 of the *Incendium*: ‘Porro, ut potui in scripturis perscrutari, inueni et cognoui quidem quod summus amor Christi in tribus consistat: in _feruore_, in _canore_, et in _dulcore_’ ['As far as my study of scripture goes, I have found that to love Christ above all else will involve three things: warmth and song and sweetness’] (Deanesly, *Incendium*, p. 184, line 33, to p. 185, line 2; Wolters, *Fire*, pp. 88-89; see also Alford, ‘Biblical Imitatio’, pp. 8-9).

720-29 _O ... sorye_: B reads, ‘_O bone Ihesu, quis michi det vt senciam te_, qui nune sentiri et videri non potes? _Infunde te in visceribus anime mee. Veni in cor meum, et reple illud dulcedine tua preclarissima. Inebria animam meam vino dileccionis dulcissone; _vt, omnia mala omnesque visiones illusorias et ymagines obliuiscens, ac te solum complectens, exultem, et iubilem in Deo Ihesu meo. Amodo, Domine dulcissime, non recede a me, iugiter mecum manens in tua dulcedine; quia tua sola presencia michi solacium est, et tua sola absencia tristem reliquit’ (emphasis mine). Watson identifies a very similar passage in Rolle’s earlier *Super psalmum*, ‘O Jesu
bone, quis michi det ut sentiam te, infunde te in visceribus anime mee! Veni in cor meum et inebria illud dulcore tuo. Reple mentem meam fervore amoris tui ut, omnia mala obliviscens, te solum complectar; certe tunc gaudebo. Amodo ne recedas a me quia sola tui presentia michi solatium est, sola absentia me tristem relinquit’ (Dolan, *Super psalmum*, p. 12, lines 18-22; see also Watson, *Invention*, pp. 273-94).

722 Yette ... soule: Cf. Psa 50:12.

722-23 come ... swetnesse: An allusion to the third stage of Rolle’s scale of mystical experience, ‘dulcor’. Cf. Rolle’s *Super canticum*, which Watson notes is ‘full of bodies, touch and taste: kisses, mouths, breasts, wine, fragrance, ointments, oil, odour—in short the terminology of *dulcor*. . . . [It] is Rolle’s most sustained attempt to write a work that revolves around *dulcor*’ (Watson, *Invention*, p. 148; see also Murray, *Super canticum*). Rolle was no doubt aware of Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Sermones super cantica canticorum*, which are not necessarily a direct source but certainly bear some comparison (see, for example, *Sermo XVI*, in Leclercq, *Opera*, I, pp. 89-98 (p. 97); see also Renevey, *Language*, pp. 135-6).

730-42 O ... tolde: B reads, ‘O Sancte Spiritus, qui spiras vbi vis, rape me tibi, creaturam quam creasti donis vnctam mellifluis; vt, in tuo delicato absorta gaudio, despiciat omne quod est in hoc seculo. Spiritualia carismata te largiente accipiat, et per canorum iubilum cendat incircumscriptum lumen vt amore tuo tota liquefiat. *Vre igne tuo renes meos et cor meum, qui in altari tuo ardebit in eternum. Veni, precor, O suauis et vera gloria; veni, dulcedo desideratissima; veni, dulce mi, qui es tota consolacio mea. Anime languenti pro te dulcifluo ardore illabere. Calore tuo penetralia cordis mei incende; et, intima luce tua illuminando, mellifluo amoris iubilo cuncta pro captu mentis et corporis depasce*’ (emphasis mine). Cf. Rolle’s earlier *Super psalmum*, ‘O Sancte Spiritus, veni et rape me tibi . . . . Ure igne tuo renes meos
et cor meum; ardeat ignis ille in altari tuo. Veni, precor te, O dulcis gloria! Veni, dulcedo suavissima! Veni dilecte mi! Tota consolatio mea, anime mee languenti pro te salubri ac dulcifluo fervore illabere; igne tuo penetralia cordis mei incende; et intima queque tua luce illustrando, mellifluo eterni amoris iubilo universa mentis et corporis depasce’ (Dolan, Super psalmum, p. 8, lines 14-22).

730 O ... wilte: Cf. Jn 3:8.

736 brenne ... herte: Cf. Psa 25:2. In his comment on this verse in the English Psalter, Rolle writes, ‘Proba me domine & tempta me: vre renes meos & cor meum. Proue me lord & tempte me: brenne my neris & my hert. I am innocent & ryghtwis, bot for no man vnderstondis all synnes, that none be hid fro me, preue me & tempte me . . . brenne my neris, that is my delites, with the fire of thi luf (the goed enflaumand, the ill wastand) & my hert, that is my thowgthis’ (Bramley, Psalter, p. 92). See also book 1, chapter 20 of Hilton’s Scale, ‘Ypocrites ne heretikes feele not this mekenesse, neither in good wille, ne in affeccioun; but wel drie and wel cold aren here hertis and here reynes fro the softe feelynge of this vertu’ (Bestul, Scale of Perfection, p. 51, ll. 482-4; MED ner(e, also neire, n., pl. ‘the kidneys as the seat of the emotions’; also reine, n.(2), pl. ‘the kidneys’ and ‘following Bibl. trans.: the seat of the passions, the heart’).

736-37 fire ... ende: Cf. Lev 6:12.

739 Slyde: B reads, ‘illabere’ (OLD illabor, intr., ‘glide [into]’). T, C, and D all have different readings. T appears to preserve the closest translation (MED sliden, v., ‘slide; glide’). D reads simply, ‘come’; and the C scribe, probably mistakenly, reads ‘write’ (cf. MED writen, v., ‘fig.; carve (into stone), incise’). See above, Introduction, pp. cxxxv-vi.
743-91 In ... God: Changing in style from affective meditation back to didactic prose, Rolle first gives his readers simple instructions on how to use these meditations, and then goes on to expound Richard of St Victor’s teaching on the degrees of love found in *De quattuor gradibus violentae caritas* (see Dumeige, *Les quatre degrés*). Allen suggests that Rolle’s omission of the fourth grade of love may have been influenced by Gregory’s *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, which also expounds only three stages of love (*PL* 76: 989; see also Allen, *Writings*, p. 202). This teaching is not found in this developed form in any of Rolle’s earlier Latin writings, but is a feature of his English epistles in particular. The *Ego Dormio* (probably completed prior to the *Emendatio*) is largely devoted to a vernacular adaptation of this teaching, with the third degree of love being defined as the ‘contemplatif lif’ (see Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 31, lines 224). In *The Form* Rolle appears to draw directly from the *Emendatio* concerning the first degree of love, and then writes more independently about the second and third degrees, perhaps for what he considered would be a different audience (see notes to lines 748-56, 757-58, 758-63, 763-68 below). Rolle opens *The Commandment* also with a brief condensation of this teaching (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 34, line 24 to p. 35, line 41).

745 rauysshes hire: Cf. 2 Cor 12:4.

746-48 þan ... insuperable: An early reader or corrector of T has underscored these two full lines of text, drawing attention to Rolle’s introduction to his teaching on the ‘þre degrees of loue’. Rolle’s source here is a twelfth-century tradition, beginning perhaps with Bernard of Clairvaux’s description four kinds of love in *De diligentio Deo*, which traces a path from human self-love (‘affectio carnalis’), to the highest state of ‘caritas’, which only a few contemplatives have ever glimpsed (Leclercq, *Opera*, III, pp. 109-54 (p. 142)). It is Richard of St Victor’s development of Bernard’s
teaching, however, from which Rolle draws most directly; in particular the first three of Richard’s four grades of love from *De quattuor gradibus*, ‘In primo itaque gradu amor est insuperabilis, in secundo inseparabilis, in tertio singularis, in quarto insatiabilis’ (Dumeige, *Les quatre degrés*, p. 143, lines 27-9).

748-56 Thi ... vertues: B reads, ‘Tunc quippe insuperabilis est quando nulla affeccione alia potest superari, quando libenter propter ipsum omnia impedimenta abicit, omnes temptaciones et desideria carnis extinguit, quando propter Christum omnes angustias libenter patitur, et nulla delectacione vel blandimento superatur. Facilis est amanti labor omnis, nec melius vincit quis laborem quam per amorem’.

Misyn’s translation follows the Latin more closely than the Version A translator at this point, ‘Truly þen is luf vnouercomyn qwhen with no nodyr desyr it may be ouercomyn, when for it all lettyngis he castis away, all temptacions & fleschly desyrs he slokyns, and when he suffyrs paciently all greuis for criste & with no flaterynge, no likynge is ouercommyn. All labyr is lyght to a lufar, no bettyr may no man ouercum labur þen be lufe’ (Harvey, *Fire and Mending*, p. 123, lines 26-31). It is interesting to note that the Version A translation differs markedly from the Latin here, but is almost identical to Rolle’s *Form*. This again suggests that the translator had access to the *Form* as well as the *Emendatio* (cf. note to lines 16-18 above, and discussion in Introduction, p. lxxxi-ii). *The Form* reads: ‘Thi loue is insuperabile when no thynge that is contrarie to Goddis loue may ouercum hit, bot is stalworth agayns al fandynges, and stable, wheber þou be in ese or in anguys, in heel or in sekenesse, so þat þe þynke þat þou wil nat for al þe world, to haue hit withouten end, wreth God oo tyme; and þe ware leuer, if au[h]er shold be, to suffre al þe peyne and woo þat myght cum to any creature, ar þou wold do þe þynge þat myght myspay hym. On þis maner shal þi loue be insuperabile, þat no þynge may brynge hit doun, bot
NOTES


757-58 **Blest ... inseperable:** T, C, and D agree. B omits. Cf. Rolle’s *The Form*, ‘Blesset is he or sho þat is in þis degre, bot yet ware þai blesseder þat myght hold þis degre and wyn in to þe toþer, þat is inseperabile’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 16, lines 535-7).

758-63 **Inseperable ... herte:** B reads, ‘Amor vero inseperabilis est cum iam vehementi delectacione succensa mens nostra Christo inseperabili cogitacione adheret, nullo quidem momento ipsum a memoria recedere permittens, sed, quasi in corde ligaretur’. Cf. Rolle’s *The Form*, ‘Inseperabil is þi loue when al þi hert and þi þoght and þi myght is so hooly, so entierly and so perfity fasted, set and stablet in Ihesu Criste þat þi þoght cometh neuer of hym, neuer departeth fro hym, outtaken slepynge; and als son as þou wakest, þi hert is on hym’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 16, lines 538-41). Cf. also Dumeige, *Les quatre dègres*, p. 131, line 28, to p. 133, line 6.

763-68 **him ... cessyng:** Cf. Rolle’s *The Form*, ‘seiynge “Ave Maria. Gloria tibi, domine,” or “Pater noster,” or “Miserere mei deus,” if þou haue been tempted in þi slepe, or thynkynge his loue and his praisyng as þou did wakynge’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and Verse*, p. 16, lines 541-44). From this point the close parallels with *The Form* cease, although some more general similarities can still be seen.

768-74 **And ... synguler:** Cf. Dumeige, *Les quatre dègres*, p. 135, lines 6-18.

774-87 **In ... felawe:** Cf. Dumeige, *Les quatre dègres*, p. 135, line 19, to p. 137, line 9.
NOTES

781 with hym: The second T scribe takes over from this point until the end.


792-831 O ... conscience: The second of Rolle’s affective meditations continues to develop the themes of devotion to the holy name of Jesus, ‘fervor’ and ‘dulcor’ (cf. notes to lines 713-42 above). Much of this second affective prayer is drawn directly from Rolle’s Super canticum.

797-98 she ... the (1): T, C, and D agree in error against B, ‘ad te de longinquo clamat’. The Version A translator could have originally translated this as, ‘she cryes fro far vnnto the’ (MED fer, adj. (1), also far, ‘far away’). T and D both read ‘fare’ (MED faren, v., ‘come (to a person’)’), which C glosses as ‘come’.


832-52 In ... heuen: Shifting again in style, from prayer to prose, Rolle rather clumsily inserts a sizeable passage from *Super canticum*. As a link, presumably to the earlier teaching on the third degree of love (see note to lines 743-91 above), Rolle prefaces the passage with the words ‘In hoc gradu’ but provides no direct indication of which degree of love he is referring to.


836-39 in ... loue: The translator has preserved something of the style of Rolle’s Latin here, which I arrange below for emphasis:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in his loue vnspekeably ioyande}, \\
\text{him thinkande}, \\
\text{stiande vp in desire and fallande} \\
\text{in his lufed, go\textbackslash a/nd} \\
\text{in halsinges, lapped in kissynges,} \\
\text{and al molten in the fire of loue.}
\end{align*}
\]

And which can be seen in B:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in amato iubilans}, \\
\text{ipsum cogitans}, \\
\text{ipsum incessanter reminiscens}, \\
\text{ascendens in desiderio, ruens}
\end{align*}
\]
in dilecto, pergens
in amplexibus, absortus in osculis,
totus liquefactus in igne amoris.

Of Rolle’s style generally, Allen notes, ‘Throughout his writings Rolle uses freely . . .
all the resources of rhetoric - alliteration, assonance, rhyme and rhythm, antithesis and
balance’ (Allen, *Writings*, p. 78). See also comment on Rolle’s style in Arnould,
*Melos amoris*, pp. lvii-lxv; and Theiner, *Contra amatores*, pp. 29-38. The *Emendatio*
and Rolle’s English writings are judged less exuberant than his earlier Latin writings
in this respect, but alliteration and rhyme are still employed from time to time, for
example in the opening paragraph of *Ego dormio*, ‘Mich loue he sheweth þat neuer is
wery to loue, bot euer, standynge, sittynge, goynge, or any oþer dede doynge, is euer
his loue þynkynge, and oft sithe þerof dremynge’ (Ogilvie-Thomson, *Prose and
Verse*, p. 26, lines 4-6).

851-52 And whan ... heuen: B reads, ‘Dumque dulcore diuinitatis et calore creantis
lucis perfunditur, *in holocaustum eterno regi oblatum et acceptum, tota concrematur*
(emphasis mine). Cf. chapter 4 of Rolle’s *Contra amatores*, ‘In excelsum itaque mens
rapta dulcore divinitatis perfunditur, et ardore increate lucis mellifluo repleta in
holocaustum eterno regi oblatum et acceptum tota concrematur’ (Theiner, *Contra
amatores*, p. 78, lines 17-20).

853-79 O ... Amen: The last of Rolle’s three meditative prayers (cf. notes to lines
713-42 and 792-831 above) is drawn largely from the final chapter of his *Contra
amatores*.

853-62 O ... singulere: B reads, ‘*O amor amenus, fortis, rapiens, ardens, spontaneus,*
*validus, inextinguibilis, qui totam altitudinem intencionis in tuam seruitutem redigis et
aliud preter te cogitare non sinis, tibi vendicas omne quod viuimus, omne quod


880 Of ... duodecim: The final chapter of the treatise. In the opening paragraphs Rolle lays out a number of classic definitions of contemplation, and then confidently supplants them all with his own, asserting that ‘canor’ is the highest contemplative state one can attain. The remainder of the chapter is in essence a justification of his claim. See above, Introduction, p. lxvii.

881-82 Contemplacion ... meditacion: B reads, ‘Contemplacio, siue vita contemplatiua, habet tres partes, scilicet, leccionem, oracionem, et meditacionem’. Cf. the sixth-century Benedictine triad of spiritual exercises around which Rolle shapes chapters 7-9 (see note to line 548 above), and also Aquinas’ summary of the contemplative life, ‘Praeterea, ad vitam contemplativam pertinere dicuntur oratio, lectio, et meditatio’ ['Further, prayer, reading, and meditation are said to be part of the contemplative life'] (Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 180, a. 3; derived from Hugh of St Victor, Allegoriae in novum testamentum, in PL, 175: 805; see also Watson, Invention, p. 327, n. 19).

889 halsynge of Rachel: Cf. Gen 29: 16-18. Traditionally Rachael is seen as a symbol of the contemplative life, and her sister Leah for the active life. See, for example, Aquinas, who notes, ‘Gregory dicit Super Ez., quod “contemplativa vita speciosa est in animo”; unde significatur per Rachelem, de qua dicitur Gen. quod “erat pulchra facie”’ ['Further, Gregory says that “the beauty of the contemplative life is in the soul”; hence it is signified by Rachel, of whom Genesis says that she had a “beautiful countenance”'] (Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 180, a. 2; see Gregory, Homiliae in Ezechiel, in PL, 76: 952; and also his Moralia, in PL 75: 764).
895-97 Some ... wryte: B reads, ‘Dicunt quidam quod contemplacio est rerum latencium futurarumque noticia, siue vacacio ab omnibus mundi ocupacionibus, siue diuinarum studium literarum’ (emphasis mine). Allen identifies the source as Julianus Pomerius (or Prosper of Aquitaine), De Vita Contemplativa, ‘quia sive secundum opinionem quorumdam nihil aliud sit vita contemplativa quam rerum latentium futurarumque notitia, sive vacatio ab omnibus occupationibus mundi, sive divinarum studium litterarum’ (PL, 59: 429; see Allen, Writings, p. 341). See above, Introduction p. lxvii.

897-99 Othere ... affeccions: B reads, ‘Alij dicunt, et bene, quod contemplacio est iubilus supernorum. Alij dicunt optime, quod contemplacio est per subleuate mentis iubilum mors carnalium affeccionum’. The source of these final two definitions is unclear, although Allen notes that in a similar sentence in the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost Rolle cites Augustine: ‘Wysedome es forgetynge of erthely thynges and thynkynge of heuen . . .. In þis gyfte schynes contemplacyone, þat es, saynt Austyne says, a gastely dede of fleschely affeccyones thurghe þe ioye of a raysede thoghte’ (Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, i, p. 197; Allen, Writings, p. 341; see also Watson, Invention, p. 327, n. 20). It is noteworthy also that B omits two further definitions of contemplation which are found in Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.v.64: ‘Alii dicunt quod contemplacio est libera perspicacia in sapiencie spectacula cum admiracione suspensa. Alii dicunt quod contemplacio est liber et perspicax animi intuitus ad vires perspicandandas circumquaque diffusus’ (Watson, Emendatio, p. 63, lines 21-4). Allen identifies Richard of St Victor and Hugh of St Victor as likely sources (Allen, Writings, p. 341; see Richard of St Victor, Benjamin minor, in PL, 196: 67; and Hugh of St Victor, In Salomonis Ecclesiasten homiliae XIX, in PL, 175: 117, and De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus, in PL, 176: 879).
900-1 Sothely ... lovuynge: Cf. Murray, Super canticum, p. 26, lines 24-6.

905-6 Blessed ... ioynge: Psa 88: 16.

943 proude fote: A phrase that is not found in the MED or OED, except as a surname. Richard McKinley, A History of British Surnames (London: Longman, 1990), p. 166, lists the counties where records of the name are extant. One of the earliest recorded bearers of the name was Gilbert Proudfoot, sheriff of London, c. 1140, who Eilert Ekwall notes was thus ‘a person who might be justified in walking with proud step’, Early London Personal Names (Lund: Gleerup, 1947), p. 162. The name came to be used commonly as a nickname, often ironically; see for example George Redmonds, Yorkshire West Riding, Vol. I, English Surnames Series (London: Phillimore, 1973), pp. 9-12.

948-50 The ... liknesse: B reads, ‘Mentalis enim visio sursum capitur, et celestia contemplatur - per visionem enigmaticam et speculacionem, non claram, quia dum per fidem curremus, per speculum in enigmate videmus’ (emphasis mine). Cf. Rolle’s Contra Amatores, ‘Mentalis visio sursum capitur, celestia non terrena contemplatur. Est autem hec enigmatica visio et speculativa, non clara et perspicua, quia dum per fidem curremus eciam per speculum et in enigmate videmus’ (Theiner, Contra Amatores, p. 88, ll. 192-6).

950 see ... liknesse: 1 Cor 13: 12.

954-55 And ... light: Psa 138: 12.

959-60 beholden ... reuelacion: 2 Cor 3:18.

961 dore ... opynde: Rev 4:1.

964 And ... feld: Cf. Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 89, lines 233-43.

967-68 For ... place: Psa 17:12.

968 he ... cloude: Psa 98:7.
970-71 when ... God (2): Cf. Gal 6:13-14. See also Bernard of Clairvaux, De diligendo Deo, ‘Secundus gradus amoris, cum homo diligat Deum propter se’ and ‘Tertius gradus amoris, cum homo diligat Deum ipsum’ (Leclercq, Opera, III, p. 140-1).

972-82 Herfore ... penance*: Cf. Theiner, Contra Amatores, p. 84, lines 19-30.

973 rumyng[e]: B reads, ‘rugitu’. OLD rugio, intr., ‘bellow, roar’; MED rumien, v., ‘roar’; note also the related verb, MED romien, v., ‘cry out, lament’; OED romy, v., ‘roar, cry’ (the OED here also records the form rumy-, and makes an etymological connection with the Scottish form ‘rummish’ and the Old French ‘rumir/romir’).

Glossed here, therefore, as ‘crying out, lamenting’. The C and D scribes seem to have misread the translator, and mistakenly record ‘ronniynge’ and ‘runyng’ respectively.

983 be ... nyght: Psa 41:4.

985-93 The ... contemplacion: Cf. Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 87, lines 151-8.

994-99 Contemplacion ... enflaumes: Cf. Murray, Super canticum, p. 6, lines 22-7 and p. 9, lines 15-17).

998 setters and resters: B reads, ‘sedentes’. OLD sedeo, intr., ‘sit and do nothing, be inactive’. MED rester(e, n.(1)), ‘person in the contemplative life’; note the form ‘setter’ is not found, but see MED sitter(e, n., ‘one who sits’. Not found in OED.

Glossed here therefore as, ‘ones who sit and rest, contemplatives’.

1002 Cees ... is: Cf. Psa 45:11 and Psa 33:9. B reads, ‘vacate et videte quoniam ego sum Deus’ from Psa 45:11. Misyn paraphrases the Latin: ‘be voyde fro wardly vanitye & se for I am God’ (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 129, line 38). The T and C scribes both record a mistranslation of the verse, ‘Ceese ye and sees how swete oure Lorde is’ (T); an error that is likely to have originated with the Version A translator.

The D scribe spots the mistake, but does not seem to have consulted the Latin,
mistakenly amending the text to Psa 33:9, ‘Taste ye and seeth howe swete owre Lord ys’.

1003-4 tast ... is (1): Psa 33:9.

1007 Here the T scribe mistakenly copies an entire folio of text he or she has already copied (fol 116r), and only at the end realises the mistake and crosses out the page.

1007-12 Therfor ... perfeccion: Cf. Murray, Super canticum, p. 26, line 26, to p. 27, line 7.

1007-8 Therfor ... lyf: B reads, ‘Cum ergo constet vitam contemplatiuam digniorem esse ac magis meritoriam quam actiuan’ (emphasis mine). Cf. the heading of chapter 21 of Rolle’s Incendium: ‘Quod uita contemplatiua dignior et magis meritoria est quam actiua’ [‘The contemplative life is more worthy and meritorious than the active’] (Deanesly, Incendium, p. 204; Wolters, Fire, p. 109). Aquinas uses similar language in his consideration of the merits of the two lives: ‘Deinde considerandum est de comparatione vitae activae ad contemplativam . . . 1) Quae sit potior vel dignior; 2) Quae sit majoris meriti’ (Aquinas, Summa, ii-ii, q. 182).

1009 sterynge: T and D agree. C reads ‘stiringe’. B reads, ‘intuitu’, which has two senses in the OLD intuitus, m., ‘look, gaze’ and ‘consideration’ (cf. MED staringe, ger., ‘looking, staring’). Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.v.64, reads ‘instinctu’ (Watson, Emendatio, p. 67, line 140; OLD instinctus, m., ‘inspiration’), which relates to the C scribe’s reading, ‘stiringe’ (MED stiringe, e, ger., ‘inspiration’). Given the disparity between the two Latin versions, and a lack of agreement in the English texts also, it is not possible to determine the original translation. I have glossed it here as ‘guiding’ after the TD spelling (MED stering(e, ger., ‘the act of guiding the course of a ship, steering’ also ‘guidance, direction’).
1012-16 But ... perfection: Cf. Rolle’s earlier and more simplistic teaching on the status of preaching, in *Incendium Amoris*, as merely a component of the lesser active life (Deanesly, *Incendium*, p. 206, lines 1-3). In the *Emendatio* Rolle seems to hold the office of preacher in much higher regard, perhaps reflecting a deeper knowledge of scholastic teaching on contemplation (see, for example, Aquinas, *Summa*, II-II, q. 188, a. 6, who cites Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, in *PL*, 76: 826).

1017 speciale ... aureole: Cf. Arnould, *Melos Amoris*, p. 152, lines 12-14. See also Aquinas, *Summa*, ‘Sicut per martyrium et virginitatem aliquis perfectissimam victoriam obtinet de carne et mundo, ita etiam perfectissima victoria contra diabolum obtinetur, quando aliquis non solum diabolo impugnanti non cedit, sed etiam expellit eum non solum a se, sed etiam ab aliis. Hoc autem fit per praedictionem et doctrinanam. Et ideo praedicationi et doctrinae aureola debetur, sicut et virginitati et martyrio’ [‘Just as by virginity and martyrdom a person wins a most perfect victory over the flesh and the world, so is a most perfect victory gained over the devil, when a person not only refuses to yield to the devil’s assaults, but also drives him out, not from himself alone, but from others also. Now this is done by preaching and teaching: wherefore an aureole is due to preaching and teaching, even as to virginity and martyrdom’] (Aquinas, *Summa*, III, q. 96, a. 7).

1022 gesture*: B reads ‘gestum’ (*OLD* *gestus*, m., ‘posture, attitude’). T and C agree in error, reading ‘gustur(e’, for which there is no entry in either the *OED* or *MED*. The D scribe appears to have corrected the mistake, probably on the part of the translator, and writes ‘gesture’ (*MED* *gesture*, n., ‘deportment, bearing’).

1027-31 Who ... the? and and than ... me: Cant 8:1.
GLOSSARY

The aim of this glossary is to record forms and senses of words that might cause difficulty to the modern reader. Words with the same spelling and meaning as modern English are not included. Likewise, words that simply exhibit minor spelling variants from modern English, while retaining the same sense are mostly omitted (such as variations between e/ee, i/y, þ/th, u/w, v/u, and i/e in inflectional endings). The headword for each form records the most frequent spelling, and is referenced according to its first occurrence in the text. Significant variants of the headword are listed, with line references, but minor spelling variants such as those mentioned above may be omitted.

