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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 crosssection 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

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4. London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, fol. $67^{\text {r }}$ p. cxii (reproduced with permission of the British Library)
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18, fol. $7^{\text {r }}$ p. cxvi
(reproduced with permission of the Bodleian Library)
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54, fol. $24^{\mathrm{V}}$ p. cxix
(reproduced with permission of the Bodleian Library)

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

## GENERAL

CCCM 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.')

IMEP The Index of Middle English Prose, ed. by Ralph Hanna and others, 17 vols (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984-2001)

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

IPMEP Index of Printed Middle English Prose, ed. by R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards (New York: Garland, 1985)

Jolliffe P. S. Jolliffe, A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance, Subsidia mediaevalia, 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974)

LALME A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English, ed. by Angus McIntosh,
M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986)

MED Middle English Dictionary, ed. by Hans Kurath and others, 19 vols (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1956-1999)

OED The Oxford English Dictionary, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C.
Weiner, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn, 20 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989)

OLD Oxford Latin Dictionary, ed. by P. G. W. Glare, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)

PL Patrologia Latina, gen. ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1864)
Wells Rev A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500, based upon A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400 by John Edwin Wells, New Haven, 1916, and Supplements 1-9, 1919-1951, gen. eds J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung, 9 vols (New Haven, Connecticut: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967-1993)

## PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS AND RELATED ABBREVIATIONS

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54, fols $24^{\mathrm{V}}-45^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ (Latin text)
C Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.5.30, fols $141^{\mathrm{r}}-160^{\mathrm{V}}$
D Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, fols $78^{\mathrm{r}}-94^{\mathrm{r}}$
Dg Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18, fols $7^{\mathrm{r}}-37^{\mathrm{V}}$
H London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, fols $67^{\mathrm{r}}-80^{\mathrm{v}}$

T
Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, fols $90^{\mathrm