The gloss for each word is primarily reliant on the forms published in the MED, with reference where necessary to the Latin text as found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54 (see transcription in Appendix B). Reference has also been made to the OED where there is uncertainty over an entry in the MED. In instances where a word or phrase has not been found in either the MED or OED, the spelling is assumed to be errant, unless a gloss has been derived from another source. For example a definition of the combination ‘proude fote’, glossed here as ‘haughty step’, is not found in either the MED or OED, but in literature on medieval surnames.

Where a particular form is an editorial emendation taken from a source other than the base text, or a scribal correction, this is marked with an asterisk. Alphabetically, ‘i’ is treated as ‘j’ when it represents a consonant; ‘v’ and ‘y’ are treated as ‘u’ and ‘i’ respectively when representing vowels, and ‘y’ as ‘g’ when representing a consonant; ‘b’ is treated as ‘th’; and ‘z’ as either an initial consonantal ‘y’, or medial ‘-gh-’. 
Verbs are parsed in the following order, and abbreviated accordingly:

- v. verb, infinitive
- pr. 1 sg. present, singular (first, second and third person)
- pr. 2 sg.
- pr. 3 sg.
- pr. pl. present, plural
- subj. subjunctive
- imp. imperative
- interj. interjection
- prp. present participle
- pt. sg. preterite, singular and plural
- pt. pl.
- pp. past participle
- vbl. n. verbal noun (or gerund)

Other abbreviations used in the glossary are as follows:

- adj. adjective
- adv. adverb
- comp. comparative
- conj. conjunction
- impers. impersonal
- n. noun
- phr. phrase
- pl. plural
- poss. possessive
GLOSSARY

prep. preposition
pron. pronoun
refl. reflexive
sg. singular
sup. superlative

abominable adj. abominable, inhuman 688.
abydes pr. 3 sg. delays, procrastinates 161.
able adj. worthy, deserving 634.
abowte adv. around (here and there) 268.
abstene v. abstain 207. abstenes pr. 3 sg. 42.
abstinens n. abstinence 210.
abstracte pp. drawn away 268.
abunden pr. pl. abound 237.
acordante adj. appropriate 634.
acordes pr. 3 sg. suits, agrees 786.
acounte v. ~ ... at nouht regard as worthless 117.
affeccion n. desire 88; will 456. affeccions pl. 36.
after prep. according to 15.
agayne, ayeyn adv. back 27, 28; again 104.
agayne, ayeyn prep. against 101, 676.
agayn-stande v. resist, stand against 449.
ayens, ayens, agayns, ageyns prep. against 110, 279, 458, 588.
ay adv. always, ever 134, 100.
ay-lastande, aylastande adj. everlasting 213, 420.
al(e, all(e adj. all, every 56, 51, 11, 17.

a-lyte* adv. drawe ~ delay, draw back 2.

allone adj. alone 821.

all-onely adv. no more than, only 212.

als conj. also 8; as 222.

alswiphe adv. immediately, forthwith 82.

amende v. remedy, make amends for (sin) 209. amendede pp. saved 310.

    amendinge vbl. n. correction, (moral) improvement 161.

amendment n. correction, (moral) improvement 517.

anentys prep. among, beside 366.

angerde pp. troubled, vexed 542.

angers n. pl. afflictions, troubles 485.

anguyssh, anguysche n. agony, torment 750, 214. anguysshes pl. 49.

anone, anoone adv. at once, immediately 88, 549.

appetit n. desire, longing 157.

araies pr. 3 sg. prepares, makes ready 663.

armoures, armures n. armour 459, 109.

arre subj. sin, go astray 884.

asaied, asayed, assaiede, assaye pp. tested 512, 513, 639; tasted 354; .

assautes n. pl. assaults, attacks 521.

astate n. state, condition 634.

ateyne v. attain 259. atteynes pr. pl. 1011.

a-twix adv. between 962.

aungels, aungelles n. pl. angels 814, 828.

aureole n. crown, halo 1017.
autere n. altar 737.

avisinge vbl. n. considering, reflecting 291.

bacbiters n. pl. defamers, slanderers 535.

bacbites pr. 3 sg. defames, slanders 270. bacbityng(e vb. n. 179, 194.

barely adv. solely, only 257.

bataile, batayle n. battle 459, 524.

be prep. by, through 59.

bedstedede n. bedstead 133; bed chamber 820.

befall subj. happens 329.

before prep. ~ saide mentioned previously 678. ~ tyme before, previously 103.

behyght pt. sg. promised 239.

be-hynde adv. behind 47.

behold v. consider, contemplate 951. beholdes pr. 2 sg. see (in one’s imagination) 171. beholden, be-hoolde pr. pl. see 959, 963. beholdande prp. considering, contemplating 38. beholding, beholyng(e vbl. n. consideration, contemplation 73, 718, 891.

behoued pt. sg. needed 929. behoueth impers. needs 992; behoues nedes must be 66.

bere v. carry, bear 801. borne pp. ~ up sustained, endured 381.

besike pr. 1 sg. beg, beseech 737.

besi, besy adj. fully occupied, busy 11; intent (on something), desirous 140; diligent, assiduous 564.

besily, bisily adv. carefully, intently 38, 229.

besines, besynesse, bysines n. activity, work 82, 314, 286. besynesses, besynessys pl. 788, 408.
bestes n. poss. ~ mete meat, animal’s flesh 454.

biddes pr. 3 sg. urges, commands 690. biddynge vbl. n. pl. commandments, precepts 38.

bygynners n. pl. novices, beginners 978.

bygynnynge vbl. n. beginning 638.


bitynge vbl. n. smarting, ache 980.

bitternes(se n. suffering, anguish 4, 479.

blaake adj. black 956.

blames pr. pl. criticizes, belittles 198.

blaste n. utterance, verbal blast 516.

blaundisshynge vbl. n. flattery, blandishment 64.

blynded pp. blinded, beguiled 143.

blisse, blesse n. joy, happiness 1048, 465; heavenly bliss 967.

blisful adj. joyful, happy 914.

bodely, bodily adj. physical, corporeal 35, 13.

boystous adj. crude, unmannerly 626.

bokes n. pl. books 646.

bondes, bondis n. pl. shackles, bonds 816, 765.

borde n. dining table 664.

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bot, but adv. only 72, 16.

bot, but conj. ~ if unless 60, 984.

bow v. submit, yield 456.

braunches n. pl. branches 222.
breke v. break 66. brekes pr. 3 sg. 71. breken pr. pl. 348. broken pp. 66.

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brennyngly, brinnyngely adv. ardently, passionately 135, 841.

brestande prp. bursting 903.

brydel n. bridle, control 288.

briht adj. splendid, glorious 723.

bryhtnesse n. light 714.

brynne v. burn 847. brenes, brennes pr. 3 sg. 778, 384. brenne imp. 736.

brennande, brennynge prp. 388, 176. brent pp. 472. brynnynge vbl. n. pl.

433.

brode adj. open 53.

buxom(e adj. willing, eager 689; obedient 823.

calle* v. call 477. called(e pp. 126, 770.

certeyne adj. certain, particular 80.

certeynly adv. certainly 636.

certeyntee n. certainty 622.

cese, cesse v. cease 11, 7. cesen subj. 570. ceese imp. 1002. cesynge, cessyng(e vbl. n.

54, 768, 896.

chalange pr. 2 sg. claim (as one’s due) 855. chalanges pr. 3 sg. 813.

chapitres n. pl. chapters 1049.

charge v. ~ not have no regard for, pay no attention to 506.

charges n. pl. duties, responsibilities 788.

charite n. love, devotion, kindness 110. Christian love personified 818.

chast(e adj. pure 332, 439.

chastite n. sanctity, purity 607.
chaunges pr. 3 sg. changes 1022. chaungen pr. pl. 224. chaunged pp. 803.

changynge, chaungynge vbl. n. 204, 183. chaungynges vbl. n. pl. 36.

cheffly adv. chiefly 1010.

chese imp. choose 185.

childre n. pl. children 452.

chores n. pl. choirs 1036.

cledde pp. clad 688.

clembe pr. pl. climb 877.

clene adj. clean, pure 207. clenner comp. more completely 134. ~ of rid of 638.

clenes, clennes, clennesse n. cleanliness, purity 677, 284, 678.

clense v. cleanse, purify 420. clensen pr. pl. 275. clensed, clensid pp. 468, 478.

cleppynges vbl. n. pl. utterances 439.

citore adj. clear, pure 714.

clerly adv. clearly, brightly 949.

cleue v. ~ to hold onto, cling to 176. cleues pr. 2 sg. 146. cleues, cleuues pr. 3 sg. 88, 772.

comaundementis n. pl. commandments 308.

come v. come 185. comyn pr. pl. 222. comande prp. 470. comyng e vbl. n. arrival, coming 184.

comfort(e n. consolation, gratification 70, 74.

compunccion n. compunction, remorse 376.

comune adj. common 286; in public 372.

condicion n. situation, state 634.

confessioun n. confession 277.

confoundes pr. 3 sg. harasses, routs 615; pr. pl. lead into sin 535.
confourmes pr. 3 sg. conforms, molds 296. confourme subj. accommodates, adapts

367. confourmede pp. 314.

confused pp. ruined, damned 180.

confusion n. perdition, damnation 246.

consideracion n. examination, observation 298.

constreyne v. refl. compel, force 152. constreyned pp. 888.

contemplacion, contempplacion n. contemplation, (ecstatic) meditation

300, 253.

contemplatif(e adj. contemplative 874. ~ lif way of life devoted to contemplation

656.

continuel adj. continual, continuous 176.

contrarious adj. contrary, opposing 462.

contricion n. remorse, contrition 276.

conuersacion n. conversion (to Christianity) 89.

conuersant pp. associated (with) 369.

corone, coroune n. crown 215, 481.

correccion n. correction 308.

corrupcion n. contamination (moral or spiritual) 173.

corupte pp. infected, diseased 25.

counceile n. counsel, instruction 375. counseilles pl. 39.

coueite v. covet, desire 321. coueites, coueitys pr. 2 sg. 144, 399. coueytes pr. 3 sg.

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coueitous adj. covetous, greedy 205.
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crymes n. pl. illegal acts, crimes 179.
craftes n. pl. tricks, wiles 422.
cumpanye n. company 294.
cunnynge pp. skillful, expert 668; vbl. n. knowledge, understanding 307.
curede pp. cured, healed 29.
dampnacion n. damnation 19.
dampnes pr. pl. damn, condemn 198. damned pp. 9.
dar pr. pl. dare, have courage 251.
deceites, deseytes n. pl. tricks, deceits 565, 421.
decyeue v. deceive 428. deceyue pr. 3 sg. 346. deceyuen, deceyues pr. pl. 139, 534.

decyued(e prp. 138. deceyued(e pp. 6, 85.
dede n. action, deed 39. dedes, dedys pl. 99, 16.
dedely adv. mortally 866.
dedelynesse n. mortality 625.
dedignacion n. disdain, scorn 453.
dedly, dedely adj. mortal, perishable 765, 140.
defailinge prp. weakening 179.
defautes n. pl. offenses, sins 660.
defoule v. trample on, spurn 164; vanquish, overcome 440. defouled,

defowled pp. dishonoured, besmirched 90, 680.
degre(e n. rank, position 678; stage (of advancement) 757, 832. degrees pl. 678.
deyntes, deyntees n. pl. delicacies 444, 499.
delecucion n. joy, sensual pleasure 431. delectacions pl. 48.
delicate adj. rich, fine 444.
delicately adv. richly, finely 1026.
delitable adj. delightful, pleasing 33.
delyces n. pl. delights, pleasures 48.
delyte v. refl. delight, take pleasure 664. delyted pp. 718.
delyte n. delight, pleasure 58. delytes pl. delicacies, delights 443.
deme v. judge 320. demes pr. 3 sg. 248. demen pr. pl. 361. demande prp. 242.
demede pp. 1020.
departe v. separate 439. departes pr. 3 sg. 493. departed, departid pp. 489, 95.
departynge vbl. n. 294.
depnesse n. deep place, depths 87.
dere v. hurt, harm 1037.
derlynges n. pl. beloved friends 452.
derworth, dereworth adj. noble, honoured 819, 727.
deserte n. worthiness, virtue 695.
despite n. insult, humiliation 235. despites pl. 502.
destroye v. squander 19. destroyes pr. 3 sg. overcomes, destroys 616. destroynge
vbl. n. overcoming, destroying 111.
deth, deeth n. death 13, 3.
deuel, deuyl n. Satan, the Devil 12, 457. deueles pl. demons, devils 448.
deuote adj. ~ vnto devoted to 796.
diffine v. define 895.
dignitee n. honour, esteem 151.
directe pp. turned, directed 704.
discipline n. chastisement, mortification 289.
discrecion *n.* moderation 598.

discret(e *adj.* wise, prudent 210, 340.

dises(e *n.* suffering, tribulation 215, 1037. *diseses, disseses* *pl.* 409, 484; illnesses, ailments 467; grievances, wrongs 505.

disparpled *pp.* scattered 560.

dispersions *n.* *pl.* distractions, confusions 551.

dispise, despice *v.* despise 412, 177.

dispite *n.* contempt, distain 528.

dispitouse *adj.* contemptuous, distainful 626.

displese *v.* offend, displease 754.

displesaunce *n.* an annoyance or nuisance 350.

dispose *v.* direct, regulate 262. *disposes* *refl.* prepares, makes ready 163. *disposid* 

/pp. wele ~ morally inclined, good-willed 648.

dispute *v.* discuss, engage in formal debate 658.

disseuere *v.* separate 438.

dissire *n.* yearning, desire 582.

distracte *pp.* distracted 407.

dytie *n.* composition, song 708.

diuers(e *adj.* disagreeable, perverse 552, 200.

doeful *adj.* sorrowful, distressful 615.

dome *n.* the Last Judgement 240.

dore *n.* door 961.

dounthristyng *prp.* trampling down, oppressing 178.

doute *n.* doubt 81.
drawes pr. 3 sg. drags, pulls 85. drawen pr. pl. 62. drawen pp. drawn, absorbed 682.

~ not a-lyte* do not delay, do not draw back 2.

drede n. fear 40. loue ~ fear inspired by love 43.

dredes pr. 3 sg. fears 44. dredande prp. 46.

dressed pp. prepared, made ready 263; subdued, conformed 314.

duell v. spend time, linger 745. duellest pr. 2 sg. 143. duelles pr. 3 sg. lives, resides

   606. duellen pr. pl. ~ in depend upon 149. dwell imp. 727. duellande prp.

   lasting, abiding 826.

eft(e adv. ~ sonys again 58, 32.

efter adv. after 472.

efterwarde adv. afterwards 94.

eked pp. added to, increased 468.

ellys, elles adv. else 47, 115.

enclynynge vbl. n. tendency, propensity 172.

encrese v. grow 596. encresced pp. increased 315.

endelesse adj. everlasting, eternal 903.

enflaumes pr. 3 sg. inflames, kindles 432. enflaume imp. 719. enflaumed,

   enflawmed pp. 590, 577.

enformede pp. trained, educated 310.

enioye v. rejoice, feel joyful 726. enioyande prp. 885.

enourned pp. endowed 910.

ensamplere n. model, example 297.

enspires pr. 2 sg. blows 730. enspired pp. imbued, endowed 849.

entencion n. purpose, intention 99; will, desire 576.

entente n. purpose, intention 550; will, desire 336.
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entises pr. 3 sg. tempts, entises 457. entisynges vbl. n. pl. 111.

entrelles n. pl. inner parts, viscera 722.

evie n. ill-will, hatred 179.

enviouse adj. envious, jealous 205.

er conj. before 3.

error n. heresy, false belief 10. errors n. pl. transgressions, sins 200.

eschape v. free oneself 345. escapede pp. 437.

eschewe v. avoid, shun 99.

ese n. tranquility, peace of mind 750.

esy(e adj. comfortable, pleasant 708, 831.

etes pr. 2 sg. eat 342. ete subj. 372. etynge vbl. n. 351.

euen adj. equal 829. ~ -cristen neighbour (in Biblical sense) 195.

euen adv. ~ contrary directly opposite 132.

euerlastyngnesse n. eternity 184.

examined pp. tested 526.

excludes pr. 3 sg. ~ fro hym shuns, avoids 774.

excusacion n. justification, defence 84.

exercise n. practice, discipline 400.

face n. range of vision, sight 713.

fader n. father 44.

fagen pr. pl. flatter, cajole 139. fagynge vbl. n. 64.

fagers n. pl. flatterers, blandishers 534.

fayle pr. 1 sg. fail, become exhausted 800. fayles pr. 3 sg. 783. faile subj. lack, want 119. fayle imp. escape 792. failynge prp. transient 116. failed pp. 394.

faire adj. beautiful, pleasing 56.
fairehed n. physical beauty 87.

fairenesse, fayrnesse n. beauty, pulchritude 65; splendour, glory 799.

fayn adv. gladly, joyfully 78.

fayne adj. happy, willing 414.

falles pr. 3 sg. comes to pass 387. fallen pr. pl. come (to mind) 108; suffer misfortune 540. falle subj. fall 509. fallande prp. 837. fel pt. sg. fell (into sin) 94.

fallynges vbl. n. pl. 540.

fals adj. false 166.

fame, faame n. reputation 90, 195.

fantasyes n. pl. deluded notions, false suppositions 105; mental images 430.

fare v. come 796.

fast adv. tight, firm 154.

feble adj. infirm, feeble 249.

feblenesse n. weakness, infirmity 349.

fedde v. feed 456. fede refl. 443. fedes pr. 3 sg. 343. fede imp. 741. fede, fedde pp. 453, 1026. fedynge vbl. n. feasting 498.

feyne v. ~ excusacion make a false defence 84. feynynge vbl. n. pretense, hypocrisy 936.

feynere n. ~ of religioun one who pretends to be pious 369.

feyht v. fight 449. feyhtynge vbl. n. 109.

feyth n. faith 109.

felawe n. fellow, man 787.

fele v. feel 721. feele pr. 1 sg. 805. feles pr. 2 sg. 649. feles pr. 3 sg. 88. felen pr. pl. 568. fel subj. think 370. feled(e, feld pp. 354, 721, 969. felynge vbl. n. opinion 217.
felle adj. fierce, angry 519.

fende n. Devil 32. fendes pl. devils, demons 565.

ferre adv. far 374.

ferthe n. fourth 296.

feruour(e n. ardour, passion 568, 569.

fest n. feast, banquet 780.

festen v. fix 63; fetter, shackle 211. festnesse pr. 3 sg. joins, unites 810. festnande

prp. fixing 833. festned pp. fixed 760; joined, united 1030.

fyle v. defile, polute 976.

flatereres n. pl. flatterers, deceivers 534.

flees pr. 3 sg. hastens, hurries 942.

flessh n. flesh (ie. sensual human nature) 32.

fleshly adj. carnal 74.

fleshlynesse n. pleasure, sexual indulgence 628.

fowynges vbl. n. pl. rivers, streams 303.

foly adj. & n. foolish, ignorant 271; foolishness, folly 641.

folk(e n. people 190, 905.

foole n. fool 1020. foles pl. 8.

forbede subj. forbid 329.

fore prep. before 1021.

forgyfe v. forgive 504. foryeuen pp. 283.

forme, fourme n. model (of life or conduct) 260, 353.

furthermore adv. furthermore, moreover 992.

orthy adv. not – nevertheless 968.

for-why adv. wherefore 13; because 636.
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**for-yette** v. forget 48.  
**foryetande, foretyng** prp. 836, 724.

**fote** n. foot 546.  
**fete** pl. 35.  
**proude** ~ haughty step 943.

**foule** adj. wicked, sinful 10; crude, unseemly 271; dirty, filthy 424.

**founde** pt. sg. subj. found 12.  
**founden** pp. 83.

**fre** adj. generous, open-handed 206; precious, excellent 890.

**frele** adj. frail, prone to sin 689.

**freltee** n. frailty, moral weakness 218.

**frely** adv. unreservedly, completely 1006.

**freten** pr. pl. gnash their teeth 196.

**fro** prep. from 2.

**fruyte** n. fruit, produce 304.

**ful** adv. very, most 66.

**fulfill** v. carry out, accomplish 39.  
**fulfillen** pr. pl. 998.  
**fulfillid, fulfilled** pp. fulfilled 673; imbued 911.  
**fulfilynge** vbl. n. gratification 510; attainment 609.

**galle** n. bitter taste 612.

**gare** pr. pl. make 372.

**gedere** v. amass 226.  
**gedere refl.** unite 211.  
**gederd, gaderde** pp. recollected 76; gathered 1024.

**gesture*** n. deportment, bearing 1022.

**get(e** v. get, aquire 232, 408.  
**gate** pt. pl. 645.  
**geten, getyn, goten, yette** pp. 52, 297, 300, 354.

**gif, gyf** *see yeue*

**glad(de** adj. joyful, cheerful 725, 462.

**gladded** pp. gladdened, made joyful 946.

**gladly** adv. willingly, without hesitation 48.
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**gladnes(se)** *n.* joy, bliss 68, 466.

**gladsumnesse** *n.* joyfulness, the bliss of heaven 1043.

**glotonye** *n.* gluttony 447.

**goddes** *pl.* gods 808. **goddis, goddes, gooddes** *sg.* **poss.** 83, 945, 416.

**godhede** *n.* God, the Trinity 627.

**goynge** *vbl.* *n.* walking 40; going from place to place 602.

**gost, goost** *see* **holy**

**gostly** *adv.* spiritually 719.

**gostly(e, goostly)** *adj.* spiritual 109, 949, 718.

**grene** *adj.* wax ~ flourish 303.

**gret(e)** *adj.* great, large 6, 45.

**gretly** *adv.* greatly, exceedingly 101.

**greue** *v.* insult, offend 46.

**greuous** *adj.* grave, serious 19.

**greuously** *adv.* painfully, severely 472.

**grounde** *n.* foundation 147.

**grucche** *v.* be angry 932. **grucches** *pr. 3 sg.* grumbles, complains 463. **gruchyn** *pr.* *pl.* 487.

**gude** *adj.* ~ **faame** good name, unblemished reputation 195.

**gude** *n.* property, possession 282. **gudes** *n.* **pl.** 194.

**habundance, habundaunce** *n.* great number, excess 64; full measure 578.

**halsynge** *vbl.* *n.* embracing 889.

**hapyns** *pr.* *3 sg.* happens 571.

**happe** *n.* luck, fortune 128.

**hardenesse** *n.* austerity, severity 104.
haste v. hurry, hasten 538.

hastie adv. speedily, hastily 835.

hastinesse n. speed, quickness 581.

hatereden, hatreden n. hatred 496, 427.

heye, hy, hye adj. divine, exalted 452; admirable, honorable 809; holy, virtuous 325.

heyer(e, hyere comp. 465, 318, 815. heyest, hyest sup. 192, 814.

heyht(e, heyght, hyght n. excellence, most excellent part 37, 253; pride, haughtiness 854; height, stature 1014.

heynes(se n. supernatural perfection, ecstasy 347, 531.

hel see hilles

hele n. health 751.

helful adj. sound, healthy 375; salvific, comforting 912.

helle n. hell, damnation 42.

hem pron. them 86.

heremyte n. hermit 1049.

hert(e n. heart 41, 212.

hete, heete n. eagerness, gusto 159; intensity, ardour 1004.

heuen n. heaven, paradise 21.

heuenly adj. heavenly, spiritual 53.

heuy adj. dejected, sad 77.

heuy adv. with heavy heart 605.

heuey v. burden, oppress 543.

heuynes(se n. burdensomeness, weightiness 68; annoyance, vexation 788.

heuysome adj. burdensome, oppressive 585.

hydous adj. terrifying, horrible 625.
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hidousnesse n. terribleness, hideousness 4.

hilles pr. 2 sg. cover, blot out 876. hel subj. cure, heal 22. heled(e pp. 25, 24. hillynge
   vbl. n. concealing 172.

hir(e pron. her 95, 745.

hit pron. it 105.

hole adj. cured, healed 23; full, complete 278; morally healthy, upright 552.

holy adj. pious, holy 356; blessed 683. ~ gost Holy Spirit 730. ~ kyrke Holy Church
   97. ~ writte Holy Scripture 29.

holy, holly adv. completely, entirely 50, 337. al ~ in full, in entirety 211.

holyday n. Christian festival, day of rest 1000.

holynesse n. virtue, piety 331. cloþes of ~ religious clothing 226.

holde v. keep back, withhold 250; regard, consider 318; keep, hold 669. holdes
   pr. 3 sg. 953. holde pr. pl. 352. hold subj. 758. holdande, holdyng prp. 1025,
   767. holden pp. 91.

homlynesse n. familiarity, intimacy 298.

hondis n. pl. hands 685.

honeste adj. & n. righteous, upright 289; conduct 368.

honours, honures n. pl. gifts, rewards 165, 152.

hop n. hope 109.

hote adj. strong, intense 583.

huge adj. intense 741; great 986.

hugely adv. much, greatly 1036.

ydel adj. idle 22.

if, yf, yif, yife* conj. if 17, 208, 359.

Ihesu n. Jesus 67.
ilk(e adj. each, every 15, 633. ~ a each and every 581.

impassible adj. exempt from illness, suffering 790.

ymyne n. pl. hymns, psalms 891.

incomparable adj. extraordinary, unequalled 799.

incomprehensible adj. limitless, boundless 845.

in-yetted pp. aquired 711.

inordinate adj. undisciplined, unorganized 180.

inposicion(e)s n. pl. imputations, accusations 179, 427.

inquisicion n. questioning 890.

inseperable adj. impossible to separate, inseparable 747.

inspiracion n. guidance (by divine influence) 893.

insuperable adj. invincible, unconquerable 747.

intil prep. into 584.

inwarde adj. spiritual, contemplative 338; inner, inmost 636.

inwarde adv. within the mind or soul, in spirit 75.

inwardely adj. spiritual, contemplative 918.

ioy, yoy n. joy 16, 585. ioyes pl. 118.

ioy, ioyen v. rejoice 175, 970. ioyand(e prp. 840, 718. ioyng(e, ioyynge

    vbl. n. gladness 621; praise 221; state of happiness 902.

ypocrisy n. hypocrisy 371.

ire n. anger, wrath 518.

yrke adj. weary, tired 105.

yrke imp. be weary, be tired 915.

yrksome adj. troublesome 585.

yuel(e n. evil 9, 100. yuels pl. 724.
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yuel(e adj. evil 111, 129.
kepe v. preserve, conserve 164. kepes pr. 3. sg. 839. kep, kepyn pr. pl. 284.

keped, keppede pp. 929, 206. kepynge vbl. n. restraint 287.

kynde n. nature 128. kynde pl. types, kinds 265.

kyndeles, kyndles pr. 3 sg. kindles, stirs up 431, 617. kyndelynge prp. 102.

kyndeled, kyndled pp. 785.

kynredes n. pl. tribes 242.

kyrke n. holy ~ the Church 97.
kissynges vbl. n. pl. kisses 838.

knawyng prp. gnawing 179.
knyhtys n. pl. knights, noble warriors 109.

knowynge prp. being aware, knowing 589; vbl. n. awareness 156.

langour n. misery, wretchedness 495.
languyse pr. 1 sg. fail in strength, languish 395. languysshes, languysheth* pr. 3 sg. 1035, 797. languysshyng(e prp. 739, 804.
lapped pp. enveloped 838.
large adj. ~ and fre munificent, generous 206.
lasse adv. less 787.
lat(e imp. let 174, 159.
latlyer adv. comp. more tardily, more reluctantly 592.
leche n. healing 804.

*lechery n. self-indulgence 272.

leddere n. ladder 877n.

ledes pr. 3 sg. brings 201.

lefe adj. pleasing, desirable 528.
lefer, leuere adj. comp. be (me) were ~ you (I) would prefer, you (I) would rather
752, 394.

leful, leffull adj. permitted, moral 250, 861.

lente pp. given, granted 20.

leren pr. pl. learn 540. lered pp. taught 646.

lesen, lese v. ruin 195; loosen, remove 765. leses, loses pr. 3 sg. loses, is dispossesed
of 818, 493. lesed pp. 154. lesyng vbl. n. 155.

lesynggis vbl. n. pl. lies, falsehood 292.

lesse adj. comp. smaller 17; less 137.

lesser adj. less important, inferior 251.

leste adj. smallest, least 81, 16. at be ~ at least 680.

lest conj. ~ pat for fear that 160.

let(e, lettyn v. hinder, impede 220, 69, 155. lettes pr. 3. sg. 359. letted pp. 79.

leuere see lefere

leuere see lefere

lyche n. equal 1017.


lyfe n. a rule of life 301.

lyht adj. easy to bear, not burdensome 475.

lyhtly adv. easily 544.

like adj. ~ vntile like 28.

lyke v. please 163. lykande prp. 708. lykynge vbl. n. 126.

likkened pp. compared 18.
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liknesse n. image, picture 950.

lymmys n. pl. limbs 14.

lytel n. bot ~ only a little, very little 72.

loke imp. look 229.

lordeshipe n. mastery, control 127.

longes impers. it ~ to it is the function of 412.

lose n. reputation 90.

lothly adj. detestable, disgusting 781.

loued n. beloved 822.

louer(e n. one who loves (God) 414, 839.

lovuuable adj. admirable, praiseworthy 698.

lovue, love v. praise, worship 175, 795. lovues pr. 3 sg. 464. lovued pp. 381.

lovuyng(e, lovyng e vbl. n. 339, 553, 891. louynges, louyngis vbl. n. pl. 532, 267.

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withouten adv. on the outside 1028.
withouten, wip-outen prep. without 19, 416.

withoutenforthe adv. outwardly 1007.

witte n. costly ~ spiritual awareness 960. wittes, wittis pl. senses 287, 14; mental abilities 658.

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wode adj. mad, insane 444.

wodnesse n. madness, lunacy 442.

worship(p)e v. worship, honour 123, 767. wirchippen pr. pl. 122. wirs(c)hippede pp. 233, 326.

worship see wirschippe

word n. world 98.

worke v. perform, do 15. werkyng, wirchynge, wirkynge vbl. n. deed, action 973; practice, discipline 947. goode ~ the doing of good 12.

woo n. woe, misery 753.

wrecchednesse, wretchednes n. wretchedness, misery 231, 424. wrecchednesse pl. 178.

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wrecched(e, wrecched adj. wretched, miserable 604, 244, 137.

wretche n. wrath, anger 427.

writ(e, writte, wryt(t)e n. holy ~ Holy Scripture 666, 554, 29, 897, 869.

ye pron. you 241.

yee interj. yea 17.

yere n. pl. years 93.
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**yette** see gete

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**yis** adv. yes 447.

**young(e)hede** n. youthfulness 65, 159.

**youthehede** n. youthfulness 164.

**yunge** adj. young 97.
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APPENDIX A

Linguistic Profiles - T¹ and T² Scribes

The Linguistic Profile (from here LP) items are taken from the questionnaire found in *LALME*, IV, p.xvi-xvii. Items followed by ‘NOR’ or ‘SOU’ refer to the original *LALME* surveys which were divided into two, one north and one south of the Wash.

Next to each item is the corresponding form or forms used by the T¹ and T² scribes, followed by the numerical frequency of each scribal form. I have silently omitted any items that are not found in the text. The T¹ scribe is responsible for copying approximately 80% of the text (fols 90r-115r) and the T² scribe 20% (fols 115r-121v).

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<td>269. -AND NOR (eg. LAND, HAND, STAND etc.)</td>
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<td>272. -DOM NOR (eg. KINGDOM, WISDOM etc.)</td>
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<td>275. -FUL <em>deriv. suffix</em> (eg. awful, beautiful etc.)</td>
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APPENDIX B

Parallel Texts - Latin and English

The following parallel texts are diplomatic transcriptions of B, T, C, and D. Capitalisation and punctuation have not been modernised, and where ever possible the manuscript form has been preserved. These parallel texts have been used to select the substantive variants for the textual apparatus of the present edition, and to make other editorial choices. They have also been used for a comparative study of the Latin and English texts, from which the characteristics of the translator and scribes have been determined. The parallel texts are reproduced here to enable the further study of textual variants as required, and to acknowledge the manuscript history alongside the tasks of editing and textual analysis. The line numbers given in the left-hand column correspond to the line numbers of the present edition for ease of cross-reference.
[f.24v] Incipit libellus Ricardi Hermite de Hampole de emendacione peccatoris qui obit Anno domini millesimo CCCº xlixº apud Sanctioniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xii Capitula videlicet.

De conversione peccatoris. Capitulum primum.
De contemptu mundi. Capitulum ii
De paupertate. Capitulum iii

[f.78r] Here ben the viij Chapter whyche Richard Hampole the Eremitye made. howe that a man shulde lyae in contemplacion. and in meditacion. and in other vertuos lyuyng. And after lyfe to come to the lyfe euerlastynge and dwelle with god in the blis of hevene.

Capitulum /
Primi. howe that A man turne hym to god by good werkis and louse hym.
Capitulum primum. howe that a man shulde dispyse the world. Capitulum ii.
Capitulum ii. howe that a man shulde lyue in wylfull pouer. Capitulum iij.
Capitulum iiij. howe that a man shulde ordeyne and dispose hys luyng. Capitulum xii.
Of tribulacions and discayres of the fende. Capitulum viii.
Of pacyence ayenst tribulacions and temptacions. Capitulum viij.
Of prayere in temptacion or in tribulacion. Capitulum viii
Of meditacions. Capitulum viiiii.
Of redyng. Capitulum ix.
Of purete and elemensse. Capitulum x.
Of the looe of god. Capitulum xi.
Of contemplacion. Capitulum xii.
[folio 78r] Incipit libellus Ricardi heremite de hampole de emendacione peccatoris qui obit anno domini millesimo viixº apud Sanctioniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xii Capitula. Videlicet.
De conversione peccatoris. Capitulum primum.
De contemptu mundi. Capitulum secundum.
De paupertate. Capitulum tertium.
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<th>C.U. Ff.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]</th>
<th>Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>De conversione peccatoris.</td>
<td>Tarye not for to turne the to god ne drawe not on longe fro day to day / for sodeynly he taketh wrecches in sharpesnesse of deth. And er pei wernne / shal deuoure hem bitternesse and hidousnesse of peyne. And soothly it may not be nombere of ys how many worldly wrecches jat wille prosonpon hath decayed.</td>
<td>[folio 141r] Heere bigimeth þe xii chapires of Richard heremite of hampool.</td>
<td>De institucione vite. Capitulum quartum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Capitulum primum.</td>
<td>[folio 90'] \ Capitulum primum. /</td>
<td>\Capitulum primum. /</td>
<td>De tribulatione. Capitulum quintum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Magnum enim peccatum est in dei misericordia confidere et a peccato non cessare estimando tantum esse dei misericordiam quod nec instam vult peccatoribus inferre penam.</td>
<td>Tarye not for to turne þe to god ne drawe not on longe fro day to day / for sodeynly he taketh wrecches in sharpesnesse of deth. And er pei wernne / shal deuoure hem bitternesse and hidousnesse of peyne. And soothly it may not be nombere of ys how many worldly wrecches jat wille prosonpon hath decayed.</td>
<td>Furst that a man turne hym to god by good werkes. Capitulum primum.</td>
<td>De paciencia. Capitulum sextum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ergo dum dies est operamini. Ventit [f.25r] nos quando nemo potest operari.</td>
<td>And therefor while the day lasteth of this presen lyfe we busy and do good vnte all.</td>
<td>And perfore whileþ þe day lasteth of þis present lyfe / be we busy and do good vnte alle.</td>
<td>De oracione. Capitulum septimum.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>De lecctione. Capitulum octavum.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>De lecctione. Capitulum novum.</td>
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<td>De puritate mentis. Capitulum decimun.</td>
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<td>De contemplacione. Capitulum duodecimun.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lucem vel presentem diem vocat</td>
<td>In this day shulde we neuer case</td>
<td>In his day shulde we neuer case</td>
<td>for thy day shulde we neuer case</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vitam in qua a bonis operibus cessare</td>
<td>of goode workynge . so hat he deaud</td>
<td>of good werkes worching so that</td>
<td>of good werkes worching so that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non debemus scientes quod nobis</td>
<td>founde vs neuer vnocupiede for</td>
<td>the deylf fynde us neuer vnocupiede</td>
<td>the deylf fynde us neuer vnocupiede</td>
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<td></td>
<td>inerta est.</td>
<td>we wote nought how long it shal laste.</td>
<td>for we witen not how longe it shal laste.</td>
<td>for we wote not how longe it shal laste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noctem mortem appellat in qua</td>
<td>for why he myht of bodily deeth cometh</td>
<td>ffor why the myht of bodily</td>
<td>ffor why the myht of bodily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ligantur membra . praintur sensus et</td>
<td>as a pefe in pe whyle myht oure lymy-</td>
<td>deeth cometh as a sheef . in pe</td>
<td>deeth cometh as a sheef . in pe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iam aliquid salutiferum operari non</td>
<td>mys arme bounden oure wittis are</td>
<td>whiche</td>
<td>whiche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possuumus. Set secundum opera</td>
<td>reife from vs. And pen now we no</td>
<td>night oure lymes are bounden oure</td>
<td>night oure lymes are bounden oure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nostra gaudium vel tormentum re-</td>
<td>goode werke werke . but tilke man</td>
<td>wittes are ref from us. and janne</td>
<td>wittes are ref from us. and janne</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ceptur sumus .</td>
<td>shal receive after his dedys opere</td>
<td>mown we no good werk werken. But</td>
<td>mown we no good werk werken. But</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ion or torment.</td>
<td>ech man shal resseuere after here</td>
<td>ech man shal resseuere after here</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>We lyuen here but on a poynkt</td>
<td>dedes here . loye or torment.</td>
<td>dedes here . loye or torment.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hat is</td>
<td>We lyuen here but in a poynkt.</td>
<td>We lyuen here but in a poynkt.</td>
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<td>pe leste thing hat may be . ye</td>
<td>hat is</td>
<td>hat is</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and lease pe a poynkte for ye alle</td>
<td>pe leste thing hat may be . ye and</td>
<td>pe leste thing hat may be . ye and</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pe present life pe be likened to pe</td>
<td>lease pe a poynkt. ffor if al pe</td>
<td>lease pe a poynkt. ffor if al pe</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pe present life pe be likened to pe</td>
<td>presen life pe shulde be likened to</td>
<td>presen life pe shulde be likened to</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pe present life pe shal hare ende .</td>
<td>pe presen life pe shulde hare ende .</td>
<td>pe presen life pe shulde hare ende .</td>
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<td>it is ryht nought.</td>
<td>it is ryht nought.</td>
<td>it is ryht nought.</td>
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<td>How may we pe with outen greuous</td>
<td>How may we pe with outen greuous</td>
<td>How may we pe with outen greuous</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[f.90r] dampnacione vitam nostram</td>
<td>[f.90r] dampnacione vitam nostram</td>
<td>[f.90r] dampnacione vitam nostram</td>
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<td>in amere</td>
<td>in amore</td>
<td>in amore</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>vanitatum consuminmus et tota die</td>
<td>vanitatum consuminmus et tota die</td>
<td>vanitatum consuminmus et tota die</td>
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<td></td>
<td>octor si stauimus .</td>
<td>octor si stauimus .</td>
<td>octor si stauimus .</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Quemodo non sine grauisima dam-</td>
<td>Nonnos duas et convertam ad te.</td>
<td>for how may we than with outen</td>
<td>for how may we than with outen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pucione vitam nostram in amore</td>
<td>Sana nos donum et</td>
<td>grauisima dampnacione</td>
<td>grauisima dampnacione</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vanitatum consuminmus et tota die</td>
<td>sanctabimus</td>
<td>waste and destroy pe shorte tymne</td>
<td>waste and destroy pe shorte tymne</td>
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<td></td>
<td>octor si stauimus .</td>
<td></td>
<td>pe lente pe hare</td>
<td>pe lente pe hare</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>multi autem sanciuntur . set corre-</td>
<td></td>
<td>multi autem sanciuntur . set corre-</td>
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<td>punctum vulnere eius et putrescunt.</td>
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<td>punctum vulnere eius et putrescunt.</td>
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<td>quia hodie ad deum sunt consecrati.</td>
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<td>quia hodie ad deum sunt consecrati.</td>
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<td>et cras a deo sunt aduersi. hodie</td>
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<td>et cras a deo sunt aduersi. hodie</td>
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<td>penitentes . cras ad mala pristina rede-</td>
<td></td>
<td>penitentes . cras ad mala pristina rede-</td>
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<td>uentes .</td>
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<td>uentes .</td>
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<td>as who say with outen pe we mow</td>
<td>as who say with outen pe we mow</td>
<td>as who say with outen pe we mow</td>
<td>as who say with outen pe we mow</td>
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<td>neuer be turned fro synne. ne be</td>
<td>neuer be turned fro sinne. ne be</td>
<td>neuer be turned fro sinne. ne be</td>
<td>neuer be turned fro sinne. ne be</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hechede of oure synknes / fBut many</td>
<td></td>
<td>hechede of oure synknes / fBut many</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pe ar pe are noth heled. but paire</td>
<td></td>
<td>pe ar pe are noth heled. but paire</td>
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<td>wounds are corrupte and roten for</td>
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<td>wounds are corrupte and roten for</td>
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<td>todays paye paye to god. and</td>
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<td>todays paye paye to god. and</td>
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<td>todays paye are fro god. today</td>
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<td>todays paye are fro god. today</td>
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<td>pe do penance for paire syn. and</td>
<td></td>
<td>pe do penance for paire syn. and</td>
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<td>tomorowe pei goo agayne to pe same</td>
<td></td>
<td>tomorowe pei goo agayne to pe same</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>synne like yeit a hounde pei turn-</td>
<td></td>
<td>synne like yeit a hounde pei turn-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>neth aye nte his vonyme /</td>
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<td>neth aye nte his vonyme /</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>De triibus dictum est: Caruainum Babylonem et non est sanata. quia ad christum non est perfectum conuersa. Quod enim est conversio ad deum. nisi auerso a mundo a peccato. a diabo et a carne. Quid est iterum auerso a deo. nisi conversio ad bonum decetabile ad delectabile speciem creatur, ad opera diaboli. ad voluntates carnis. et mundi non incessu pedum ad deum concorintur. set mutacione affectum et monum.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Off swikhe men is written in holy writ thus we have curde babilion. but it is noth moved hote for it is noth turned parfectly to god. What is be turnyng to god. Solely a turnyng a way fro be worde fro synne. fro be fende and fro be flesh. What is efefones a turnyng away fro flesh? No thing but a turnyng to delitable and temporal good. to be pleasing shap of creatures to werke of be fend and to lustes of be fleshe and of be worde. We are noth turned to god with goinge of our bodye feete but thor ou change of our affections and our maners.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Of swichmen ys wrytyn in holy wrytte thys we haue curred babilion. but it is not maked hool. for it is not turned perfectly to god. What is he turnynge to god? Soothly a turnynge away fro he world. fro he sinne. fro he fende. and fro he flesh. What is efennones a turnynge away fro cryst? No thing but a turnynge to delitable and temporall good. to be pleasing shap of creaturis to werkes of he fended. and to lustes of he flesh and of he world. We are not turned to god with going of our bodily feet but thorou changing of our affections and our maners.</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Conversio itaque fit ad deum. dum aciorn mentis ad ipsum dirigitus et eius consilia atque mandata cogitationum at a nobis implementur et vice versaque fuerimus perexerimus vel sederimus. timor [E.25v] dei a corde nostro non recedat.</td>
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<td>then turne we vs vinto god. when we rese ype he sharpness. and he heyhte of oyr mynde vntil hym besly thinkandes and beholde his biddygnes and his counsellis pat we myght fulfill pain in dede / And where so euere we be. what so euere we doe goynge or sittinge / be dede of god go neuer oute of oure herite.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>banne turne we vs vinto god. when we rese ype sharpness. and he heyhte of oyr mynde vntil hym besly thinkandes and beholde his biddygnes and his counsellis pat we myght fulfill pain in dede. And wher so euere we be. what so euere we doo goynge or sittinge / be dede of god go neuer oute of oure herite.</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Non locuir de timore qui penu habet. set de co qui est in caritate. quo. reuerenciam exhibitus presencie tante magistatis et semper timere ne ipsam vel in modo offensamus. Sic siquidem dispositio ad deum recte convertimur. a mundique avertimur.</td>
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<td>I skeep not of pat dedde pat has peyne pat is a shrall dedde pat only abstyneth fro synne for dedde of peyne of helie. not for pe love of god. ne for pe lufe of vertue and of ryhtwisnesse. but I mene of lufe dedde pat is when he childle dredes for to offende pe fader thurh he whilke lufe drede. we beholde what reverence what honour and wosphipe we may gife to so grete and so worpi a Maieste euere more dredende to grewe or to offende it.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I skeep not of pat dedde pat hath peyne pat is a shrall dedde pat oonly abstyneth fro sinne for dedde of pe/ peyne of helie not for pe love of god. ne for pe love of vertue and of [E.142r] ryhtwisnesse / but I mene of love drede. pat is when he childl dredeth for to grewe pe fader. thorou he whiche love drede / we beholde what reverence. what honour and wosphipe we may give to so gret and so worpi a maiestee eueremore dredinge to grewe or for to offende it.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thanne turne we vs to god when we rayse yp the sharpnesse of oyr mynde. And the heyght of oyr mynde. vyn tyll hym besly thinkeynge and holdynge [E. 79r] lys biddygnes and lys counsellis that we myght fully fill hem in dede. And what som euere we do gying or styynge the drede of god go neuer oute of oure herit.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I skeep not of that dedde that hath peyne that ys a shrall dedde that oonly abstyneth fro synne for dedde of pe/ peyne of helie not for pe love of god. I skeep not of that dedde. pat is when he childl dreedeth for to offende the fader. through the whiche love drede we beholde what reverence what honour and worship we may yeue to so gret and so worthy a mageste euermore dreedynge to grewe. or to offende hit.</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>Aucti antem a mundo nichil aluid est quam omnes delectaciones eius postponere. et amantidincus eius pro Christo sustinere. et dare oblivionis omnes occupaciones intaltes. et negocia secularia quanlus animas noster in tota ad deum conuersae. omnia que in mundo sunt amanda vel querenda medullit moritur.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To &lt;br&gt; turn &lt;br&gt; away fro the world. is not elles but for to caste be hynde and forto for yette all pe delectacions and delacies of it. and to suffre gladly and mekely for cristes lufe alle tribulations and angynshes of it. and putte away alle vnprouituable occupaciones and worldly nedes / So pat oure here alle holy and perfectly turnede to god. may gladly and [p.91*] meryly dye til alle pinge pat may be luvede or geten in pe world /</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To be turned away fro the world / is nought ellis but for to caste blynde and and forto ye all the delectations and delites of it / and to svere gladly and mekely for crystes lue all tribulations and angynshes of it / to put away all vnprouitable occupaciones and worldly nedes / Soo pat oure a holy and partyly turned to god / may gladly and meryly dye to alle things pat may be loued or geten in pe world.</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Extensus igitur et dilatata ad superna desideranda deum ante oculos semper habeat. quasi ipsum indefessa intueretur sicut psalmista ait:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>And when it is just speeded and made brode parth hyeely desires pat is pen euermore have god before pe yeon of pe soule as fol it sawe god with out citeynge as pe prophete says</td>
<td>And when it is just speeded out and maad brod thornly heely desires / pat it jaime euermore have god before pe yeon of pe soule as if he seye god without ceysenge as pe prophete seith.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Prouidem domini in conspicu meo semper. non ad omnia sicut faciunt hij qui omne pulcrum et amabile terrenum ante oculos ponunt quod contemplatur in quo delectatur. et quo frut conteupianit.</td>
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<td>I sotte oure lorde euermore in my sight. nouth for a short tym as done al [e]pe pat settene al erely pinge pat is faire fulery before pe eye of paire soule whike pat beholde and couete and have paire ioy and paire delyte in.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>And also pe prophete says ef songs / Myne eyen are euere more to oure lorde.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I sette oure lord euermore in my sight. Nouth for a short time. as done alle [e]pe pat setten all erelyly thing pat is fair and loynely. before pe eye of here soule. whike pe boholde and coyte. and have here ioye and here delpe time.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Et iterum psalmista: Oculi mei semper ad dominum. quoniam ipsa euelleit de laqueo pedes meos.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>And also pe prophete seith ef songs. Myne eyen ben euermore to oure lord.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Patet profecto ex his verbis quod nisci oculos ad Christum infigibilitatem crexerimus laqueum tempationis non auidemus.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>And also pe prophete seith ef songs. Myne eyen ben euermore to oure lord.</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Ne quidem oculus cordis noster in deo figatur et ad deum perfecte convertatur. multa sunt impedimenta ex quibus aliqua ponamus. Habundancia duiiciarum. blandimenta</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mony letynge be pat drawn a man doun pat he may not partyly turne hym to god ne feste his eye upon hym of whilke I shal shewe some. habundancie of erely riches.</td>
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<td>Many letynge be pat drawn a man doun pat he may not partyly turne hym to god ne feste his eye upon hym. Of which I shal shewe summe. Habun- [f.142v] daunc of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Many letynge be pat drawn a man doun pat he may not partyly turne hym to god ne fastene his eye vpon hem. Of the whyche I shal shewe summe Abondaunce of</td>
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</table>

and that thow euermore have god before the yeon of the soule. As though hit sawe god withoute ecyng. As the prophete seith. I shall sette oure lorde euermore in my sghyt nat for short tym as doon all these that setten all erelyly thing that ye fayre and loynely before the [col. b] yeon of her soule. Whych thay beholde and convet and han here ioye and her delte in. And also the prophete seith ef songes. Myne eyen ben euermore to oure lord. Sothely it is openly shewede be these wordes pat we may noth felle the snares and the trappes of tempationes but if we myghtyly and with outen stynyng eyen reys vp pe yeon of oure soule vnto god. (p.97*). Many letynge be pat drawn a man doun pat he may noth partyly turne hym to god ne fastene his eye vpon hem. Of the whyche I shal shewe summe Abondaunce of
189

189

65

hic est tripus fonicus qui difficulte rumpitur. Rumpendus tamen est et pro nichilo habendus vit. Christus amet.*

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

C.U. Pr.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]

multicern. forma [f. 26r] sine pulchritudo insignis est.

Qui enim Christum amaret vere desiderat non solum sine tristitia.

verum et cum omnibus omnia quae impendere poterunt abiet. et nec patri nec matre nec sibi ipsi in hac causa prius. Non acceptum vult clariscens in omni infert. obstaculat cantu contingit parum sibi videtur quemque facere potest et deum amet.*

Volat a vicis quisque abritus ad ea que seculi sunt non secundus solaciam. Immo in deum sit totum diriment etereum externus solum amat et tibi in Christum clementur et deum ipsum videntes confessatrun putant vehementer gaudet.

73

he flees fro synne as a drunken man 
he has none eye ne no beholding to no manner comfort of the world, ne of fleshly solace, but he giveth himself so holy inward to god. But we do he is at laste of the inward wittis. He is all gadered with inwardly me self and he reyed vp into the iusum crist. But who so sey him he shulde weere he were hevé or sorri but sikirly he hath ful grete ioy. 

C.U. Pr.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]

erethy richesse. blandishisshynge
and fagynge of women. shap and fante
nesse of yonghehede.

Thys ys a threfole corde that ys full hard to breke. Neuertheless hit beveloweth neces to be broken and set at nouth if erist shall be loked. For who so desyereth trewly for to love thes us crist / nouth only with out hevennesse. But with ful grete ioye and gladnesse he forsaketh and casteth awaye all thinges that may lette hym. Ye in his case he spereth neyther harder ne moore. Yet yit his owen self. Ne taketh no comfort of any eerly thing. He doth violence to alle. He breketh alle obstacles and letyngeis. Him thinketh it but litel al pat he may do. So pat he mythe love thes us crist.

erethy richesse. blandishisshynge
and fagynge of women. shap and fante
nesse of yonghehede.

There ys many that seyen that wolde fayne forsake the world, and turne hem holly vnto god. But seyen that pe may not gyf for pe ben letted with certeyne occupacionis. Whos colde soules sorowynge we reprowe ffor with oute doune if pei were onys touched with pe lest sparcle of pe love of god

erethy richesse. blandishisshynge
and fagynge of women. shap and fante
nesse of yonghehede.

There ys many that seyen that wolde fayne forsake the world, and turne hem holly vnto god. But seyen that pei may not gyf for pe ben letted with certeyne occupacionis. Whos colde soules sorowynge we reprowe ffor with oute doune if pei were onys touched with pe lest sparcle of pe love of god.
Vidi enim virum de quo dixerunt quod per quindecim annos mirabilia rigoribus corripit, et postea lapus cum coniuge suis crevit. Non potuit visa ad mortem. In morte vero eius dixerunt quod sacerdotibus ad se venientibus maledixit et sacramenta recipere recusavit.

Debent ergo neophiti id est nouiter concumbi, occasiones pecundi-um, verba, facta, aspectusque ad malum excitanda intentione vigili deuitare. Quo enim est res magis illicita, eo est aliquos minus desiderata. Insurgit diabolus vehem-
menter contra illos quis videt a se auerti et mundi ac carnis desideria accedere non desinit. Ante actas delectationes animo ingerit. Desolationem penitentie proponit, et imminbingit fantasmata cogitationum nuerum et affectionum institutum se se excitant que prius erant sopia.

mykel [f'93'] me more somitme it is counseyled and desired. Pe fende riesys greatly agayne alle swilkme men as he sees are turned fro hym. Kyndlyng deseles of pe worlde and of pe flesh. And delectations iust pei hidden before time in synne he bringes agayne to laire pouht. He shewes forbe greet hardenesse and bitterness of penance for to make vs yrke with hit. He rysies vp fantasies with outen nounbere and new pouhtys and affections iust profitten nouht pe whylke were before stillle and oslepe.

self / sio michele pe more somitme it is counseyled and desired. Pe fende rysied greatly agayne swiche men as he seeth ben turned fro hym. Kyndleng deseles of pe worlde and of pe flesh. And delectations iust pei hidden bi fortem time in synne he bringes agayne to here thought. He sheweth forth grete hardenesse and bitterness of penance / for to make us yrke with hit. He reseth vp fantasies with outen nombre / and newe thouhtes and affections iust profitten nouht. Pe whiche were before stillle and aslepe. [f'143v]

Amonge peise and al opleure pe fallen we shalle myhtely and manely vse oure selue / and as cristes knyghtys take gostelys armures of feith / hop. And charite ffehyngen staworthly ayeys pe fendez and al his suggestions. And yuel entysgnes / desroyyng and quenchynge aly fleshly and worldly deseles. Ceuermore desroyyng and selynge pe lufe of god. Thurnh despysinge and forseykyng of pe worlde/

Amonge peise and all opleure pe fallen we shulen mithely and manely vse oure self. / and as cristes knyghtes take gostelys armures of feith hope / charite. Flitthege stawl譬ly ayeys pe fendez and al his suggestions. And yuel entynges / destructione and quenchynge aly fleshly and worldly deseles. Ceuermore deseasing and seckenge pe lufe of god. Thurnh despysinge and forseykyng of pe worlde.

How a man shal despise pe worlde. Capitulum 2.

Despyngynge of pe worlde is nouht elles bot an ouerpassyng of aly creply and failynge jyngees. With outen loue of pain / juhra fernent lufe and desire of god and hevynly jyngees. In this hef no jynge to seke bot [f'93'] god. And to acounte and sette at nouht al vayne ioyes and fleshly confortes of pe worlde and of pe flesh. Vnnepes takynge his needfullenes / and if it

Despyngynge of pe worlde is nouht elles. But an ouerpasynge of aly creply and failynge jyngees. With outen loue of hem thorow fernent lufe and desire of god and hevynly jyngees. In this hef no thing to <seke> but god. And to acounte and sette at nouht al vayne ioyes and fleshly confortes of pe worlde and of pe flesh. Vnnepes takynge his needfullenes. And if it

How a man shulde despyse the worlde. Capitulum secundum.

Dispysynge of the world ys nat elles. But an ouerpasynge of aly creply and failynge jyngees. Withouten loue of hem thorow fernent lufe and desire of god and hevynly jyngees. In this lufe. Nothing to seke but god. And to acounte and sette at nouht al vayne ioyes and fleshly confortes of the world and of the flesh. Vnnepes takynge his needfullenes.
120 Iste est contemptus mundi, humane habet sii non vis esse peremptus. Sic mundus contemptur et non amatur. Omne enim quod amans honoratur. Turpe est itaque honore stercore quod est amare terrena hinc est quod diutius vilissimis fetoribus se seruos constituant et gaudent se dici dominos virorum cum servis [sunt] viciorum. Quod homo homini dominetur non nature est sed fortuna. Quod homo vicissim substantem peruenere voluntatis est.

129 Aufer ergo malam voluntatem et liber eris a diabolo effectus seruos iusticie que te doctum mundanam non amaret. Contraria enim sint cupiditas mundi et amor dei nec in eodem requiescant simul.

coaugustatum est stratum, ita vt alier alterum decidat Quanto ergo profundus cupiditatem expuleris tanto magis duumnum amorem gustabis et quanto maior cupiditas tanto minor caritas.

137 O misera anima quid in mundo queres vbi omnia transitoria et decep-
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Line #</th>
<th>Bedley 54 (ff. 24v - 45r) [B]</th>
<th>T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]</th>
<th>C.U. Fl.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]</th>
<th>Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>set seio vbi habitas, vbi sedes est Sathan, qui ocios tuos eceautum et per prestiguia tua tibi illudit, vi cuperes fugacieta et amatoj odibilia, permanencia [f. 27r] contemplarum et cuocescibitibus adherrent. Set sic te fundans super fullice fundamentum cum tu stare putarier cades in ignem.</td>
<td>wele hat alle jinges are passande and decreuyande / ppo hat most fagen and plesen pe / sonnest gon away and decreyuen pe / where to art thou so bese for dedly jinges / And wherto consects bow with so grete affection swike jinges as bow knowes wele shake perysh and were away / Sees bow not hat sonerre bow passen away bow hat may be geten /</td>
<td>hat alle things ben passinge and decreyuyng. bow hat most fagen / i.e. flaten / and plesen pe / sonnest gon away and decreyuen pe.</td>
<td>seest well that all thynges ben passinge and decreyuyng that the most fagen the and plese the . sonnest gon away and decreyuen the. wherto art thou so bese for dedly thynges. and wherto consente thou with so grete affection suche thynges as thou knowest well shall perysh and were away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>habundant in temporalis habundantia per quingueque amor consecipiantur, per discretionem, per dignitatem, per voluptatem, per potestatem, per honores, hee alligant eos in pecextias, stringunt in culpis haec vincturale delectationibus, nec solutur nisi per mortem, set tunc est nimis tarda solutio quando non restat nisi eterna damnacio.</td>
<td>jei hat duellen in habundance of worldly richesse / be secunde is worldlly dignite / be bridde is erly poower / be ferth is lufe of paire flesh. / And be fyth is wymayne worshippe and honours / pese constreyne jain in syrne and byndes in wicknedness / with pese lustes and delectations ben hat bounden so fast / hat many may not be lesed fro jain tile depe come / but jen is ouerlate losyng / when nouht folowes after bow but endelles damnung /</td>
<td>bei hat dwollen in [f. 144v] habundance of worldly riches: ben descoryyn bi fuyte thynges whiche bei louen. / be firste is riches: be secunde is worldly dignite / be thride is erlyly power. / be ferth is lufe of here flesh. / And be fife is yvye wurshipes and honours. / pese constreyne hem in simne and bynden hem in wiknednesse.</td>
<td>They that dwollen in abundance of worldly richesse ben descriyn by fuyte thynges. / The firsts ys. Richesse. / The secunde ys worldly dignyte. / The thryd ys worldly power. / The iij ys lufe of the flesh. / And the v ys yvye worshipps and honours. These constreyne hem in simne and byndeth [iii] wiknednesse. / With pese lustes and delectations ben bei bounden so faste / hat many mown not be lesed fro hem til deth come. / but janne is ouerlate losyng. / When nouht foloweth after. bow but endelles damnung.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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155  
hec impediment a contemnint mundi 
ab amore dei . a cognizance sui . ab 
appetitu celestis regni . Nemo quippe 
salutari potest nisi mundum fugatur et 
omnia que in eo amare deseretur . 
Desistat ergo dum calor est in corpore 
et adeque pulera etas restat 
inuentutatis . Quid enim delectabit 
illum qui ad amandum Christum se 
disponit . Inuentutem sua calcatibus . 
fortitudinem suam ad deum custodi 
ducias pro nichilo duce quia fallax 
gracia et vana est pulchritudo adeheret

167  
Quid per singula discurrens perfecte 
contemnint omnia que in hoc mundo 
transcurs et vetus vnbra . O carnalis 
amor quid in carne reperis quia in ea 
sie deceratuis . placet tibi forma . vel 
forte si in pelle gloriatur . quid sub 
pelle lacte . cur non attendis . an re 
scis quod pulchritudo . velamen est 
turpitudinis . fomes corruptionis . et 
sepse causa damnumis .

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<th>Bedeley 54 (ff. 24v - 45r) [B]</th>
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<th>Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 155  | hæc impediment a contempnint mundi . ab amore dei . a cognizance sui . ab appetitu celestis regni . | hæc fyne leytyn . a man fro despising of þe worlde / fro þe luf of god / fro knouynge of hym selfe and fro appetit and cognizance of þe kyngdome of heauen for sykery þer may no man be sauf but if he þe worlde and leue to lufe ale þat is per in / Late vs perfere begynne whiles we are hole and þe heete of oure youngheede is with vs / last þat we be taken with deth or we witte it . And seake space of penance and may noon fynde for þat þat abides of amendynge whiles he may no more syrne : syrne leues hym and he not syrne / And perfere he is worthe no mode of god / [E. 95r] Bet what may lyke or plese hym þat disposeth hym forto lufe ihese crist / he shall devoule his youthcethe he shall kepe ale his strenthe vnto god / Alle rychece and honours of þe worlde shalle he acomte and set at nouthe . hym shal pinke þat al bodely fairenesse is bot fals and vanye ioye and nouthe worthe .
| 167  | Quid per singula discurrens perfecte contemnint omnia que in hoc mundo truncunt velut vnbra . O carnalis amor quid in carne reperis quia in ea sic deceratuis . placet tibi forma . vel forte si in pelle gloriatur . quid sub pelle lacte . cur non attendis . an res scis quod pulchritudo . velamen est turpitudinis . fomes corruptionis . et sepse causa damnumis .

What shall I see more / he dispenses parfitly ale Thinges of his worlde . putt passeth away as a shadowe . A pow fleshly lyke what fyndes pow in þe flesh þat pow hast so gret delyte in it / If pow have ioye and delyte in shappe and fairheed of bodie / why beholde þow not what is lyfde with inne in þe skynne / knowes þow not well þat fairnesse of flesh is bot an hyllyng of foulesse . enelyynyge and norislhyng of corruption and ofte stithes cause of perdicion and endeles damnung /

These v leytyn a man fro dispysynge of the worlde . fro the lufe of god . fro knowynge of hymself . And fro apetye and fro contynye of the kyngdom of heauen . for sykery þer may no man be sauf but if he þe worlde . and leue [co]j to love all þat ys syrne . Late vs therfore begynne whyle we ben hoole . and þe heete of oure younghede is with vs / last þat we be taken with deth or we witte it . And seake space of penance and may noon fynde . for þat þat abides of amendynge in the tyne he may no more syrne / syrne leues hym and he not syrne . And therfore he ys not worthy no mode of god . But what may lyke or plese him þat disposeth hym fulli for to love ihese crist / he shall devoule his youngheede . he shall kepe al his strengthe vnto god . Alle richesce and honours of þe worlde shal he compute and sette at nouthe .

What shall I see more / he dispyseth parfitly alle Thinges of his worlde þat passeth away as a shadowe . A pow fleshly lyke what fyndest pow in þe flesh . þat pow hast so gret delyte in it / If pow have ioye and delyte in shappe and fairheed of bodi / whit beholdest þow not what is hidde with inne in þe skynne . knowes þow not wel þat fairnesse of flesh is bot an hyllyng of foulesse . enelyynyge and norislhyng of corruption . and ofte stithes cause of perdicion and endeles damnung /

A thou fleshly lyke what fyndest thou in þy flesh . þat thou hast so gret delyte in hit . ye thou have ioye and delyte in shappe and fryenece of body . Why beholdest thou nat what ys hidde with inne in þy skynne . knowes þow not wel þat fairnesse of flesh is bot an hyllyng of foulesse . enelyynyge and norislhyng of corruption . and ofte stithes cause of perdicion and endeles damnung .
174 sufficit ergo tibi despectis ceteris amare deum. laudare esse cum deo, gaudere cum deo [ff. 28r] non recedere a deo. Set illi missiviti desiderio adhovere. ad contemptum mundi. ipsa mundus nos compellit qui tot miseris plebes est. in quo malicia perseuerans. persecutio con-

182 Et alia sunt que mouere nos possunt ad contemptum mundi. mutabilitas temporis. suscepta est prae sent. certa morte incertae mortis auentus. stabilitas eternitatis. vanitas rerum presentium. veritas futurorum. Elige quod vis. si diligis mundum peribis cum mundo. si amas Christum regnas cum illo *.

189 Capitulum tertium. de paupertate

Si vis perfectus esse vacet et vende
omnia que habes et sequere me in
deserto que mundi sunt et imita-
tando que Christi sunt indicat esse
perfeccionem. Non enim omnes qui
bona sua dereliquerunt Christum

Legit perfore suffice vult haec: a
nec perpetuo tiene dispendimus et setae
nouit. luto legas. to loque legas. to
be with god. to loye in god. not for to
gro god. but for to cleave to hym
thor misuse. and be reformed desire.

Letit perfore suffice vult haec: a
nec perpetuo tiene dispendimus and setae
nouit. luto legas. to loque legas. to
be with god. to loye in god. not for to
gro god. but for to cleave to hym
thor misuse. and be reformed desire. 

Late hit thersfore suffice [ff. 81r'] to the. all other thinges dyspepe and
sette at nought. to loque god and to
be with god. to loye in god. And nat

Of willful pouer. Capitulum ter-
clerum.

If jow wilt be parfite / go and selle
all jow hast and yive to poore
folk. and come and folwe me. In

Of Wilful pouer. A Capitulum ter-
crump.

If jow wilt be parfite / go and selle
all jow hast and yive to poore
folk. and come and folwe me. In

Of wyful pouer. Capitulum ii

If jow wilt be parftie. Go and
syll all that thou hate. and yee to
poor folk. and come and folwe me. In
these two. jow is in forskying of
worldly thinges. and in folominyng of

Of wyfull pouer. Capitulum ii

If jow wilt be parftie. Go and
syll all that thou hate. and yee to
poor folk. and come and folwe me. In
these two. jow is in forskying of
worldly thinges. and in folominyng
Cryste. for som ben worse after the
194 Tunc enim deseruint detractions proximorum suorum bonam famam afferre non pertunescentur tunc inuidia tabescat malicia frendent. alis se preponunt. statum suum laudant. alios queilibet vituperant et condempnatur.

Quomodo putas talibus illius disibolus. qui nec deum [f. 28v] habent nescumundum quoq per diversa deliramenta ducit ad eterna tormenta.


et si immundus existirater. non solum ab omni malo. set ab omni specie mali abstine re se contendat. Et si in aliquo per cibum et potam ante cesseret. dienceps per stiumum emendet. qui vero mundum nimia amanserat. iam ad amorem dei se totum colligit. omnes dispersiones cordis in vno desiderio eternorum

and if byow has keppe the bruth grace elene fro grete synnes her before / how shalt now abyste pe / not oroly fro ale yuel / but also fro ale pe spyses of yuel. And yf byow has any tyne befor synne bruth outerge of mete and drynke / how shal now amend it bruth fastynge and discreet abstinsions / yf byow has

scoyled all mene pate forsaken worldly thinges folwen [f. 145v] not crist. For summe ben worse after pat byow hane forsaken here goodes / yf byow were before. * byene been hem to be bacthinge of here evencristene. pe drenen not to do away and lessen pe goode fame and loos of here evencristene. byene ben pe fil of enyme. pe freten in malice. pe sette paim selve before al oyer in paire owne sust. pe love and presye. paire owne state and degree. and balmes and dampnes oer mensis lynginge. * how treows how pe fede he has decynde swilk manner of men. pe whille huene neiphe pe world ne god. whom in divers wrongways of errors and wickednesse he ledes to eruelastynge peyne and dampanction / *

Then yene hem to bacthynge of er image cristyn. they drede not to do away and lose the good fame and los of her evencristyn. Then ben they full of envy. they freyn in malece. they sesen hem selfe before all other in her owne sust. they preyn theye owne state and degree. and blamyn and dampan oer mensis lynginge. * How treows how pe fede he has decynde swilk manner of men. pe whille huene neiphe pe world ne god. whom in divers wrongways of errors and wickednesse he ledes to eruelastynge peyne and dampanction. *

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figat.

213

Sic nimium fructuosa erit illi voluntaria pauperitas et angustia quam propter deum passionem corona gloriosa.

Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum. Quid est enim paupertas, nisi humilitas mentis quæ suam infirmitatem cognoscit hominem et videns se ad perfectam stabilitatem non posse pertingere, nisi per gratiam dei.

vitumque impedire poterit a gracia percipiendi. deserit et in solo Conditoris sui gaudio desiderium suum ponit. Et sic ex tua radice multi rami oriantur, sic ex voluntaria pauperitate talior sumpta virtutes inestimabiles procedunt. Non sicut quidam qui tunicam mutantur non animam immo diuicis videntur descreere et immemorabilia vicia non cessant congregare.

227

Quid peius pauper superbo. quid excelsabilis mendico inuido. Tu vero si omnia proper deum desecrat.
230 non enim per se paupertas virtus est sed magis miseria, nec per se laudabilis est sed qui est instrumentum virtutis et adquirandam beatitudinem adiuvat quia vitae multas occasiones pecuniae facit. Ideo laudabilis est et optabilis. Eo facit enim hominem non honorari sed despici quasuis virtuosissimis inter se posse potentes etque omnia sustinere pro Christo sumnum meritorum est propere chrus ad exemplum nostrum pauper in via fuit quia scit cos qui in diutius et delicis habundant difficilis intramus in regnum celenorum.

238 Vnde vt auditis paupertatem amplexiterentur, sumnum hominem his qui propter ipsum omnia relinquunt prophetam, siclet indicarum potestatem donec vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me sedebitis super sedes duodecin. indicatque duodecin tribus Israel.

243 Qui vero paupertatem habent et cantum humilitatem miserabilior sunt sciemus qui diuicijs habundant nec accipient in iudicio sedem apostolorum dignitatis. set induemur diplode confusediones que est duplex danmacio videlicet anime et corporis [f. 29v]
247 Qui autem ma{u}stetudine pollut.
licet diuicis habeant. tamen ad
dexteram Christi cum iudicat statuuntur.
Dicant enim quidam. omnia reli-
quere non possamus. infirma sumus.
necessaria nobis retine re aportet
vnde via manus. licitum est hoc. set
minus valent. quia angustias pauper-
tatis pro Christo sustinerem non
audent.

sorum possunt per dei gracia
ad culmen virtutem perlingere. et ad
contemplacionem se leniari si ope-
ciones et negotia secularia deserent
et ad omnium et meditandum in-
defesse assurant et ea que habent
non mundo possident. et possi-
dendo relinquant.

256 Attendat et quod superfluum villis
cupidas est. sed omnia relinquere
perfectionis. dum ergo considerant
acquies que non attingunt. de minori-
bus non presuntur. ut ad ins-
mationem vete ascendere mercantur.
de qui num agetum est.

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

bie damnacioni of body and sole /
Bot jest pat shyne in mekenes; po f al
pat aboude in ryches. Neuerpel
pat shal be sette at ey rhytbonde
of crist when he demes. Same
men seyne we may not forseake alle
we ar seke and feble and perfere
be behoves holde solde jinge wher with
we may lyf. Bis is lefelif. But jest
pat lese

C.U. Fr.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

confusion. jest is double damnacion
of bodi and sole.

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]

manteil of confusion. that ys double
damnacion of body and sole.

But they that shyne in mekenesethe
Though they have rychesse. neu-
erpel they shullen be set at the
right hand of cryste when he demeth.
Sume men sayen. we may not forseake
alle we ben syke and feble.
And perfere thus behoves holde sum
thing wher with we may lyve. Bis is
tollef. But jest ben jest

And weye jest che

And weye jest ryrh wele. Jest for to
gere more part rarely neces. it is of
cousetise. Bot for to forseake al for
crist it is of perfection. And perfere
whils jest see heyere jinges abouen
hen. jest whils jest move not atteyne
eto. jest shulde not be proude ne pres-
sumptuous [f.98] of jest lytel Jest jest
hau. So Jest jest mihte come to be
reule and forme of gode lyuong. jest
mekenese and femer lone of
thise cryste.
Capitulum quartum. De institucione vite

Ut homo ad honorem dei et commodi sui ac utilitatem proximum recte dirigatur. quaecumque occurrant dicenda. ¶

Primo quod sunt quae ipsum inquinant et sunt trina genem pectorum. scilicet cogitationis oris et operis. Cogitatione peccat quis cum quid contra deum cogit. si cor suum non occupat laudibus et amore dei si illud diversis cogitationibus abstrahit et mundo vagare permititur. ¶

Ore peccat. quando mentitur. quando perurit. quando maledicit. quando [f.130r] detrahit. quando errorem licet ignorans defendit. quando putrificat. vel turpiaquit. vel vanam profert. ¶

Opere peccat multis modis. luxuriant. lubre tangeo. osculando. voluptate se polluendo. vel sine maxima necessitate furando. percutiendo. et alii modis. ¶

Secundo quod mundificat honorem sunt tria. contra tria predicta. scilicet. contricio cogitationem. expulsio omnis affecio quae non pertinent ad deum. Concessio oris quod debet esse integra. nuda. et tempestuosa. ¶

Satisfacio quae habet tres partes. scilicet. ieiuniwm. quae peccat

How a man shall ordynyne. and dispose his lyuyng. Capitulum quartum.

That a man may rightwisly be dressed to be worship of god. to profyte of himself and helpe of his evercrysten. / fourre thinges rennen to mynde to be saide. ¶

First is to know what thinges make a man foule. ¶ And pei ben these kyndes of synnes. / [*] that is of thought. of mouth. and of werk. ¶ In thought sinneth a man ayenys god. if he occupie not his herte in payring of god if he suffre it to obstructe in diverse thoughtes. and to be rennynge aboute in pe world. ¶

With mouthe sinneth a man ayenys god. when he lyfeth. when he swergeth. when he curseth. when he bacheteth. when he defendedeth errore. / [*] that is of thought. / In werk sinneth a man in many maner. in doinge lechery. in vnhoneste touching. in kysynge in luste. in polluting hym selfe. or with oute ful greet rede to steele. and in many othere manneres. ¶

Be secunde is to vete. what thinges clesnete a man. ¶ And pei ben these ayenys / that is of thought / Controcion of herte. ayenys synne of thought. Controcion of mouth. ayenys synne of mouth. ¶ And be whatis oute to be nakke holde and hasty. ¶

And satisfactione ayenys synne of deder. be whatis has perte partes. ¶

How a man shall ordyne his lyuyng. Capitulum quartum.

That a man may rightwisly be dressed to be worship of god. to profyte of himself and helpe of his evercrysten. / fourre thinges rennen to mynde to be saide. ¶

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And satisfactione ayenys synne of deder. be whatis has perte partes. ¶
contra seipsum. Oracionem quae peccatum contra deum. Eleemosynam quae peccatum contra proximum. non tamen dico quod de bonis alienis. faciat eleemosynam sat restituat. quia nisi restituerat ablatum non dimitetur pecatum. 

284 Tercio que mundicium consequent sunt tria. scilicet. vigil meditacio det. vi nullum sit tempus quo non cogetes deo. excepto somno qui omnibus est communis. Solicito custodie exteriorum sensum vs pastus, olfactus, auditus, visio. tactus sub superna disciplina specipere alientur. homesta occupatio sicut legendo. vel aliquid de deo loquendo. aut scribendo. vel aliquid vitel faciendo. 

290 Similiter tria sunt que custodiunt mundicium oris. loquenti premeditacio. mueere a multoloquio. mendacio detestacio. 


296 Quarto que ad conformitatem dominice voluntatis nos allicientem sunt
et tria. scilicet. creaturarum exemplaritias quae ascenditur per considerationem. deis. familiariis. que adquiritur per meditacionem et oracionem. Celestis regni iocunditas, que adquiritur per contemplacionem.

301

Itaque vir de iuvenum institutis est tectorum imagini quod plantatur est secur decursus aequorum. id est. iuxta fluenta graciae tam semper virescat in virtute, quod fructum suum dabit. id est. bona opera in exemplum et bona data in subsidium. dabit invictum ad honorem deis. non vendet pro inani gloria mundi. Proinde orant qui dixit. Bonitatem et disciplinam. et scientiam doce me. Quid est disciplina. nisi morum institucio vel correcio.

Primo ergo per disciplinam in rectitudinem instruire vel a malis corrige. Deinde cognoscimus et scimus. quid agere et quid vitae debeamus. tandem sapimus. non terrena sed celestia. Cumque quis utero nisi ut voluntatem Conditoris se direrit atque in virtutibus succurset. aliosque qui forte cum precesserint constancia iuveni et desiderio Christi superantur. non debet inde gloriarui vel sibi quidquid tribueat aut se eciam hisque praei videtur su-

T.C.D. 432 (f. 90r-121v) [T]

And so be serenit of god hat is on pise wise ordained to lyfe is a tre tre hat is sette beseide be rynnges oute of wateres. hat is to sey beseide be flowynge of grace. hat he may euermore waxe grene in vertu. be whilke he shal yve his fruyte. hat is gode werkes in exemple. and gode yfes. vnto helpe of his euenersten. In tymhe he shal yue al pis to be honour and be wharshe of god. not sette it for veyne ioye of the world. Perfore peyrede be prophete when he sayde. Godennesse. discipline. and cumynge teche [FF. 99r] me lorde. I haue troved in be comemounments. what is discipline bot correcion and reforymynge of maners and of lyvinge. Nouth elles.

C.U. Fr 5.30 (f. 141r-164v) [C]

And pei hen tre. Oon is be ensemblar of creatours. be which is geten bi consideracion. An ooper is homelyness of god. be whilke is geten bi prayer and heurly meditacion. be thridde is milte and ioyinge in god. be whilke is geten thorn lawe and contemplacion. And so be serenit of god. hat is on pise wise ordained to lyfe is a tre tre hat is sette beseide be rynnges oute of wateres. hat is to sey beseide be flowynge of grace. hat he may euermore waxe grene in vertu. be whilke he shal yve his fruyte. hat is gode werkes in exemplo. and gode yfes. vnto helpe of his euenersten. In tymhe he shal yue al pis to be honour and be wharshe of god. not sette it for veyne ioye of the world. Perfore peyrede be prophete when he sayde. Goodnesse. discipline <and> kumynge teche me lord. For I haue troved in be comemounments. What is discipline / bot correcion and reforymynge of maners and of lyvinge. Nouth elles.

Douce 322 (f. 78r-94r) [D]

And they ben tre. One ys the en-

sample of creatours / the whych ys

geten thorow considaracion. An-

other ys homelyness of god. the

whych ys geten by prayere and

heurly meditacion. The iyth ysh

mght and ioyinge in god. the

whych ys geten thorn lawe and con-

templacion. So the serenit of god that ys on thys wyse ordained to lyfe ys a tree that ys set beseides the rynnges oute of wateres. that ys to say beseides the flowynge of grace that he may euermore waxe grene in vertue. the whylche shal yue his fruyte. that ys good werkes in exemplo. and good yfes. vnto helpe of his euenersten. In tymhe he shal yue al thys to the honour and the worship of god. not sette hit for veyne ioye of the world. Therfor peyrede the prophete when he sayde. [FF. 83r] goodnesse. discipline and kumynge teche me lord. For I haue troved in thy Comemounments. What ys discipline / but correcion and reforymynge of maners and of lyvinge. Nouth elles.

Fyrst therfore ben we enforned and taught thorugh disciplinyn and ryghtwysnesse and amended fro cynyli. And therfor knowe we what we shulde do and what we shulde fyl. And at pe laste oure desire and oure coueytye is taken fro erethly things. and reised up to heurly things. When any man with al his bysnesse and mght hath dressed. and conformeth him to be wil of god. and hath erecys in verf. 148vyo. and perature overpasseth thorouh.
Perioicet estmorum... Immo vilissimus et miserrimum reputare... nemen preter seipsum indicet... on-nes sibi preponat... ab omnibus non sanctus cupiat predecari... set despi... [f.31r]cabilis... Cum venerit inter homines... procurat ut sint virtus et opinione minimus estmetur.

324 quia quanto maior es... humilia te in omnibus... et tuec corum des insenies gratus... silectum... evolatios... quia magna est potentia domini dei... et ab humilibus honoratur... ergo a super-bis contemptitur... qui saum gloriarm querunt... non dei...  

329 Si autem quod absit in fauore proprio gloriaris et honorem tibi pro fama obtulant a plebe assumperis cum gaudio... scito te hic receipisse mercedem tuam... Et quamvis pentens vel continens videaris... dum magis gaudes in gloria hominum quam angelerum nichil in futuro restat nisi tormentum...
Debes ergo te ipsum despiciere. et omnum mundi gloriam penitus declinare et nichil nisi domini amoris intuere cognitare. vel agere. vt tota vita intus et extra laudem clamet dei.

In cibo et potu sit parcus et discretus. nihil enim reiciendum est pro tempore quod cum praecipue accidit et semper actit. Dom comedis aut bibitis. memoria dei sui qui te pecat. a mentes tua non recedit. vt magis cor humum in laudem dei quam in cibo attendat.

Sic enim faciens temptaciones demone quem maxime in cibo et potu insidiantur effugabiles. aut enim incertos per immunditatem assumptos alios alibem alimentorum ab arce virtutem decimant. aut per minutum abstinentiam in ipsa virtute frangunt. multi sunt qui comiendo semper fluctuant. ut aut minus aut magis continuo sumant et formam viendarum nugium tenent dum nunc. nunc melius illud putant.

Thow shalt therefore at the beginning parfytely dispise thy self. And fle and put away and set at nought all worldly joy. And sette all thyne entente. And the loue of thyne hert so fully and hloyly in god. And openen for love and worship of god. so that all thy lyuying inward crye and shewing be in the presying of god.

In mete and drynyke thow shalt be scarce in discrediter manor thow shalt nothing forsake ne put away for the tyne. And place that crysten men seyn with thankkeyng of god. Whyle thow estoest and drynkaste. loke that the mynde be of thy god that fedeth the. but put away fro thy hert so that thyne hert be more aboute the lyuying and worshippe of god. than aboute thy mete. And yef thow do thys. thow shalt escape and dryve away temptacions of the fende. that most belys waiteth us in mete and drynyke to deceuse us. For vnwise men eloper bi vnmesurable takyng of mete and drynyke are casten downe fro heynes of vertue. or thongh ouermychab abstinentia broken hem in the self vertue. so that pei may not for wynynes and feblenesse fullfille ne bringe peril endo. that pei haue begunuce. and bope are displeasance to god and ayeyns his will. Manye ben euermore so vnstable and vncretyne in etynge and drynyynge. that pei taken always. elfyr euermichel. or ouerfylted. and so pei holde no tyne ne ne foorme of lyuyng. whiles pei holde now on better. now an oopler.
Estimant enim... in absque se fieri posse... nisi per insolitant et inustam abstinentiam... 

Optimum est igitur et deo placens... arbitrator... quis se conformaret in cibo et potu pro loco tempore et honestate... eis cum quibus... ne aut supersticiosius aut simulatores appareant... 

It is best... as I trove... and most plesing... god... just a man... conforme hymn... in mete... for place and time... and honeste... til paim... that he is conversant will all... so he... he... not a fynere of religion... 

Hit ys best therfore as I trove... and most plesing... god... that a man... conforme hymn... in mete... for the place and the tyne... he... not conversant therwith... so he... he... not a fynere of religion...
verbis hominum ad se trahant aut alterius generis cibos sibi auferri procurent ut in aliquo ceteris videantur dissimiles. quorum obstaculum longe sit a me. verum, namen salubre consilium est ut abstinentes sibi preferant abstinentiores. et quia sic non possunt abstineri. monte compungantur. "

377 Illi autem qui mirabilis [f. 32r] sunt abstinenciae ab illos se superiores est. quorum virtus hominibus latet in qua excellent. dum enim virtus illorum, abstinencia ab multis lataitur. nisi magna fulcitur humilitate, coram Christo pro nichilo habetur. Alium autem virtus tanto maior est. quanta ab hominibus non video tur. Quis enim hominum cognoscere potest. quam amare quis erga deum fereat quanta compassionem erga proximum illecat. Et sine dubio virtus caritatis omnis abstinencia et opus cetera, quae videri possunt excidit.

387 Et plerumque fit, quod minus coram hominibus videtur abstinence in vacuo coram deo sit magis fereunus. Oportet enim est fortis, ut se in diuino amore viriliter exercet. Carne enim nimia debilitata affliccione, homo scelere non valeat quanto magis desiderio ad summam se
non leuhabit. tamen ergo quod pres amoris magnitudine homo deficeret. quam pre tenuo sicut sponsa de se dicit in canctico.

mykel abstinece of mete and drynk and slepe / a man oft tymes is made vanlyght to pray. And mykel more pene he shal not mow lyf vp him selfe purh breynynge desire to god and heavenly things / perfore me were leuure pat a man failled for mykelness of lufe. janne for fastynge. as he spouse says ¶

mykel abstinece of mete and drink and sleepe / a man oft tymes is made vanlyght to pray. § And mykel more pene he shal not mow lyf vp him selfe purh breynynge desire to god and heavenly things. ¶ Perfore me were leuure pat a man failled for mykelness of lufe. janne for fastynge. as he spouse seith.

Tellethe to my loued / pat I luyngysse for lufe. And sooly fastynge of bred and water plesteth not god so michil as for sakinge of sinne. ¶ Perfore be janne stably in alle pines wayes. And after pis reule pat is yeven to pe / ordynye janne lyf. ¶ And alpou pat janne mith not in pe firste bigynynge atynynge ne cometh to pat pat janne couseynys dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot contynue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise / pou shall move komen to perfeccion.

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T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

C.U. Fr. 5:30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]

Thou woro ouermoche abstinece of mete and drynk and sleepe / A man oft tymes ys [col. b] made vanlyght to pray and moche more than he shall nat be in power to lyfke vp hymselfe thorough breynynge desire to god / and heavenly things. therfore he were lever to me that a man fayled for mychylnesse of lufe / than for fastynge as the spouse seith. ¶

Tellethe to my loued. that I luyngysse for lufe. ¶ And sooly fastynge of bred and water plesteth not god so moche as for sakinge of syn. ¶ Therfore be thou stably in alle thy wayes. And after thys reule that ys yeven to / the / ordynye thysylf. ¶ And therfore thou sowetnat in the firste bigynynge atynynge ne cometh to that. that thou couseynys dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot continue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise thou shalt come to perfeccion.

Therfore be thou stably in alle thy wayes. And after thys reule that ys yeven to / the / ordynye thysylf. ¶ And therfore thou sowetnat in the firste bigynynge atynynge ne cometh to that. that thou couseynys dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot continue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise thou shalt come to perfeccion. whether thou be in traunaly other in rest. ¶ Lyfke vp alway the eye of thy soule to god. And let neuer thy thought go fro hym. for all the tymne that thou theakest nat on god. thou sowetnat accoute hit thing that thou hast lost. ¶ Lone god in thy soule and couseynys moreh lufe. that splef yndye neuvone opehwere occupied. janne couseynys dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot continue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise thou shalt come to perfeccion.

Wherfore pou be in traunaly or in rest / to lyfte up alwey the eye of [iiii] soule vnto god. and lat neuer p[hou] go fro hym. / for al pat tymne pat pou nynkes not on god / pou may accounte it jynge pat pou hast loste / Lone god in [iiii] soule / and couseynys moreh lufe. pat spleynde ynde [iiii] neuvone opehwere occupied. janne couseynys dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot continue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise thou shalt come to perfeccion.

Vide caute. ne cogitationibus vanis delusus. ne curis superfutis te subdis. set hunc mentis constanciam acquirere subdi. vt nec mala mundi timeas. nec eius bone inordinarie affecctes. Quia autem sustinece metuit. quomodo oportet cum mundum comprehere nondum cognouit. Et qui gaudet in

siue viator fueris siue quiescens semper ad deum mentis oculos dirige. cogitationem tuam ab illo recedere non permitte. quasi tempus illud amnesis cognita. quo de deo non cogitas. in mente deum lauda et eius [ff. 52v-1] amorem concepisse. nec aliter te occupatum quam aut oratam. aut de deo cogitamentum somnis te incinnat. Vide caute. ne cogitationibus vanis delusus. ne curis superfutis te subdis. set hunc mentis constanciam acquirere subdi. vt nec mala mundi timeas. nec eius bone inordinarie affecctes. Quia autem sustinece metuit. quomodo oportet cum mundum comprehere nondum cognouit. Et qui gaudet in

wherefore be you in trauaille or in rest / to lyfte up alway the eye of you soule vnto god. and let never you thought go fro hym. for all the tymne that thou theakest not on god. thou sowetnat accoute hit thing that thou hast lost. / Lone god in you soule and cousenye moreh you soule. that splef yndye you soule opehwere occupied. janne cousenye dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot continue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise thou shalt come to perfeccion.

whether thou be in trauaille other in rest. / lyfke vp alway the eye of you soule to god. and let never you thought go fro hym. for all the tymne that thou theakest not on god. thou sowetnat accoute hit thing that thou hast lost. / Lone god in you soule and cousenye moreh you soule. that splef yndye you soule opehwere occupied. janne cousenye dispisteth not perfore ne mystrestre not bot continue forth and perseuereth. for by longe tymne and exercise thou shalt come to perfeccion.
208

Line # | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v - 45r) | [B] | T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) | [T] | C.U. Fr.5.30 (ff. 14r-16v) | [C] | Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) | [D]
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---

412 | Ad virtutem vero fortitudinis pertinent omnes adversitates et prosperitates et mortem ecciam pro vita eterna contemplare, et caritas est sola gaudia celestia desiderare. Nam perfectus amor mori gaudet et vita sancti sustinet. | | dredeth to suffer adversities / knoweth not yet how he shulde dispise pe worlde. And he pat ioyeth he certely thinges / is ful ferre fro heunely thinges. | | dredeth to suffer adversities / knoweth not yet how he shulde dispise pe worlde. And he pat ioyeth in certely thinges / is ful ferre fro heunely thinges. | | inordinaty hys goddisys. for he that dredeth to suffer adversities. knoweth not yet how he shulde dispise pe worlde. And he that ioyeth in certely thinges / is ful ferre fro heunely thinges. | | for his longeth to the vertex of strengthe forto dyspyse all aduers- sities and prosperitie / yce and pe selve deth / for endles lyfe / and charite is onely to desire pe ioyes of heuen. Sootly a parfite lourer ioyeth and is fayn for to dye and ye suffreth / he pis lyfe with pacience. Which parfeccion if eyn may furh gooddes grace come to / thou shalt not be with out tribulacion. of which shall nowe be spoken. 


426 | Excitat contra cum persecuciones. tribulaciones, calamitates falsorum criminum imposiciones genera | He reyses vp ayens hym per- secuciones and tribulaciones reproues fals imposicions of crimes. | He reisches vp ayens hym per- secuciones and tribulaciones reproues fals imposicions of
A minimis persuasionibus insipit, sicut ad maximum flammam percunct. et tante maior soli solitudine contra nos amin geraeorum suorum suf- 
flare studet, quamque nos iam ab eius 
faucibus per dei misericordiam qua-

5 sisse delect, nihil aliud quern nisi vt 
nostrum ab amplissimis saussimis et 
castissimis eterni amoris avetum et in 
laud misericordia et lato fectum icturum de-

433 turpet, quod profecto magis mis-

erabile esset quam explicare sufi-
cio. "

Quem enim cogitare posset illius in-
saniun quid a delicia regress aeg. ad 
scam pororum descenderet. et adhuc 
masis insati qui sapiencia increa-
delicatissimas epulas remuit et im-
mundicium carnis se subdit. Nomne 
gula et luxuria seditantes sunt por-
cine: quas qui autem. demones pas-

442 ediorum. vt pene terrent et frangant 
quem prospera decipere [f. 33r] 
requiunt. nunc prospera nunc 
blanda opposit. imaginaciones re-
num corporaum, menti ingenti 
viciorum fantasmatas componit. an-
tiquae venustatas et praterie dilec-
tiones delectationem recusat. et cor 
ad carnum lubricis incendias inflam-
mat.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non dignentur filii regis ad irrationabilium animalium pabula deo.</td>
<td>Pay hat are derlynges and childre to be heye kinge of heuen purf feyth. hat hope, and charyte.</td>
<td>They that ben derlynges and children to be heye king of heuen thurth feyth. hat hope, and charyte.</td>
<td>They that ben derlynges and children to the hyg king of heuen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>immo sperant voluptates illicitas et solici mundi pro amore christi. Qui enim illo pane qui de celo descendit vestitur [f. 33v] affectum non inclinat ad ea quae diabolus suggit.</td>
<td>hat despise all vnetful lustes and worldly solace. For he lufe of these cristi. For sothly he hat is fed with the brede of lyfe hat cam fro heuen to feede mankynde he sufreth not his affecce ne his loun he to bowe ne to falle done to pese things.</td>
<td>They despise al vnetful lustes and worldly solace. For the loun of these crist. For sothly he thatys fedde with that breede that came from heuyne to fede mankynde.</td>
<td>They soweth thynges that is fruthe thoys and of heuen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cum insurgunt temptaciones vel tribulationes, accipienda sunt arma spiritualia, et sic ad bellum est procedendum.</td>
<td>For these lufes and pacience. and so manely to go to batayle. Foro temptacions and tribulations are overcome and venged.</td>
<td>When temptacions and tribulations areayen as a man hat him panne take his gostly armures. hat is feyth.</td>
<td>When temptations and tribulations are overcome and venged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tribulationes. pacienza superantur.</td>
<td>For these lufes and pacience. and so manely to go to batayle. Foro temptacions and tribulations are overcome and venged.</td>
<td>hours theyne go to batayle. Foro temptacions and tribulations are overcome and venged.</td>
<td>For these lufes and pacience. and so manely to go to batayle. Foro temptacions and tribulations are overcome and venged.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 462    | Quid est paciencia. nisi rerum adversaria humana et voluntaria perseveratio. paciens ergo in nulla adversitate murmurat. set magis cum propheta | What is paciencia but a gladde and wilful suffering of contrarious thynges. nouht elles. He hat is very pacient gruches in noon aduersitee. | What is paciencia but a gladde and wilful suffering of contrarious thynges? Have grucheth in noon | What is paciencia but a gladde and a wyfful suffering of contrarious thynges. nouht elles. He hat is very pacient grucheth in noon.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>466</td>
<td>ibenter ergo sustinende sunt tribulaciones et angustiae amaritudines. pene infirmitates et peneur. quia per hec peccata nostra purgantur et merita augmentur.</td>
<td>ibeper with gret ioy and gladnessese sheulde we suffre tribulacion and angustysshes. bitternesses and peyynes. sekenes and diseses / for thurh hem eure synnes are purged. [F. 104v] and clensed. and eure merites are ekeled and encreased. And pê apostole says jat alle pê paynes and passions jat we may suffre here in pês lif / are not euen wortho to pê ioy comande. jat shall be shewed and yeven to vs in pês bisses of heuen.</td>
<td>ibaderstite. but euer lonoth god in alle times. And euer more meke and pacient jat a man is in tribulacion here in pê lif / pê more glorius and hyghere shall he be in pê bisses of heuen.</td>
<td>ibaderyste. but euer loneth and wor-shyppeth god in all tymes. And euer the more meke and pacient that a man ys in tribulacion here in thys lyfe / the more glorius and hygher shall he be in the blysses of heuy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>471</td>
<td>Ant enim nos oportet in vita hac igne diuini amoris et tribulacionis exuri aut post hanc vitam igne purgatorio vel inferni cruciata cruciari. Eligimus quod volumus altius non eaudemus. hic autem leui penitentia. in quo cum gaudio si deo vero firmiter inheremus. omnem possuatut futurum penam abolvere.</td>
<td>Sikerly either behoves vs here in pês lyfe be bret with pê fire of goddis lufe and tribulacion / or ells after pês lyfe be greuously and sore pyned and turmented with pê fire of purgatorie of hel. Chese perfore what we wyll / for pê sone shule we not eschewe. And here we may wip lyht penance. yee and with ioye if we wil cleue faste to god. do away alle payne jat is to come.</td>
<td>Sikerly eiper bihouen us heere in pês pordon of be trent with pê fire of goddis loue and of tribulacion / or elles after pês lif ben greuously and sore pyned and turmentad with pê fire of purgatorie of hel. Cheese perfore what we wolllen / for pê sone shule we not eschewe. And heere we may with light penance. ye and with ioye. if we wolde cleue faste to god. do away alle sayne jat is to come.</td>
<td>Sikerly eiper bihouen us heere in pês pordon of be trent with pê fire of goddis loue and of tribulacion / or elles after pês lif ben greuously and sore pyned and turmentad with pê fire of purgatorie of hel. Cheese perfore what we wolllen / for pê sone shule we not eschewe. And heere we may with light penance. ye and with ioye. if we wolde cleue faste to god. do away alle sayne jat is to come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>476</td>
<td>Ideo in[n]ittunitur tribulaciones. vt nos ab amore mundi renuent et ne grauitus alibi puniamur. Doloribus enim oportet purgari quod in voluptate comissimus. Si peccatores supran dorsum nostrum fabricant non nobis nocent dum paciente toleramus. set sibi qua si modicum penam inferunt. nobis. tenem coronam et sibi tormenta cadunt.</td>
<td>Peforare are tribulaciones sent vnto vs jat pê shalde calde vs aycyn fro lufe of pê wolle. And pêt ne more greuously punysshad in pê tothir wolle. ffor the synnes behoves to be clensed. with sorrowe and bitterness / pêt we done here with lust and likynge. If synful men pursue vs / pêt noye vs nouht if we suffre it patiencly / bet to hem self. ffor jof</td>
<td>Peforben tribulaciones sent vnto us. jat jof shulden calle us aycyn fro lone of pê wolle. And jat we ben not more greuously punished in jat ooper world. ffor jof synnes bihouen to be clensed with sorrowe and bitterness / jat we doone here with lust and likynge. If synful men pursue us / jat noye us nouht if we suffre it patiencly. but to hem self.</td>
<td>Peforben tribulaciones sent vnto us. jat jof shulden calle us aycyn fro lone of pê wolle. And jat we ben not more greuously punished in jat ooper world. ffor jof synnes bihouen to be clensed with sorrowe and bitterness / jat we doone here with lust and likynge. If synful men pursue us / jat noye us nouht if we suffre it patiencly. but to hem self.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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aduerstite, but euer lonoth god in all tymes. And euer the more meke and pacient that a man ys in tribulacion here in thys lyfe / the more glorious and hygher shall he be in the blyssse of heuy. Therefore with gret ioye and gladnesse / sheulde we suffe tribulacion and anguysshes. bitternesses and peyynes. sekenes and diseses / for thorow hem eure synnes ben purged and clensed. and eure merites ben ekeled and encreased. And the Apostole seith that all the peynes and passions that we suffre in thys lyfe / ben nat enyn worthy to the ioy comynge. that shall be shewed and yeve to vs in the blyssse of heuy. Sekurly other hit behoueth vs here in thys lyfe be brente with the fire of goddis loue. And of tribulacion. other elles after this lyfe be greuously and sore pyned and turmentad / with the fire of purgatory other of hell. Chese therfore what we woll / for that ons we shall nat eschewe. And here we may with light penance. yee and with ioye. if we wolde cleue faste to god. do away alle sayne jat is to come. Therefore [F. 85v] ben tribulaciones sent to vs / that they shullen call vs aycyn fro the lone of the world. And that we be nat more greously punysshad in the other wolle. for the synnes behoueth to be clensed with wyt sorow and bitterness / that we doone here with lust and likynge. yef synful men pursewe vs / they noye vs nat / yef we suffre hit patiencly /
Mali vero [f. 34r] co presentem vi
tiam sine multis tribulationibus tran
stre permittuntur. quo eis in futuro
nulla gloria paratur. Ideo sancti viri
tribulationes amant quia per illas ad
reliquam se peruenire non ignorant. *

Econtra reprobis sempert in tribula
cionibus munrunt et quantum pos
tum declinant quia dum rebus visi
bilibus immoderate sunt deditis spe
eternorum sunt pruni. In solis exte
rioribus solacium inueniunt, quia
saperem celestium penitus amie
runt. Nullus est anima aut mcnion
alis hic existens quonon creatori aut
creature inheret. *

Si creaturam diligent deum amittit et
sum distensa sua ad interrim vadat.
Talis enim amor: in principio est
labor, in medio misericordia et longueur
in fine odium et dolor: qui vero condi
torem suum amat, que sunt in
mundo refutat. de illo et cum illo
loqui dulce habet. ipsum cogitate
repercibis sedet claudit sensus
exterioris: ne mors per fenestras
ascendat: ne in aliquo vanitu occu
petur.

If it laf more a creature / it loses and
departes fro god. And god wi jat it
lufes to endless payne. / And swich
lore. If he begynnys that a
traylure. / In jat myddles it is wrecchenes
deset and langour / and in avez it is
hatered and sorowe. / If he lufes more his
maker / he shal nede forsake and leave
luf. alle jat is of pe worlde. and
[ft. 105r] hym shal thinken ioy
and sweente to speke of his lustef. A
delicate feeding more sweete jat alle
dyntes. hym thinkes to have hym
in mynde / he spares the wyndowes

alpay bryng into vs a lytell payne / neuerpdes it is to vs a
coronne. and to paime self. [ft. 105s] endlesses
tuur. / And perfere holy men lufen tribulationes
and angers / for jat konowe welle jat
pait shal come thurh hem to endes
rest. / And on pe contrare syde / Synners
and wicked men cueler more grauchyn.
And als mekyl as pai may eschewe and
fleehem. for whils jaire here.
And jaire luf is fully and vunsensu
lyve yeven to erthe jinges / jat are
viterly pryued. / And departed fro
hope of pe blisse of heuen. Oony in
ovtwarde things jat fynde comfor
corte and solace / for jat have viterly
lostte pe smour of heuen / per is no
resonable soule here in his lyf / jat
necipit it clouses poure lufe to his
creator / or to a creature.

If it lose more a creature / it loseth and
departeth fro god. And god with jat it
lufes to endes payne / And swich
lore. / In pe begynnynge is trauaylue.
In pe myddles it is wrecchenedeset and
langour / and in azede it is hatered and
sorewe. If he lufe more his
maker / he shal nede forseke and leave
to lufe. alle jat is of pe worlde. and
[ft. 105s] hym shal thinken ioy
and sweente to speke of his lustef. A
delicate feeding more sweete jat alle
dyntes. hym thinkes to have hym
in mynde / he spares the wyndowes

alpa Tulpen in to us a lytell
payne. / neuerpdes it is to us a
coronne. and to hem self endes
tuur. / And perfere holy men luyen tribulationes
and angers / for jat konowe well jat
pait shulke come poure lufe to endes
rest. / And on pe contrare syde / Synners
and wicked men cueler more grauchyn.
And als mekyl as pai may eschewe and
fleehem. for whils jaire here.
And jaire luf is fully and vunsensu
lyve yeven to erthe jinges / jat are
viterly pryued. / And departed fro
hope of pe blisse of heuen. Oony in
ovtwarde things jat fynde comfor
corte and solace / for jat have viterly
lostte pe smour of heuen. / per is no
resonable soule here in his lyf / jat
necipit it clouses poure lufe to his
creator / or to a creature.

but to hemselfe. fffor though
they brynge into vs a lytell payne. neuer
nethes hit ys to vs a crowene. And to
hem self endes tuur. / And
pauers men and synners ben suffred
to passe oute of his present lyf / with
outr many tribulationes or diseases. To
whom in pat olfer [ft. 152v] world is
no ioye ordeyned but payne. / And
perfere holi men luyen tribulationes
and angers. fffor jat konowe well jat
pait shulke come poure lufe to endes
rest. / And on pe contrare syde / Synners
and wicked men cueler more grauchyn.
And als mekyl as pai may eschewe and
fleehem. for whils jaire here.
And jaire luf is fully and vunsensu
lyve yeven to erthe jinges / jat are
viterly pryued. / And departed fro
hope of pe blisse of heuen. Oony in
ovtwarde things jat fynde comfor
corte and solace / for jat have viterly
lostte pe smour of heuen. / per is no
resonable soule here in his lyf / jat
necipit it clouses poure lufe to his
creator / or to a creature.
et alii unde suscitatur despectiones et
obprobria contra eum irrisiones et
scandala. Ideo necessarie est ut scutum
accipiat paciencia et magis parum
sit ignare quam ignoscere. Oreet
pro illorum conversione qui illum
odium nec curet hominibus placere
set timeat deum offendere.

501

porro si in carne temptetur ipsam
subiciant se spiritus succumbat.
tempatio cui non consentitur est
materia virtutis exercenda. [f. 34v]
Nemo quique sibi innotescit an
fortis debilis ve sit nisi hominum fuerit.
Sic nec quis in pace pacentis dici
debet. Set cum fuerit indigna pulsat.
tunc si pacientiam habeat. videtur.

508

Multi paeientes sunt qui non impug
nantur. Sed statim cum levis flatus
non dico inuiue, sed correctionis
eos atigeret. mos mens eorum in
amantidem et iram se conceperit et
si vnum verbum contra voluntatem
eorum auderint. duo canonetur aque-

515

of hys owtward lytes that deth ent-
re not in at thaim / ne that he be not
vnaprofitably ne vanyly occupied
in no worldly vanite /
And for als mykel as same tyne.
ter ryse agains hym despites and
reproves, scornynge, and sclaun-
dres of the fende and of wicked
men / therfore it is nedeful to hym to
take pe shede of pacience / and pat
he be more medly for to fortoke
than ferto for?3ye wolonges and diseases
that are done to hym / And for to
pray besily for thaire conversacion
that harten hym and charge not pof he
plesse not alle men / but drede he in al
thynes to offende god.

523

spereth pe wyndowes of hys out-
warde wittes / pat deth entre not in at
heme ne pat he be not vnaprofitably
ne vanyly occupied in no worldly
vanite, ¶
And for as michel as sumtyme her
risen evens him despites and
t几种 scoronyges and sclauners of
pe pecon of and of wikede men / per-
fore it is needeful to him / to [f.153r]
take the sheld of pacience. And pat
he be be pepe / more medly to fortoke
and to forfye wolonges and diseases
pat duned to him. And for to preye
besily for here comers <a>==</a>y on pat
harten hym. ¶ And charge he nought
pouh pe plesse not alle men / but
drede he in al thynes to offende
god.

531

If he have temptacion of pe flesh /
lat hym stryve to overcom it / and
pette it vnderfoote / so that the wille
of the spirit falte not / doune / to con-
sente and fullfyllyng of synne / If
thou feele temptacion / and nought
consente thereto / it is to the mater
of vertue and of meruy / for no man
knowes of [f. 106r] hym selfe / wheth-
er he be stronge or weky / but if he
be asayed / And a manes paeientes may
nought be knownne whils he is quarte
and rest / bot when he is asayed
thurs wolonges tribulacions or dis-
ses / then it is seen wheder he be
pacient or nought.

539

Many men be meke and suffering as
longe as men pleseth thaim / Bot also
sone as a lyght balest of ryghtwise
correccion toucheth thaim a litel / that it
be done for charite and for their
amendement / als some thaire herte is
turned into bitternesse of ire and

547

Many men ben meke and suffering as
longe as men plesen hym / But also
sone as a lyght balest of ryghtwise
correccion toucheth hym a litel / that it
be done for charite and for their
amendement / als some thaire herte is
turned into bitternesse of ire and

hym in mynde. ¶ He spereth the
wyndowes of hys owtward lytes that
deth entre not in by hym / neyther
that he be not vnaprofitably ne vanyly
occupied in no worldly vanite.
As for as moche as there ben rayed
ayent hym despites / reproves
scoronyges. And sclauners of the
fende / and of wyclifd men / Ther-
fore hit ys nedefull to hym to take
the sheld of pacience / and that he
be more medly to fortoke / than for
to forfye all wolonges and diseases
that ben duned to hym. And for to
pray besily for her comers that
harten hym and charge he nought
tho unh pe plesse not alle men / but
drede he in al thynes to offende
god.

555

And yef he have moche temptacion of
hys flesh / lat hym stryve to overcom
hit / And put hit doune vnder the foo.
so that the wille of pe spirit falte not
doune to consentinge and fullfyllyng of
synne. ¶ But [f. 86r] yef thou feele
temptacion / and nought consent
there to / it is to the mater of
vertue and of meruy / for no man
knoweth of hym selfe whethor he be
stronge or weky / but if he be asayed
and a manes paeientes may nought
be knownne / whils he is quarte
and reste. But when he is asayed
thurs wolonges tribulacions or dis-
ses / then it is seen wheder he be
pacient or nought.
Beatus vir qui suferit tempationem
quoniam cum probuta fuerit, accepit coronam vitæ. Tunc autem te in via perfectionis esse non dubites.

525

sinu delecto quasilaus, paupertas ut diuici, inopia quasi eplu
computantur ut autem ista equo
animo sustinentes et in nullo ab altitudi
dine mentis cadas.

abominare quantum potes laudes
honominum, quia hoc maxime laudable est si laudabilis est, et ab
honominibus non laudari, lingua ad
adunaria multos decipiant, et habia
dectorum multos confundant. Tu
ergo faunorum, honorem, et vanam
gloriam, despie, detraciones et
odia libenter sustine, et sic per
infamiam et bonam famam per tribula
ciones et blandicias ad regna celestia

malencoly. and if pia here on
wordes ayens haire wille / wil yeve two more felle / and more bitter
gyvene / from whose counseyle god
kepe my soule / Then for al ye fire
darites and ye assasutes of oure
enmye / shulde be soken and brouht
to nouthe / bath mekenesse and swetnesse
of cristes loue / we we schal not yeve
stede ne consente to no tempation / to
be it neuer so strong / fior ay ye
more ye bataryle is / ye more gloriou
is ye victorie / and ye hayere
corone is ordnedy for ye over
comer. fior as he apostel says:

blessed is [f. 106v] man that sauf
fres tempation. for when he is
prowed and examyned as god / in
ye fire of tribulation / he shul be takne
of corone of endeleys lyf. So foly
pou ne nouthe doute / pou be ar
te in ye way of perfecction / if
dispite be as lefe vnto ye as
louyngye. pouert as riches,
penuance and scarsnesse / as
delayes and deyntes / so pou mycht
thun goddres grace vph outhe chaun
vyne of hert / suffre al pise / and pou
in no jinghe falske / fr phe havyn
e of feyth /

Lothe and hate as mykel as pou
lyowynes and presynges of men / if pou be full comendable / if
pou be worty presyng and fle to be
presyng of men / pou the tounge of
fengers and flateres decuyse many
man / and phe lippes of babcistis
confound with outhe nombre / perfere
despe pou boltly and vitterly / al
finore / and vayne lyce of men / and
suffre gladly and paciently / al buc
nese of re and malencoly. And if
pia here oon woord ayens here
wille / poi wole yve two more felle
and more biter ayen / from whoes
conseyle god keep my soule. / The
fore alle ye fire darites / and ye as
santes of oure enmye / shulden be
soken and brouht to nouthe / thorn
mekenesse and swetnesse of cristes
loue. / We we schal not yeve
stede ne consente to no tempation / be
it neuer so strong. fior he more ye pia
[f. 153v] bataryle is / ye more gloriou
is ye victorie / and ye hyghere
corone is ordnedy for ye over
comer. fior as he apostel saith:
blessed is [f. 106v] man that suffreth
tempation. fior when he is prosed
and examyned as gold in ye fire of
tribulation / he shal take ye corone of
cendles lyfe. So folyly poune that
he not dou ne pou nt ne in ye way of
perfecction / if despite be as leef unto
pou / as louyngye. pouerte as
richesse, penuance and scarsnesse / as
delayes and deyntes. So pou pou
miht thungh goddres grace with out
chaunginge of herte suffre alle pese.
And pou pou for no thing falle fro
pou hynesse of feyth /
non cesses properare.

Sepe cadimus, ut per multis casus [f. 35r] eritium, forcus stans, fortis non timet, paciens in adversis non tristatur sicut scriptum est.

Non contristabit iustum quiescunt occidit ei. Sic dispositus omnem temptationem superabibis, omnem maliciam exstingues tribulationes te inferiores cereus, et Christo tota mente adheresbis.

Capitulum septimum. de oracione

Si in temptatione vel tribulatione postis fueris max ad omniem recrassas, si enim pura oraris auxilium habebis, veniant quandoque dispersiones et esanguiinationes cordis et cogitationes rapingant ad diversa, nec cor simili in dei laude stare. Tunc forte bonum esset per aliquod momentum de divinis meditari, donec mens magis stabiluiat et sic oraciones compliceris.

Of prayere \Capitulum 7th/.

If you be in temptation or tribulation, anone tymne to pray to / for if you pray purewith clee affection and good entente you shall have redy helpe / But sometime per conen dispersiones and waermenings of herte and ranyshen ye houthe into divers pingens, and will not sufre it to stonde hole ne to rest in ye lovynge of god / Then parauenture it were goode. But a man gafe hym for a while to meditacion of god and holy write. or of his herte were.

Of prayere \Capitulum 7th/.

If you be in temptation or tribulation / anon renne to praye / for if you praye purewith clee affection and good entente you shall have redy helpe. But sometime per conen dispersions and waermenings of herte and ranyshen ye thought into divers thinges, and wulen not suffer it to stonde hool. ne to reste in ye loovynge of god. Hence parauenture it were good but a man ye him for a while to meditacion of god and holy write. or of his passion of crie and swicke other. until [f. 107] his herte were.

Of prayere. Capitulum viij.

Yef thou be in temptation or in tribulation / anon renne to praye / yef thou prayy with clee affection. And good intent / thou shalt have redy helpe. But sometime there comyn dysparylynges and waermenings of hert. And ranyshen the thoughtes in to divers thinges. And will not suffer hit to stonde hole. ne to reste / in the loovynge and worshiipping of god. Hence parauenture hit were good that a man ye hym for a while to meditacion of god and holy write. or of his passion of
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<tr>
<td>556</td>
<td>Si qui vero omnes occupaciones mundi pro amore dei dimiserint et omnino celestis meditacione ac sancte orationi se manciparentur estimo quod infra tempus per dei graciam inuenit cor stabilium ad amandum et orandum, vt non in hane rem nunc et in illam nunc transluent sed magis in tranquillitate et eterna pace repausent. ¶</td>
<td>Who so cuer forsaketh parfitly for pe love of Ihesu al worldly occupa- tiones and setteth him self stably and sadly, to goostly and heenly meditations: and to holo and deuoute prayr / I trove [at] within a short tyme with pe grace of Ihesu cristi / he shall fynde his herte sette stable, to loope and to prævere. So [at] this poultris shall not be dispersd into diverse jynge acyns his wille / but he shall rather rest in stillnesse. and sofness of endeles peses. ¶</td>
<td>Who so cuer forsaketh parfitly for pe love of Ihesu all worldly occupa- tiones: and setteth hime self stably and sadly to goostly and heenly meditations and to holo and deuoute prayr / I trove [at] with inne a short tyme with pe grace of Ihesu cristi / he shall fynde his herte sette stably, to loope and to prævere. So [at] this poultris shall not be dispersd into diverse jynge acyns his wille / but he shall rather rest in stillnesse. and sofness of endeles peses. ¶</td>
<td>cryste. And suche other tyll hys hert were more stabeld: and so make an ende and fullfyl hys prayrs. ¶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>563</td>
<td>Multum conserit ad stabilitatem cordis optimendum, cребris oracionibus insitium psalmidium devote canere. Jugi enim oraciones demones vincimus et eorum infestationes enervamus, redimur enim debitis et quasi sine fortitudine dum nos fortres et inimici fuerimus ad orandum. ¶</td>
<td>It helpt myckyl to stablyng of pe herte / a man oftynynge to gyf hym to devote prayr: and to syng pe psalmidium. For thurh best prayrs we overcome pe fennes and make menytyly al pareynlyce and deceites / [at] are made wyncke and as it were with outhe strenth / as longe as we are myghty and devote in prayninge /</td>
<td>It helpt melch to stablyng of pe herte / a man ofte times to gyf hym to devote prayr: and to syng pe psalmidium. ¶ For thurh besy prayrs: we overcome pe fennes: and make menytyly al pareynlyce and deceites: by ben maiwel [F.154v] and as it were with outhe strenth / as longe as we ben myghty and devote in prayninge. ¶</td>
<td>Hit helpt melch to stablyng of a manmys hert. A man to yce hym oft tyms to devise prayr: and to syng psalmidium. ¶ For thurh besy prayrs we overcome fennes and make menytyly all her pareynlyce and deceiteyes: they ben made wykeye and feble. And as hit were withouten strenght / as longe as we ben myghty and devote in prayninge. ¶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>567</td>
<td>Illi quippe viri qui in longo exercicio ad orandum in consuetudine habent. aliquando suauitatem et feruecuis [F. 35v] desiderium inueniunt orandi. Durn ergo durat illa suavitatem. bominum est vs ab oracione non desistat. Quando vero cessauerit, quod prop- tern carmen corruptibili sepe contingit possunt ad meditandum scripturas sanctas. vel aliquid aliud vilte agendum accedere. Ita tamen quem cogitationem a deo vagari non permittant. vt cum ad oracionem se erexiert. ardentiores fiant.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hit helpt melch to stablyng of a manmys hert. A man to yce hym oft tyms to devise prayr: and to syng psalmidium. ¶ For thurh besy prayrs we overcome fennes and make menytyly all her pareynlyce and deceiteyes: they ben made wykeye and feble. And as hit were withouten strenght / as longe as we ben myghty and devote in prayninge. ¶</td>
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588 hic reprehenduntur quidum qui magis mediationi quam oracioni indulgent nescientes quod elloquium dei ignimum sit quon purgantur sordes pecatorium et inflammantur amore. Mentes orandum dicunt se prius velle meditari. Vit sic est possit stabilire. Set eo tardius ad stabilitatem perhectamentur. Quo ad continue orandum non confortatun.
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<td>594</td>
<td>Quamuis non statim vt volumus cor in vnum colvigere valentum [f. 36r] non proper hoc debemus desinere; set paulatim studemus crescere, vt tandem dignetur Christus nos solidare ad quod meditacio imatur. si mensuram non excedit.</td>
<td>mykel ȝe latery, ȝat come to stableness, ȝat ȝe ar not comforted, ne made stronge to continuell prayer.</td>
<td>lattere ȝe come to stableness ne be comforted ne made strong to continuell prayere.</td>
<td>be mad stable, but so moche the later they come to stableness / that they ben nat comforted ne made stronge to continuell prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>599</td>
<td>Capitulum octauum. De meditacione Est autem meditacio bona de passione Christi et morte, et sepe recordari quantas penaes et miseries pro nobis sustulit ambulando, predicando, famam sitim et frigus et caloris estum paciendo, improperia et maledicta sustinendo vt non videatur graue seruo inutili, imperatorum et dominium saum imitari.</td>
<td>Of meditacione Capitulum 8th. It is gode often to think on þe preciusse passion and on þe peynefull deth of oure lord þesu crist. And to bringe ofte tymes to mynde, how many penyes and diseasses he hath suffred for vs. In gonge, in preching, in tholthing of hunger and thirst, hote and colde, in suffryng mysayenges and reproues / so þat a wrecched seruault and an vnprofitable shulde not thynke he fy for to folowe his empourer and his lord.</td>
<td>Of meditacione Capitulum octauum. It is good often to think on the precious passion and on the painefull death of our lord Jesus Christ. And to bring oftentimes to mind, how many penalties and diseases he hath suffered for us. In going, in preaching, in the thinging of hunger and thirst, hot and cold, in suffering misrepresentations and reproaches / so that a wretched servant and an unprofitable should not think he was to follow his emperor and his lord.</td>
<td>Of meditacione. Capitulum vii. Hyt ye good ofte to think in the precious passion and on the painefull deth of our lord Jesus Christ. And to bringe oftentimes to mynde, howe many penyes and diseasses he hath suffred for vs in goinge in preaching and in the thinging of hunger and thirst, hote and colde, in suffryng and myssayenges and reproues, so that a wreched seruant and an unprofitable shuld not think he for to folowe his emporer and his lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>605</td>
<td>Qui enim se dicit in Christo manere, decept quamadmodum ipsae ambulavit et ipsae ambulare.</td>
<td>Sothely who so weneth and sayeth þat he dwelleth in these Crist / as he went so behoueth hym to follow / That is to say in meknesse in wylful pouerct, pacienc and myldnesse charite, and charite, and in meke suffyinge of alla maner diseasses and reprooues for his sake / as he did for vs. and in fullfylling of all other gude verteues þis is þe way in þe whilk crist went for vs/ yeying vs example þat we shulde folowe hym /</td>
<td>Sothely who so weneth and sayeth that [f. 87v] he dwelleth in Ihesu Crist / as he went so behoveth him to followe. This ye to say in mekenesse in wilful pouerct, pacienc and myldnesse charite and charite, and in meke suffying of all maner diseasses and reprooues / as he did for us. And in fullfylling of all other gude verteues. This ye the way in whiche Crist went for vs yeying vs example that we shulde follow hym.</td>
<td></td>
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611 Dicit dominus enim per Jeremiam. 

Recorede iunct transmigracionis mee et pauperatis et absintit et felitis et doloris et antumitanis. per quam scilicet de mundo ad patrem transmigrati. hec enim recordacio sive meditacio diabolum confundit et machinas eius destruct. carnales temptaciones extinguit. animam ad Christi amorem incendit. mentem subelevarat et clarificat. atque clarificando purgat.


Oure lorde says be the prophete. Jeremi. thus. Hauve ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassyng. [f. 109] of my pourct of my bitternesse. and drynyke of galle. my sorowe and my pynes thurh whilk. I passed oute of his worlde to my fader. Sothely ofte knyngkyng or meditacion of his glorius manhehe. on þe bitter passion. and þe doolful deth of oure lord isus crist. confoundeth þe fende and destroyeth al his mihti and his discesi. It staketh fleshly tempationes. and kyndleþ þe soule to þe love of isus crist. It retieth up oure thouht above alle erthe things. and clarifit it and pooreareth it. from al filtre of syme.

618 I trove þat þis meditacion is most profitable of al otherwise. to hem þat are newly turned to crist. And þerfore þis is þe glorious manhehe of oure lord isus crist sette before us. for in it we haue bothe matere of ioying and of sorowynge. Of ioying for certeinate of oure redemption. Of sorowynge for þe vilette and þe gretness of oure syne. for þe whilste syne to be done away. goddes soune oure lord isus crist toke oure kynde. and clothed hym with cl tymes of oure dedelincynse. In þe whilste he suffrede so hydous a passion. and so cruel. [f. 110] and so despisous a deth. for a boystous and a fleshly soule may not. be raunished into contemplacion of þe godhehe. but if it be first clensed and made sote from al fleshlynesse and syne. thurh meditacion we shulde folwe him.

Oure lord seyth by the prophete Jeremey thus. Hauwe ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassyng of my pouertie. of my bitternesse and drink of galle. my sorowe and my pynes thorw. whiche I passed oute of his worlde to my fader. Sothely ofte thyngynge or meditacion of his glorius manhehe. on þe bitter passion. and þe doolful deth of oure lord isus crist. confoundeth þe fende and destroyeth al his miht and his discesi. It staketh fleshly tempationes. and kyndleþ þe soule to þe love of isus crist. It retieth up oure thouht above alle erthe things. and clarifit it and pooreareth it from al filtre of syne.

C.U. Fr.5.30 (f. 141r-164v) [C]

Douce 322 (f. 78r-94r) [D]

Oure lord seyth by the prophete Jeremey thus. Hauve ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassyng of my pouertie. of my bitternesse and drink of galle. my sorowe and my pynes thorw. whiche I passed oute of his worlde to my fader. Sothely ofte thyngynge or meditacion of his glorius manhehe. on þe bitter passion. and þe doolful deth of oure lord isus crist. confoundeth þe fende and destroyeth al his miht and his discesi. It staketh fleshly tempationes. and kyndleþ þe soule to þe love of isus crist. It retieth up oure thouht above alle erthe things. and clarifit it and pooreareth it from al filtre of syne.

I trove þat þis meditacion is most profitable of al other. to hem þat ben newly turned to crist. And þerfore þis is þe glorious manhehe of oure lord isus crist sette before us. for in it we haue bothe matere of ioying and of sorowynge. Of ioying for certeinate of oure redemption. Of sorowynge for þe vilette and þe gretness of oure syne. for þe whilste syne to be done away. goddes soune oure lord isus crist toke oure kynde. and clothed hym with cl tymes of oure dedelincynse. In þe whilste he suffrede so hydous a passion. and so cruel. [f. 110] and so despisous a deth. for a boystous and a fleshly soule may not. be raunished into contemplacion of þe godhehe. but if it be first clensed and made sote from al fleshlynesse and syne. thurh meditacion and contemplacion of þe manhehe.

I trove þat þis meditacion is most profitable of all other. to hem þat ben newly turned to crist. And þerfore þis is þe glorious manhehe of oure lord isus crist sette before us. for in it we haue bothe matere of [col. b] ioying and of sorowynge. Of ioying for certeinate of oure redemption. Of sorowynge for þe vilette and þe gretness of oure syne. for þe whilste syne to be done away. goddes soune oure lord isus crist toke oure kynde. and clothed hym with cl tymes of oure dedelincynse. In þe whilste he suffrede so hydous a passion. and so cruel. [f. 110] and so despisous a deth. for a boystous and a fleshly soule may not. be raunished into contemplacion of þe godhehe. but if it be first clensed and made sote from al fleshlynesse and syne. thurh meditacion and contemplacion of þe manhehe.
Bone itaque cogitaciones et meditaciones a deo sunt et tales per suam gracion singulis infundit. quales illorum statui et condicioni magis congrue videt.

Possem ergo meditaciones tibi dicere, sed quas tibi magis ulla esse erunt, ignoro. quin interim tuam affectacionem non vide. Puto certe quod illae meditaciones in te deo magis placent et tibi magis profitant quias deus ipsae per se in animam suam perfundit. verum tamen initium potest in aliquos dictis habere quod eciam in memet ipsa expertus sum. Si enim contempturis doctores putans te ad quem melius invenire, quam ipsi in scriptis suis te docent, scio quod amorem dei non gustabis. Inscriptis est dicere, deus illos docuit, quare eciam me non docet.

Respondeo tibi qua tali non es. quas ipsi faciunt. Superbus enim es et austerus, illi vero humiles et niti eximiertur et presumendo nichil de deo quiescunt. sed se humiliter sub omnibus quiescunt scien-ciam sanctorum docti ergo illas vi in eorum libris docúmer. Si vero meditaciones tue amorem Christi nunci desiderant aut nunc laudem [f. 37r] eius sonant, vi michi videtur.

and contemplacion of the manhede / Bot when a man bygnes to have a clene herte. and none ymage of bodily sayng may begyle hym / than is he taken vntil heere saynges / and faro ly in pe love of pe godhede /

632

634

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T.C.D. 432 (f. 90r-121v) [T]

C.U. Fr. 5.30 (f. 141r-164v) [C]

Douce 322 (f. 78r-94r) [D]

And swiche he yveth to ech man thoruh his grace / as he knoweth most able and accordances for here estate / degree / and condition.

I mihite telle þis meditaciones / but which be moste speful to þee / I knowe not. Ffor whyn? I haue nonht seen þine inward afections. I trowe certeyntly þat þese meditaciones plesen moste god / þe which he sendeth hymself into þis soule. Neuerlethes þou mihte haue þis bigynynge / of oluer mennes techoigne. I þat I haue assayed in myself. Ffor Þou dispiçe þis doctorres. supposing þis self to fynde beter þing þan þei haue techoine þis in here wryntinges / wete þou wol þel at not atte þe love of god. Ffor it is foli to seye. God tateh þem. whi shal he not as wel þeche me?

I answere þe / ffor þou art not swilk as þei were / Thow artte poute and sterne / and þei were meke and mylde. þei asked no þing of god presumptuously / bot melkeþ þem self vnder al oþer / þe gate þe cynynge and grace of teechers. Therfor god hem tateh / þat we shulde be lered þe þyrete wynynge and bokes / Soþely þat þi þounþis and þi meditaciones deserien þe love of Ilue crist.

I answere þe. ffor þou art not such as þei were. þou art proute and sterne. and þei were meke and mylde. þei asked no thing of god presumptuously. but makinge hem self vnder alle oþere þei gien þe cunninge and grace of teechers. Therfore god hem tateh. þat we shulde be lered þe þyrete wynynge and bokes. Soþely þat þi þounþis and þi meditaciones deserien þe love of Ilue crist.

when a man bygyneth to have a clene herte. And none ymage of bodily sayng may begyle hym / than is he taken vntil heere saynges / and faro ly in pe love of pe godhede.

Soothly all good toughtes and meditations ben of god. And suche he yveth to all men thoruh his grace / as he knoweth most able thereto. And accordynge for her estate and degree and condition.

I myght telle the meditaciones / but whycly ben most speful to the I knowe nat. ffor whyn? I haue nonht seen þine inward afections. I trowe certeyntly þat þese meditaciones plesen moste god / þe which he sendeth hymself into a soule. [f. 88r]

Neuerlethes thou mayst have the begnynge of other mensys techoigne / And that I haue assayed in myself. ffor yf thou dispyse thy doctores. supposinge thy self to fynde better þing þan þei haue techoine þis in here wryntinges / wete þou wol þel at not atte þe love of god. Ffor it is foli to seye. God tateh þem. whi shal he not as wel þeche me?

I answere the. ffor thou art not suche as they were. thou art proute and sterne. and they were meke and mylde. they askeden nothinge of god presumptuously. but melkeþ þem self vnder all other. þe they gethe the cunninge and grace of teechers. Therfore god taught hem. þat we shulde be lered þen þere wryntinges and bookes. Soþely þat þi þounþis and þi meditaciones deserien þe love.
Capitulum nonum. De lectione

Si cupis ad amorem dei penitentibus et succendi desiderio celestiis

gaudiorum et inducti ad contemptum

terrenorum, non sitis negligentis ad

mediandam scripturam et maxime in his locis ubi moris

institut et insidias dialektos concet

ubi loquitur de amore dei de contemplativa vita.

difficultiores vero sententiae

disputantibus et ingeniosis

viris longo tempore exercitatis in

sancta doctrina relinquentur.

652

Of redyngue ['Capitum 9th']

If you conseyte to come to the loue of god, and for to be kyndled by his

desire of hevenly joyes / loke at you be not neglect of recheles for

to rede holly writ, and moste in these places where / teches forto be

quenstes of his fende and where it spake of his loue of god and of

contemplatif lif / And harde sentence

pat you may not lychly understonde.

leue paven to wisemen of grete wittes / pat haue in custome of longe tyne

terto dispute in holy writte /

659

multum enim nos adiuutae tec in

bone proficiere. In loco cognoscimus

defectus nostros et profeciut in

quibus peccamus et in quibus non

que viture delubris et que agere sub-

stitisimis nobis appenunt maximis

minimerum accedunt ad amandum

et ad laudem dei excentrum preparant

nobis mercis delicatam. Si in illis

sicit in omnibus diuiciis fercer

delectati.

665

Nulla tamen cupiditas laudis vel

fauoris succedet nos ad amorem

scripturam. Set sola intento com-

bene dispositus es. Set tamen medi-
diciones in quibus maiorem saucitatem senctis et dulcidentem in deo.

tibi amplius profiure sunt. mediari

cum sine ducident. parae prodesam.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>670</td>
<td>In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua. vt non peceem tibi. per vanam scilicet ostentacionem. Causa ergo nostrae locucionis. sola sit ius dei et edificatione proximi vt illum de nobis impleatur. Senper laus eius in ore meo. quod fit quando non nostrum laudem quierimus et contra laudem eius non loquimur.</td>
<td>desire to please god. That we may know how we shall love him. and pat we may teche pate to our brother. And notht for pat we wolde be holden wise or cunninge amentes men. but we shal raper hide our cunninge and holde it pryue. fen forto shewit forth for loyng and proisyng [f. 111v] of men. As p[he] prophete sayts:</td>
<td>entision and desire to please god. pat we mowen knowe how we shulde love him. and pat we mowen teche pate to our breother. And notht for pat we wolde be holden wise or cunninge amentes men. but we shal raper hide our cunninge and holde it pryue. That for to shew it foureth for loyng and proisyng of men. as p[he] prophete seith.</td>
<td>intension and desire to please god. that we may know we shall love hym. And that we may teche the same to our brother. And nat for that we wolde be holdyn wyse and cunninge amentys men. but we shall raper hide our cunninge. And holde it pryue / than for [f. 88v] to shewe hit forth for loyng or proisyng of men as the prophete seyth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677</td>
<td>Capitulum decimum. De puritate mentis</td>
<td>Per hos nouem grados pretactos ad puritatem mentis ascenderit quia videtur esse.</td>
<td>Thorugh these nine degrees. before saide we comen to clemensse of soule. In p[he] whilk god is seen. That clemensse I mene. p[he] may be hadde in this lyfe. But how may clemensse be hadde here / where a man is so ofte defouled. at p[he] lest with venialit synnes / for as p[he] prophete sayts. f[e] fete of synnytes / nedes to be wasshen. for p[he] have drawn pouder w[ip] hem. fro p[he] erthe.</td>
<td>Thorugh these [ney] degrees before seyd we come to clemensse of soule. In p[he] whiche god is seen. That clemensse I mene / p[he] may be had in this lyfe. But how may clemensse be hadde here / where a man is so ofte defouled. at p[he] lest with venialit synnes / for as p[he] prophete seith / f[e] fete of synnytes nedes to be wasshen. f[o] f[e] have drawn pouder w[ip] hem fro p[he] erthe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td>Qvis enim dicere potest. purus sum a peccato. quasi diceter. nullus in</td>
<td>Or who may sye I am cleene of synne / as who sayd. no man in this</td>
<td>Or who may sye I am cleene of synne / as who seith / no man in his</td>
<td>Other who may sey I am cleene of synne. As who seythe. no man in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Line 691

non regnat peccatum in nostro mortali corpori, quasi discret, peccatum in nostro corpore postea non regnare, sed non postea non esse.

Synne regne not in your deddy body. As if he said bus. Synne may not yve in your body of deth; pat is in your flesh, and sensualite, but it may unregn. pat is by vileful sterynges, pat springe out of you, be corrupcion of your flesh, may be restreynd, and eaten down, by reason and myth of your soule. Phe merite and phe desert of your giousure passione of our lord iesus christe.

Therefore what clemanese may a man have in his lyfe. Sothely grete and lovable; if he rihtwisely and basily vse him selfe in studie of redening of preyinge and of meditacion, as it is before seide. Ifor a man be fielde synne sumtime vsualy / needpere for his hole entete, pat he has vnto god: as if [f. 112'] done away. Forp se forenoure and brenynge of charite, pat he is in his soule / consumes and wasteth to noht al pe

dys lyfe. Forp as holy Job seith. Ifp if he wasshen, vip water of snowe, pat is with soothfaste penuance and myne honde shyne as most clene. Pat is for goode werkes / neuerpere in filthe you shalt shalit me. Pat is for veniall synnes ym which you mowm not be felle. And my clothes shal lope me; pat is my flesh and my sensuality with which a renable soule is cloped / shal make me abominable. The whilke flesh is so frele and so buxome. Forp lufe phe fairenes, and phe vanite of phe wordeis / phe it ofte times maketh a man to shame. Forp biddeth phe apostle pheus.

Synne regne not in your deddy body. As if he said bus. Synne may not yve in your body of deth; pat is in your flesh, and sensualite, but it may unregn. pat is by vileful sterynges, pat springe out of you, be corrupcion of your flesh, may be restreynd, and eaten down, by reason and myth of your soule. Phe merite and phe desert of your giousure passione of our lord iesus christe.

Therefore what clemanese may a man have in his lyfe. Sothely grete and lovable; if he rihtwisely and basily vse him selfe in studie of redening of preyinge and of meditacion, as it is before seide. Ifor a man be fielde synne sumtime vsualy / needpere for his hole entete, pat he has vnto god: as if [f. 112'] done away. Forp se forenoure and brenynge of charite, pat he is in his soule / consumes and wasteth to noht al pe

dys lyfe. Forp as holy Job seith. Ifp if he wasshen, vip water of snowe, pat is with soothfaste penuance and myne honde shyne as most clene. Pat is for goode werkes / neuerpere in filthe you shalt shalit me. Pat is for veniall synnes ym which you mowm not be felle. And my clothes shal lope me; pat is my flesh and my sensuality with which a renable soule is cloped / shal make me abominable. The whilke flesh is so frele and so buxome. Forp lufe phe fairenes, and phe vanite of phe wordeis / phe it ofte times maketh a man to shame. Forp biddeth phe apostle pheus.

Quam ergo postas homo habere puritatem in hac vita, vere magnam et laudabilam si se suse exercerit in studio lectionis, orationis et meditationis, ut prist prenomin est. Quamvis enim peccat, aliqualve venialiét, tamen propter integram intentionem suam ad deum directam delectur. Eterueo numque curitatis in ipso existente, omnem ruginimum peccatorum consumit, quasi si guita aque in caminum ardentem mittere
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<tr>
<td>703</td>
<td>virtus autem purgati animi est / menticum lubere ad deum intendant / quia in statu illo / tota cogitatio in deum dirigitur tota memoria in ipsoan extenditur. eciam quando alias loqui videtur.</td>
<td>rouste et filthat of synne / as if a drope of water were cast in a grete, brennand fyre.</td>
<td>of sinne, as if a drop of water were cast in a grete brennynge fyre.</td>
<td>the rouste and filth of synne as ye a drope of water were caste in a grete brennynge fyre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>712</td>
<td>Capitulum vndecimum. De amore dei</td>
<td>Of pe loue of god. / Capitulum 11. /</td>
<td>Of pe loue of god.</td>
<td>Of the loue of god. Capitulum xj&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>719</td>
<td>O amor eterna inflamna animam / meam ad amandum deum vi non</td>
<td>A loue enflaunme my herte for to loue god / so that I brene not bothe</td>
<td>A loue enflaunme my herte for to loue god / so that I brene not but</td>
<td>O thou sweete light and delightble that art my maker vpnspeable. lyghtene pe face and pe sharpenes of mye eyen / with pin vnvaund cler brightnesse / so pe my soul mildly clenched from alle vnclemesse / and mad wonderfull thurgh hevenly yffes / maye sowe swiftely in to pe heighte of sweetest and mericeste loue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dvle lumen et delectabile quod es conditor meus incircumscriptus illus-</td>
<td>O thou sweete light and delightble that art my maker vpnspeable. lyghtene pe face and pe sharpenes of mye eyen / with pin vnvaund cler brightnesse / so pe my soul mildly clenched from alle vnclemesse / and mad wonderfull thurgh hevenly yffes / maye sowe swiftely in to pe heighte of sweetest and mericeste loue.</td>
<td>Of the loue of god. Capitulum xj&quot;.</td>
<td>O thou sweete light and delightble that art my maker vpnspeable. lyghtene pe face and pe sharpenes of mye eyen / with pin vnvaund cler brightnesse / so pe my soul mildly clenched from alle vnclemesse / and mad wonderfull thurgh hevenly yffes / maye sowe swiftely in to pe heighte of sweetest and mericeste loue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ttra faciem et aciem oculus</td>
<td>Of the loue of god. Capitulum xj&quot;.</td>
<td>Of the loue of god. Capitulum xj&quot;.</td>
<td>Of the loue of god. Capitulum xj&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ardecam nisi ad amplectus eius. O bone Ihesu qui mihi det ut sceam te qui nunc senti et videre non potes. Infunde te in viscera mea et veni in cor meum et reple ilud dulcedine tua preclarissima. Inebria fulminam meam vna dulcetoniis dulcisone. ut omnia mala omnesque visiones illustris et ymagines oblituis, ae te solum complectens exultem et inflam in deo Ihesu meo. Amo domine dulcisimne non recede a me fugiter mecum manens in tua dulcedine. quia tua sola presencia michi solucion est et tua sola absencia tristem reliquit.

O sancte spiritus qui spiras vbi vis rape me tibi creaturam quem creatisti donis victam mellifluis vi in tuo dedicato aborta gaudia desperiat omne quod est in hae seculo spiritualia caritatis te largiente accipiat et per canorum jubilum cenderit incircumscriptum lumen vi amore tuo tota liquefact.

Venite tuos renes meos et cor meum qui in altum tuo ardebit in eternum. veni precor o sanuus et vera gloria veni dulcedo desideratissima. veni dulce mi qui es tota consolatione mea anime languenti pro te. dulciuho

O lorde brende con bi holy fyre of love. my myres and my herte pe whilke fire shal brenc in pin autere with ouen ende. Come I beseeke pin softe and verray ioye. come I pinn sweetnesse most desired. come my

in the sweete halsinges of hym. O good Ihesu who shall vive to me that I may fele thee. I heve now miht not be seen ne fedeed bodily yeete I si in to pe entrails of my soule. Come into my herte and fille it with bi ful brith sweetnesse. Make drunken my soule with fennent wynne of Ihe sweetest love. So I ferretinge alle euues. and alle decyuyng ymages of bodely pinges and pe oonly halings with pe armes of love I may be glad in bodi and vispeskeably enioy in soul in god my Ihesu. pat is my saunce. A my derwerth swete lorde Ihesu. departe no more fro me. bot dwell continually with me in bi blessed swett.

O pinn holy gost pat enspires where you wille rannish me to the a creature whilke you made of noth. and make me oon with pe. thurh bi swete yfifes. So pat my soule. al holy supped up in joly delevate ioye disspise cast away. and set at noth all jinge in bi joure. and thurh bi yeuyngge pat it may take gostly yfifes. and thurh endles ioye. and gostly songe. it may beholde pe. jote art liht vnspeale and alle holy be molten in Ihe loute.

O lord brende with pin holy fire of love. myn eres and myn herte. pe whiche fire shal brene in pin auter with ouen ende. Come I beseeke pin softe and verray ioye. come I pinn sweetnesse most desired. come my

the sweete halsinges of hym. O good Ihesu who shall yeeue to me/ that I may fele the. that now mayst be seen. neyther fledly bodily yethe thyself into the entrails of my soule. come into my herte and fyll hit with thy fulbrith sweetnesse. Make drunken my soule with fennent wynne of thy sweetest love. so that I ferretinge all euuel and all dysseuyoynge imagenes of bodily thyngs. And the oonly halysing or clypping. with the armes of love. that I may be glad in body and vispeskeably enioy in soul in god my Ihesu that as my sayoure. A my derwerth swete lorde Ihesu. departe no more fro me. but dwelle continualy with me in bi blissede swete. Now my prescence is al my confort. and oonly pin absence / maketh me sori. O thow hol myst goeste that enspires where thow wullt. rannyshe me to the a creature whyche thow hat made of noth. and make me oon with the/ thorough thy swete yfyls. so that my sowle al holy supped vp in thy delevate ioye. I dysspise cast away. And set at noth all thing in thy world. and thourh bi yeuyngge pat it may take gostly yfifes. and thourh endles ioye and gostly song / it may beholde pe jote art liht vnspekeable. and al holy be molten in pin ioye.
ardore illabere colore tuo penetralia
cordis mei incende et intima luce tua
illuminando meli[i]frUo amoris
ibidem euncta pro captu mentis et
corporis deosce. In hummodi de-
lectacionibus delecteris ut quandoque
ad medullam amoris ascenderis.

Ad aurem autem amantium animam in se
manere non sinis. sed extra se rapit
ad amatum ut magis ibi sit vbi
dilig. quam vbi corpus est. quod
per illam sentit et vishit. Sunt
siquidem tres gradus amoris christii in
qubus ab uno in alium proficiscitur
qui eligitur ad amorem. *

474
Primum vocatur. Inasupersibilis.
Secundus Inseperabilis. Tertius
singularis. *
Tunc quippe Inseperabilis est,
quando nulla affectio alla potest
superari. quando libenter pro-tp
ipsum omn e impedimenta abicit
omes temptaciones et desideria car-
nis eximia. quando propter chris-
tum omnes angustias libenter patirur
et nulla delectatione vel blandimento
superatur. fatales est amanti labor
omnis. nec melius vincit quia la-
borum quam per amorem. *

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-12iv) [T]
welle beloued eart alle my con-
forte/ have pite on my lan-
guyselyng soul. Vive into myn
herte with pi sweetefull brennyngye
and breme pe etreilles of myn
herte. And with pi inwarede lyt-
lyrnynde me / fede my body and my
soule with so huge eye of love pat
it may noth be tolde. * In
swift maner of meditations have
delyte. / so pat jou may sumtyme
come to pe inwarde felyng of love.

Lowe sufcreth not a luyngesoul for
to dwelle in hire self. / but it rauishteth
hire out of hire self. / vnto hire
louode. So pat she is more verryly
where she loueth / [f. 158v] on per
pe body is pat louiel and feeleth hi
bry. * Per ben thre degrees of
lovest. Oon is inseperable. pe secunde is
inseperable. / and pe thridde is called
singuler. *

C.U. ff.5.30 (ff. 14r-16iv) [C]
well bloued eart alle my comforte.
have pite on my languishing
soule. Write into myn herte with pi
sweetefull brennyngye. and breme
pe etreilles of myn herte. and with pi
inwarede lythlyrnynde me. / fede my
body and my soule with so huge
eye of love pat it may not be tolde. *
In swich manere of meditations have
delyte. / so pat jou may sumtyme
come to pe inwarde feelinge of love. *

Lowe sufcreth not a luyngesoul for
to dwelle in hire self. / but it rauishteth
hire out of hire self. / vnto hire
louode. So pat she is more verryly
where she loueth / [f. 158v] on per
pe body is pat louiel and feeleth hi
bry. * Per ben thre degrees of
lovest. Oon is inseperable. pe secunde is
inseperable. / and pe thridde is called
singuler. *

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
come my wel beloued that art my
comfort. have pite on my lang-
guyselyng soul. Vive into myn
herte. / with thy swete full brennyngye.
and breme the etreilles of myn
herte. and with thy inwarede lyght
luyngesoul ye. / fede my body and
my soule with so howse loye of love
that hit may nat be tolde. *
In swiche manere of meditations have
delyte. / so pat jou may sumtyme
come to pe inwarde feelinge of love. *

Lowe sufcreth not a luyngesoul for
to dwelle in hire self. / but it rauishteth
hire out of hire self. / vnto hire
louode. So pat she is more verryly
where she loueth / [f. 158v] on per
pe body is pat louiel and feeleth hi
bry. * Per ben thre degrees of
lovest. Oon is inseperable. pe secunde is
inseperable. / and pe thridde is called
singuler. *

Thy loue ys inseperable when
nothing that ys contrary to goddes
wille may overcome it. / but hit ys
ayenst all temptacions curvemore
mighty and stronge. whether thew be
in eje or in angysse. in hele or in
sikeesse. / so pat thine wost wolde
to harme alle werde for. to have it
with outen ende. / any tymewe
god. And pe were leere if eyer
shulde be / to suffre alle pe peyne
and woo. pat myhte come to any
creature. / or wost wolde do any
jinghe pat shulde displese him. / On
his maner shal he loue be inseperable. *
pat no jinge may brynghe it doome to
sine. / but thou art spryngande yp
pur vertaes. / [f. 114v] Blest art thou
if jou be in his degree. / bot yet ye shult
oue be more blissed. if jou holdes his

Amor vero inseperabilis est: cum iam velamentis delectione succensa mens nostra cristo inseperabili cogitatione adharet. nullo quidem momento ipsum a memoria recedere permittens. sed quasi in cordo ligatur ipsum cogitat ad ipsum suspiret. cuius amore se teneri clamat vt comedem mortalitatis solut. et ad ipsum quem se videre desiderat perducat. et maxime hic nomen Ihesu tuntum honorat et diligit quod ipsum in ipsius mente ingiter recumbit.

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T.C.D. 432 (f. 90r-121v) [T]

Inseperabilis est ine luce: quando alle in herte. et in potus. et in myht. is so holly. so enterly. and so parfitly festined set and stabiled in Ihesu criste. set in potus comes neuer of. of hym: ne neuer is departed fro him. outakyn slepeynge tyne. And als sone as you arte wakende is hert is pirkand on hym: as if he were bounden in herte. him you sylhes after to hym you cries prairande euer to be holden in his louse. Desirande bremadly with grete afection set he wolde vouchesafe to lye se ferter and bondes of his dedly llyf: and bringe yee to hym self: whom ewe coulth you desires: and coutieth. And spezzly pis name Ihesu. shalt you honoure and wortshippe: holding it besily in ni mynde with outhe censag. And perchere when you luce of Ihesu criste is so gretey lysten in pin herte set for noงinge in je worldle may be twynned nor departe. fro potus affection: it is callede [f. 115r] most heye luce. when pi soule is on hym euer pin ynges: no tyne hym forvytyng. bot vandalebly clueses to Ihesu criste. thi lye is callede inseperable and euerylaste whate luce may be more than pis. Yit is yer the thridde degree. Jat is callede Singyuler. In pis degree of louse is he. Jat excludes fro hym. and forsaketh all manner confort: bot oon Jat is in Ihesu criste. when no

C.U. Ff.5.30 (f. 141r-164v) [C]

and miht come to je seconde: Jat is inseperable. And perchere when you luce of Ihesu criste is so gretey lysten in pin herte set for noงinge in je worldle may be twynned nor departe. fro potus affection: it is callede [f. 159r] pi soule is on hym euer thinking: no time him forvytyng. but vandalebly cleueth to Ihesu criste. pi luce is callede inseperable and euerylaste. What luce may be more than pis? Yit is yer the thridde degree. Jat is callede Singyuler. In pis degree of louse is he. Jat excludes fro hym. and forsaketh all manner confort: bot oon Jat is in Ihesu criste. when no

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]

more blessed: yef thow holde thy degree and myght come to the second that ys inseperable. And perchere when you luce of Ihesu criste is so gretey lysten in pin herte set for noงinge in je worldle may be twynned nor departe. fro potus affection: it is callede [f. 159r] pi soule is on hym euer thinking: no time him forvytyng. but vandalebly cleueth to Ihesu criste. pi luce is callede inseperable and euerylaste. What luce may be more than pis? Yit is yer the thridde degree. Jat is callede Singyuler. In pis degree of louse is he. Jat excludes fro hym. and forsaketh all manner confort: bot oon Jat is in Ihesu criste. when no

768

Cum ergo amor christi in corde directior est et contemptoris mundi in tantum increnit vt ab illo affectu separi non potest. [E 35v] summo dicitur. Cum ergo illum cogitando nulla occasione ipsum obliviscendo christo inseperabiliter inheret inseperabilis et sempiternus nuncupatur. Et quia amor amoe isto maior vel alius esse potest. si summos et sempiternos est.

Adhuc restit tereus graud qui singularis est. ad singularem gradum amoris ascendit. qui omnem consolac{}onem preter vnae quae est in Christo Ihesu exclut. quando ni-

773
chil preter ihesum sibi sufficere poterit. in gradu illo anima constiuta illum vnum diligit, solum christum stitit, christum concepistit. in solo cius desiderio anaclit, ad ipsum suppirat, ex ipso inaudicet. in christo fermiis requiescat. nichil sui dulcescit, nichil capiat nisi ihesu in dulcore cuinuis memoria quasi mirificum meleis in consueto vini.

780 cum christo poterit frui omnia, pariter se habere credit: sine illo horrend omnia. sordecat vniuersa. sed quia illo frui in eternum credit constanter consistit: corpore non deficit nec corde tabescit. sed amat perseverantur et cuncta patitur letantur. et quanta amplius sic in illo viuin tanto in amore magis succendiur et sublimior efficitur. tali nimirum solutio conjurit qui consortem non admitit. quia tanta magis interius gaudio rapitur quanto minus rebus exterioribus implicatur vel molestias aut curis huius lite non impeditur. etiam quasi impassibilis in anima efficitur, quia quacumque non obstante angustia in deo agiiter incidatur.

792 o anima mea (f. 40v) defice ab amore seculi et tota liqueasse in amore christi vs semper tibi dulce sit et suum. de christo loqui legere, scribere, et cogitare. ipsus erare.

T.C.D. 432 (f. 90v-121v) [T]

pinge may suffice to him bot ihesu. A soule pat set in pis degree. lones cristi for him self. ihesu she thristes. ihesu she crouytes. hym only sh desirues. hym in sh she brennes, and in hym she brennely retest. nopenge is sweete to hire. no pinge saury but if it be merged with ihesu, when mynde is, as a medley of musike in a feast of wyne.

When she may have ihesu. hire thinketh she hath alle thinges with hym. without whom alle thinges are lothily. all thinges are watsome. and foule. but for als myndz she trouwe to have him with outen ende in the bliss of heven. she stondeth stably. she raves roused in body. ne is not cast doune in [f. 115v] soule: but she lustes lusteely. and suffres all thinges gladely. And ay the more she lyues in this degree. ay the more is she kyndled in lute and made heyre in grace. soothly to swilk a man acordeth wol solitariesse. he whiche may suffre no felawe. folo ay the lasse that he is occupied with outwardly thinges. and letted with heynesse charges. and heynesnesses of this lit. the more ioye of lute he has with inne in his soule. in so mykel that he is made impassible in his soule. for what anguyssh. or what disse falle outwarde. his soule is euermore ioyinge in god.

O thow my soule. flyele thew fro the lute of the world. and melte holly in the lute of ihesu cristi. that euermore it be sweete. softe lykinge. ioyinge. and plesinge to the for to

C.U. Fr. 5.30 (f. 141v-164v) [C]

thing may suffice to him: but ihesu. A soule pat set in pist degree / loueth cristi for himself. ihesu she thristeth. ihesu she coureyeth. hym only sh she desirith. in hym she brenneth. and in hym she brennely retest. no thing is so sweete to hire. no thing saurye. but if it be merged with ihesu. when mynde is as a medley of musike in a feast of wyne.

When she may have ihesu. hire thinketh she hath alle thinges with hym. without whom alle thinges be lothily. alle thinges ben watsome and foule. but for as michel as she trouwe to have him with outen ende in the bliss of heven. she stondeth stably. she falleth not in body. ne is not cast doune in soule. but she lusteth lastingly. and suffreth alle thinges gladely. And ay the more she lyvet in pis degree / pe more is she kindled in love. and maad hyere in grace. soothly to swilk a man acordeth wol solitariesse. he whiche may suffre no felawe. folo ay the lasse that he is occupied with outwardly thinges. and letted with heynesse charges. and heynesnesses of this lyfe. the more ioye of love hath he with inne in his soule. in so michel pat he is maad impassible in his soule. for what anguyssh or what disse falle outwarde. his soule is euermore ioyinge in god.

O thow my soule. false thou fro the love of the world. and melte holly in the love of ihesu cristi. that euermore it be sweete. softe lykinge. ioyinge and plesinge to thee. forto speke of

Douce 332 (f. 78r-94r) [D]

suffysse to hym but ihesu allone. A soule that ys sette in this degree / loueth ihesu for hymself. ihesu she thristeth. ihesu she coureyeth. hym only sh she desirith. in hym she brenneth. and in hym she brennely retest. no thing is so sweete to hir. no thing saurye. but if it be merged with ihesu. when mynde is as a medley of musyk / in a feast of wyne.

When she may have ihesu. her thinketh she hath all thinges with hym. Without whom [col. b] all thinges been lothily. All thinges ben watsome and foule. but for as moche as she trouwe to have hym withouten ende in the bliss of heven. she stondeth stably. she falleth not in body. ne is not cast doune in soule. but she lusteth lastingly. and suffreth alle thinges gladely. And ay the more she lyvet in pis degree / pe more is she kindled in love. and maad hyere in grace. soothly to swilk a man acordeth wol solitariesse. he whiche may suffre no felawe. folo ay the lasse that he is occupied with outwardly thinges. and letted with heynesse charges. and heynesnesses of this lyfe. the more ioye of love hath he with inne in his soule. in so michel pat he is maad impassible in his soule. for what anguyssh or what disse falle outwarde. his soule is euermore ioyinge in god. O thow soule flyele and fall thow fro the love of the world. and melte holly in the love of ihesu cryst. that euermore hit be sweete. softe lykinge. ioyinge. and plesinge to the for to
299 ipsum incessanter laudare. Anima mei tibi devota, deus te video desiderat. ad te de longinquo clamam, in te ardat. amore tuo linguat.

797 deiusti me. o. amor indeciscens, vulnerat cor meum per hennis dulcedo et pulcritudo etiam victus et vulnerat succumbo pene morior et in vix vino praeadulq phoenix non sufficio in carne corruptibili tante magestatis perferre suavitate. Totum enim cor in desiderio ihesu desfluxum in amoris arderem sequestratur et in aliam gloriam atque formam absorbatur. LINE.

803 o. bone ihesu misere miseri. ostende te languent. medere sancto. infinum non sencio nisi linguas amme tuo. Quo te non diligit. totum quod est perdit qui te non sequitur insae. Interim autem esto michi in gaudium. amor et desiderium donce te videam deum deorum in Synon. Est autem caritas virtutum nobiliissima. excellentiissima et subtilissima qui autorem cum amore scimus coniungere et christum cum electa anima propius copulare. Reformant in nobis summe Trinitatis ymaginem et creaturar creator facit simulam.
812 O donum amoris quantum velat pre omnibus qui sibi summum gradum vendicit cum angelis. Quanto quis in via de amore plus accipit tanto in [patr'ia] [sublimior] est.

818 O cara caritas. Qui te non habet in terra iacet quicquid habet. Qui vero in te letitor nihilatur. supra terram statim elevatur. tu audaciter intras in cubilacum regis eterni. tu sola christum rapires non veroris. 34 est quem tu quesisti. quem amasti. tuus est christus. tene illum. quin non potest. non suscipere. qui soli obedere desiderasti. quoniam sine te nulla prorsus placet opera. tu autem omnia facis sapida. tu es sedes caelestis. societas angelica. sanctitas mirifica. visio beatifica. et vita sine fine manusara.

827 O sancta caritas quam suavis es et confortabilis quod stratum redintegras. minus estimum scrum liber. angelis hominem equiperas. sedentes et quietscentes sublesus. lenui indolentss. In hoc gradu est amor castus. sanctus. et voluntarius amatum. pro se ipso. non pro ali. nec pro suis amans et totum in amato
se figens. nihil extra ipsum querens. de ipso contentus. flagrans. estuans vehemens ipsum in se figens. impietosus modo omnis modum excendens. ad solum amatum se extendens cuncta alia contempens et obtusissimis. in amato nihilum ipsum cogitans. ipsum inessuus remississimis. ascendens in desiderio. ruens in directo pergens in amplissimis. absortus in osculis. totius. iiquefactus in igne amoris.

839

itaque verus amator [F.41r] christi. nec ordinem in amando. nec cupid gradum. quia in presenti vitae quantum sequuntur et nihilans in amore divino fieri. adhuc et plus et plus ardens et ineundissimulam amare contendit. Eciun si posset semper vivere. non putaret se aliquando stare. et viternus in amore non posse profecer. sed poenius quam divinus viueret. tuto in amore amplius arderet.  

844

Deus infinitus magnitudo. et inexpugnabilis bonitas. meminabilis dulcedinis. omnium natura incomprehensibilis nonnulla nobis comprehendi potest. quemadmodum in se eternus existit. Set cum iam conditionem desiderio mens inadessere ceperit. capax increata lucis efficacit. Ac deinde inspiruit et replete donis spiritus sancti celestis leticia. vi mortuus vias est perfructus cuncta transcendent. ad suavitatem. plesant. and restful in conscience. In this degree is love chastely holy and wifely. lovinge he loved only for him self and not for his. Festynge him self all in his loved. no thing seeking he. wel payed of him. secondly and thirdly breynge. He byndeth him in him lusty in wondrouse manner alle thinges overpassing. spredinge him self only to his loved. alle oplere thinges despisinge and forytynge. in his loye unspejablely lovinge. on him thinkynge. styinge in desire and fallinge in his louse. goinge in kysinges and al molten in the fyre of louse. 

Soothly a trewe louere of crist. noth he kepeord. noth he coueteth degree [F.160v]. in lovinge. for in his present lyfe. he more frenc ferynghe is in love / so michel coueteth he more brennynge to more loute. And if he mihet euermore live him shulde thynke pat he mihet euermore stonde stille and no more profyte / but raper euer he lenger he luyde / be more frent and brenynge shulde he be in the fyr of their crist. 

Ffor god is of endesse gretneis of vspekeable sweteenesse. and to alle creatures incomprehensible. And perfore he may never be comprehended of vs. als he is in endesse byng / But soothly when a soule begynnes to brenne in desire and lufe of his makere / she is than maade partenere of lyght vnforme / and than after is she espired. and filled with the yeftes of the holy gost and feleth heaveny joye. Than she ouerpasseth
232

581 Dunque dulcore diuinitatis et calore creantis lucis perdantur in holocaustum eterno regi oblatum et acceptum tota concretum.† O amor amnes. Fortis, rapax, ardens, spontaneus, validus, inestimabilis qui totum altitudinem intentionis in tuam scrutatorem redigis et aliud preter te cogitare non sinis. Tibi videntes omnes quod visimus, omne quod sapimus.† omne quod suum.†

586 Sic ergo christum nostris amoris principium sit et finis. Propert quem diligendum est quicquid ordinate diligimus et ad quem totum quod diligimus seu diligimus referimus hic quasi perfectus amor ostenditur quando tota mentis intencio, locus corporis occultus operatur in diuinum amorem elevarunt [f.41v] quemus sit tanta vis divina amoris tantaque locunditas quod nullum mundi gaudium. nullumque carnale commercium libeat et si licet.†

582 O amor Inseparabili. O amor singularis qui quamuis nulla premissa esent electronum. nulla ve tormenta impionum. non te cecus solutus ab amato tollerabili ignis videtur incurre aut insistenti supplicium quam semel fore mortaliter pecatum. ergo vere amas deum proprius deum et nichil aliud. nec ceciam te ipsum nisi propter deum. Et inde sequatur quod in te nichil aliud nisi deus amatur. Aliquo quoniam est deus omnis in omnibus. si aliquid in homine remanet humani amoris.†

O thou love inseparable. O thou love singular. Such love were no [f.161r] neede to chosen soules. ne no tormentes for sinners / thou woldest neere the sonner departe thee fro thi loued. It were more susifiable and lassen peyne for to be put in everlastyng tormentes / thou onus to syme dedely.

Therefore sothly thou loue god for him self. and no thing elles yee thou loues not thy own self but for god. And so folweth it that no thing is loued of thee but god.† Ellies how shulde pat be fulfilled heere pat holy
871 O cara caritas veni in me et cape me in te et sic presenta me coram conditore. Tu es enim sapor condieris. dulcem placens. feno purificans. consolacio sine fine munere. tu viros contemplationem efficis. iunam celum aperis. ora accusantium claudis. deum ostendis. imvisibum et multi- tudinem ascendis peccatorum. Te laudamus. te predicamus. per quam mundum vincimus. per quem ibimus per quam celum scalam scandimus. hodie michi in tua dulcedine me tecum et meum comedo sine fine. Amen.

880 Capitulum duodecim. de contemplacione

Contemplacione sine vita contemplatione habet tres partes. scilicet. lectionem. oracionem. et meditationem. In lectione. loquum nobiscum dece. In oracione cam deo loquimur. In lectione angelis ad nos descendunt et erudit nos [f.42r] erramus. In oracione ascendunt. et preces nostras deo offertur gratulantur nostrum profeclum. qui sunt mun- cij inter deum et nos. Est autem oratio plus in deum mentis affectus. directus qui cum ad deum veniet

how shuld be that be fullfled here that holy wryte says / God shal be alle in alle / if any thing leue in man of mannes lofe / O thou derworth charyte. come into me and take me into thee. and so present me before my maker. Thou art sauour make sauour ouder odoure welles smelande. sweetnes ple- saunte. fermo purifiant / and confort with ouden ende duellant. Thou makest men contemplatyf. thou opens the yat of heuen. thou speres the mouthes of accusers. thou showes god that is invisible. and thou hilles the multitude of synnes. the we see. the we prechen. thorough whom we overcome the world. by whom we clime the ladders of heuen. Come to me in thi sweetnesse. for with the me and with myne I come now and euernore with ouden ende. Amen /

writ seith. O God shal be al in al. if any thing leue in man / of mannes lofe. O thou derworth charyte. come into me. and take me into thee. and so present me before my maker. Thou art sauour make sauour odoure welles smelinge. sweetnes plens. fermo purifying and confort with ouden ende duelling. Thou makest men contemplatyf. thou openest the yate of heuen. thou shettst the wolves of accusers. thou shewest god that is invisible. and thou helest the multitude of synnes. see we see. see we prechen. thorough whom we ouer the world. by whom we clime the ladders of heuen. Come to me in thi sweetnesse. see with me and with myne / I commend me now and euernore with ouden ende. Amen.

Of Contemplacion. Capitulum duodecimum.

Contemplacion or contemplatylif / hath three partes. the first is redyngge the second prayenge. and the thride is meditacion. In redyngge spakes god til vs. In prayere we speake with god. In meditacion angells come donue to vs and techen vs that we are nought. In prayere that steyn vp. and offenoure prayere vnto god. In enjoyinge of oure profyte. Ie which ben messangers now bi twixe god and us. Prayere is a meke affection of the soule. direkte in to god the whilke

Contemplacion other contemplatylif. hath three partes. the first ys redyng the second prayenge. and the thyd ys meditacion. In redyng speketh god to vs. In prayere we speake with god. In meditacion angells come donue to vs and techen vs that we are nought. In prayere they steyn vp and offenoure prayers vnto god joying of oure profyte. the whyle the ben messangers now bi twixe god and us. Prayre ys a meke affection of the soule direkte vnto god. the whyle when hit
234

888 Meditatio in divinis post lectionem et oracionem assumenda est vbi amplexus est Rachael. Ad lectionem mcio pertinet et inquisito veritatis, que lumen est gratum signatum supernos. Ad oracionem pertinet, iussus ymnus, speulatio, excaucus, ad
miratio et sic oracione contemplacio existit. Ad meditacionem pertinet insipiacio divina, intellegencia, Sapientia, suspirium.

894 Si queritur quid sit contemplatio difficilis est discernire. Diceit quisque quod contemplatio est res rutum
futurumque noticia suis vacatio ab omnibus mundi occupacionibus suis diuinum studium literarum. Alii dicunt et bene quod contemplatio est jubilus supernum. Alii
dicunt optine quod contemplatio est subelutur mentis jubilum, mor
curanium affectumus.

900 mihi videtur quod contemplatio est jubilus divinus amoris susceta in mente sanctae fideis angelici. hec enim inpsacit fins est oracionis perfecte et deoconio summe. hec
est evaluatio mentis habita pro eterno diceto in spirituali canone voce prorupens et est actus iste consumma
cio et perfectissimus omni actione vni humana. Psalmista dict.
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_Beatus populus qui scit tabilia-cionem_ . id est . contemplacionem dei . Non enim aliquis aliquem a deo potest iubilare in ille v. 5

nec [f.42v] illius amoris suavitatem aliquando gustans. Sed qui uigiar suspiciat igni eterni amoris sequendi paciencia et humilitate et mansuetudine cum omnibus mundia mensis et corporis decenio et uquientis spiritualibus inviv in contemplacionem cleuan. |

Blessed is that folk that know wonderful ioyinge / that is the/ contemplation of god. Sodoth no man that is strange land/ ferre fero god throug synace / may thus gates enjoye [f.118*] in ille v. 5

ne fele the swettinesse of his lufe / And therefore he that deserveth bisly to be kyndeld with the fre of endcles lufe / forto be eunomur with pacience / mekenes / al myldnes / and with al manere clemesse of body and soul / to be fulfilled with gostly oynemences and to be resed vp into contemplacion /

Blessed is that folk / that knoweth wunderful ioyinge . that is the contemplation of god. § Sodoth no man that is strange ne ferre fero god throug synace / may thus gates enjoye in ille v. 5

ne fele the swettinesse of his lufe . And perfore he that deserveth bisly to be kyndeld with the fre of endcles lufe / for to be eunomur with pacience / mekenes / myldenes / and with al manere clemesse of body and soul / to be fulfilled with gostly oynemences and to be resed vp into contemplacion |

Querat incessanter virtutes salutiferae quibus in hac vita a miseria culpe liberetur et in alia liber ab omni pena et in vita beata glorietur . Sique in hoc exilio diuinis amoris meretur nobis contemplari . Semper ipsum non piget munificentia onerim ob ea quae exercet in meditacionibus sanctis . que profecto huini laboribus spiritualibus cum genitiuis ac fletibus interne compunctionibus . amor christi accedantur pariter que virtutes omnem . ac dona sancti spiritus cordi infundatur . |

Late hym seke vnsesangely hellful vertues with the whiche he may in this lyfe he made fre fero synne / and in the thre time he al payne / joyand in blissful lyf / And if he do thus / than shall he mowe come in this lyf to this wunderful ioyinge of contemplacion / And therefore yeke he not for to yeke him to prayers and wakynge / and to use him self in holy meditations / for soothly with swike manere gostly traumes . with myournynges and wepynge of inwardly compunction . is the lyfe of illesu crist kyndeld / and also al othere vertues / and the viftes of the holy gost are yette into the soule .

Inciptiat ergo per voluntarium pauperatem . vt dum nihil in hoc mundo appetit coram deo et homine sobrie et iuste vivat . Nichil enim habere magne necessitas est . sed nichil velle habere magne virtutes est . multa possimus labere et tamen |

Therfore begyne he throug wilful poout that he coueyle no thing of this world / That he may lyve soberly / meekly / and rightwisly before god and man / for to have nought comes suumynge of neede / but for to will nought have / comes of grete ver-

Therfore begyne he throug wilful pooute . that he coueyle no thing of this world / that he may lyve soberly / meekely and rightwisly / before god and man / for to have nought / cometh sum time of neede / But for to wole nought have / cometh of greth
nichil velle. quando ea que habemus non ad voluntatem. sed ad necessitatem reiuitus sicut quandoque qui nichil habet multa capit. Necessaria perfectissimam accipere operet. aliquiin perfectus non esset. si ea vnde uiuit recusaret. 

929
Hic igitur modus habendum est in perfectis. vt omnia mundi despiciant et tamen ex eisdem victum et vestitum succant. et si quandoque desunt non numurent sed deum laudent. Superflua quantum in se sic recusent.

933
Quanto magis quis calore lucis eterne inalefacere cepert. tanto in aduersis forcior erit et pacientior. hic eciam humilis [f.43r] non fictus est. dum semetipsum despicabilium et parum reputans nec damnis nec obprobriis ad iram pronocatur. vnde se ingi mediacioni subdern ad contemplacionem celsam donatur. scandere interius gaudii subter ac ardentier inebriare videtur et hoc mensis acie purificata quantum patitur infebris mortalis. verum cumiam ad aliqua exteriora querenda nequeam defuit nec aliunde pude superfic vadjit. set solum in supernis letatur deliciis protinus diuin amoris

368
236
Talis siquidem est contemplatum vita. si debito modo sit assumpta. Per longam exercitacionem spiritualem operum ascensus ad contemplationem supernorum. mentalis enim visio sarsum capturat et celestia contemplatur per visionem enigmaticam et speculacionem non clarum. qua dum per fidem curruis per speculum in enigmaticam videmus. Si enim oculus intelectualis nittitur in locum spirituum contemplantium. lumen illud in se est non videt. sensit tamen se ibi fuisse. dum saporem et fervorem luminis secum retinebat. vnde in psalmo dictum est.

sicut tenere eius. Ita et humam eius. Quamuis enim ab anima sancta pecatarum tenere cumbersome. obscurecserant et impura mens purgeret. adhuc dum in carne mortali manere cogitabat illa ineffabilis gloria non videtur.

Porro sancti et contemplativi viri reuelata facie gloriam dei speculantur. quod fit aut aperte eis sensa ut

and knoweth god. Sothely when he is sette in this degree. he fleeth not ne rennes not aboute for to gete outwarde things. ne he goeth not any tyme with proude fote or felyngge but he has oony his joye and his myrthe in heuene things. and therefore he is rauisshed in the sweatnesse of goddes loue. and rauisshed he is wonderfully gladde.

Sothely swich is lyf contemplatif. if it be taken in due manere. Thorugh long exercise of gosth verrynghe come we to contemplation of things of henem. Be sight of pe soule is taken up. and beholdeth gosth things. as it were in a shadowe and not clere. / for as longe as we gone by faythe we see not but as it were through a mirror and a lyncsse. / for though the ey of vnderstandinge be besy forto behold gosthly light / notwithstandinge the light as it is in it selfe / he may [f.119v] not ytte see. / And ytte he feles welke that he has there / as longe as he holdeth the sauoure and the fervour of the light with him. / And therefore sayth the prophete /

As his darknesse. so is his light. / Though al darkenesse of synne be rauisshed awaye fro an holy soule. and blaake cloweves are withdrawn. and the mynde that was vclene be purged / yette neuer the latter as longe as it is constreyned to dweele in this dedly flesh / it may not see that vnspekeable joy as it is in it self. / Holy and contemplatly men beholden the joye of god. / Thorough reuelacion / And that is either thorougly openynge
intelligent scriptus... aut ostio celi aperto quod manus est... vt quasi omnibus obscurs... inter mentem... illorum et deum... remotis purgato mentisculo... celestes cines speculment... quidam autem virumque illorum acceperunt... unde sic in tenebris stantibus nihil certamin... ita in contemplicacione que inimicabiliter animam illuminavit... lumen non videmus. Poni itaque christus tenet
bras latitudum suam et ad nos loquitur... sed valde detectabile est quod sentitur... Et in hoc quidem perfectus amor est quando homo in carne amabilis... nescit nisi in deo gloriam... nec aliquid vel... vel aequitatem nisi... et propter deum... hinc patet... quod sanctitas non est in regnum cordis... aut laicaris aut exteriorius... sit in suavitate perfecte curtis et superne contemplacionis...
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<tr>
<td>985</td>
<td>Conuenta suntitas non nisi laboribus immensus adquiritur sed cum inrerribilita leiticia possidetur. In quo non est hominis meritum set dei donum. Tamen a principio mundi. [F.44r] quae hoste nec vnum in contemplacione eterni amoris rapi potuit nisi qui prius omnem mundi vani tatem perfecte reliquitur. Insuper salubri meditacione. denotique oratione se ipsam exercere oportunam quasdam ad perfectam contemplationem mersi in librum peruenit. labor est contemplatio set dulcis desiderabilis et suavis labor est leitificat non graenas hoc mulus nisi gaudens perfinitur. non quando venit set quando recedit.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>996</td>
<td>O bonus labor ad quem mortales se dirigunt. O nobilis ac mira exercitatio quem sedentes perfectius agant. Requiritur enim ut magnum</td>
<td>O goode trauaile to the whike men in dedely bodys ordeyn hem. O noble besynesse whike setters and resters most perfitey fulliflet. flor</td>
<td>O bonam poetrach to pe which men in dedely bodys ordeyn hem. O nobile besynesse which sittures and resters most perfitey fulliflet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sweetness of contemplation may not be gotten but with huge travailes. But when it is had / it is souereyn gladnesse and endeles conforte. ye and shortly to say it comes not thoroughg merete nor deserte of man / but oonly of the free yfte of God. And soothly per was never man fro the bigynnyng of the world vnto this day that euer myght be raasched into contemplation of endeles luste / but if he before forsook parfaitly al worldly vanyte. And furthermore hyrn bhouched to give him self lastingly to holi meditacion and deuoute prayer / er he might come to heynely contemplacion. Contemplation is a travaile but it is sweete softe and desirable. Piso travaile maketh a man glad and not hevy. Bis may no man hate / but joyinge. And not when it cometh / but when it goeth away he is very. |

Wondrously joye in contemplation falleth oonly to hem that ben parfite. 

Therefore what man so euer yet feleth bytyng. And remorse of conscience for his synne that is passed. / though he have longe tymne done penance / wite he wel / that he did not yet parfite penance. And perfore in je mene time / be his teres to hym breed dai and nih. 

Foir fere he wel / that he may not come to the sweetness of contemplacion / but if he first traunale him self with weypinges and sighynge of very compunction / 

The sweetness of contemplation may not be gotten but with huge travailes. But when it is had / it is souereyn gladnesse and endeles conforte. ye and shortly to say it comes not thoroughg merete nor deserte of man / but oonly of the free yfte of God. And soothly per was never man fro the bigynnyng of the world vnto this day that euer myght be raasched into contemplation of endeles luste / but if he before forsook parfaitly al worldly vanyte. And furthermore hyrn bhouched to give him self lastingly to holi meditacion and deuoute prayer / er he might come to heynely contemplacion. Contemplation is a travaile but it is sweete softe and desirable. Piso travaile maketh a man glad and not hevy. Bis may no man hate / but joyinge. And not when it cometh / but when it goeth away he is very. |
mentis et corporis quietem capiant .
quos sancti spiritus ignis inflammant .
multi enim nescientes in mente satiatiare .
nee vanas cogitationes expellet .
quod in psalmo precipitur non possunt implere .

Vacate et videete quoniam ego sum deus .
Vacantes enim corpore .
sed vacantes corde non merentur gustare
et videre quam suavis est dominus .
quam dulcis est altitudo contemplationis .
Omnis enim vir contemplatium solitudinem diligat .
vcto frequenti ac ferventibus quo a nullo
impedientur in suis affectibus poterint exerceri .

Cum ergo constet vitam contemplatium esse ac magis meritoriam quam actum et omnes
contemplationes intitulat dei solitudinem annantes .
et propter contemplationis dulcedinem in amore precipue sint ferventiores .
liquat quod solitarii
done contemplationis sublatis ad perfec tionem attingant .
maximus .
[I.44v] nisi aliqui qui contemplatium
vite culmen arripiunt et tamam
deciacionis officium impleare non desistunt .
isti solitarii licet in contemplacione summas .
se collis diiini inten tors non necessitate proximorum
in hoc superant quod ceteris paribus
auraeolum propter predicacionem
merentur .

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Vir autem verum contemplativus tanto desiderio in illam lucem inusitabilis capitur. vt sepe quasi solidus, vel pene insensibilis ab hominibus indicatur. hoc ideo fit, quia mens amore christi funditus inflammatum gestum penitus mutat corporalem. et ab omnibus terrenis actibus eciam corpus segregans. velit alium corium dei redditum. Sint vero domini nunc in vna eterna amoris amantem se totum colligite indesinenter se intus retinere vitios ad corporalia oblectamenta non fuit querendo. Et quia intemperias delictis deliciae popularitate, non est minum si suspicaris dicat. Quis mihi det te frotinem meum ut inueniam te feris et deosculer. id est. soluta carne ut inueniorem meare et facie ad faecem videns tecum in eorum coniungatur et iam nemo despiciat.

Deo quanta anima contemplata vitae mancipata dilectione eternitatis repleta. omnes presentis seculi vanum gloriam despiciat et in solo Ihesu ubians dissolvit cupiam. que quia ab his qui non celum set mundum sapiant. habetur despecta. vehementer amore languet et anxe desiderat quatenus cum illis choris angelorum dilectis gaudii donetur.

A devote soule that is yeouen to contemplativlyf. and filled with love of endlesnesse despiseth al the vayne ioye of this world. and in Ihesu allone wonderfully toyond. it councieth to dye and be with crust. The whilks fore als mykel as she is despished and not set by of the world. greatly she languishes in love and hugely desires that she mayt be sitt with
cu dein fin of the world /
non poterit nocere.

Nichil ergo vitius, nichil iocundius
graecia contemplacionis, quae nos ab
ymis eleuat et deo representat.

Quid enim est gracia contempla-
cionis nisi inchoatio glorie, et quid
est perfecicio gloric nisi gracia con-
summata, in qua seruat nobis
iocundia felicitas, et felix iocunditas,
gloriosa eternitas, et eterna gloria,
cum sanctis vivere, cum angelis
manere, et quod super omnia est
deum verum cognoscere, perfecte
diligere, et splendorum sue magnes-
tatis videre, et cum ineffectili gloria et
sublacione et melodii ipsa etern-
alius laudare. Cui sit honor et gloria
et graciarum acce in scula
secularum. Amen.

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T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

with these queeres of angeles in bliss-
ful ioye. Where no worldly diseese
shall mowne dere hire.

Therefore soothe there is no thyng
more profitale ne more merwe than is
grace of contemplacion. the whilke
meyes vs vp abowe al erthly things
and presentes vs vntil god /

What is grace of contemplacion but a
bygynynge of endeles ioye / Nought
elles / And what is parfectio of this
ioye / but fulfyllyng of this grace / In
the whilk is kepeth til vs glorious
gladsumnesse. a blest aylasand-
nesse and ioy with ounen ende to lyfe
with saintes to dwelle with anguels /
And that is abowe al this to knowe
god fully. to lufe him perfity to se
the bryghtnesse of his glorius mai-
este and with vspekeable and won-
derful ioyng and melodye to louwe
him with ounen ende / To whom be
honoure worship. and endles blisse
in world of worldes with ounen ce-
syng. Amen / Here endeth the xii. chapitres. of
Richard heremynge of hampole /

C.U. FF.5:30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

Therefore soothe the is no thyng
more profitale ne more merwe than is
grace of contemplacion. the whilke
reiseneth us abowe alle erthly
things. and presenteth us vnto god.

What is grace of contemplacion but a
bygynynge of endeles ioye / nought
elles. And what is parfectio of
this ioye. but a fullfyllyng of this
grace / In the which is cleped to us a
glorious gladnesse. abest. aere-
lastinge. and ioye with ounen ende.
to lyfe with seynyte. to dwelle with
anguels. And pat is abowe al this to
knowe god fully. to louse him par-
fitely. to see the bryghtnesse of his
glorious maisterie. and with
vspekeable and wonderfull ioyng
and melodye to louwe him with
ounen ende. To whom be honour
worship and endles blisse in world of
worldes with ounen ende. Amen.
Here endeth the xii. chapitres of
Richard heremynge of hampole.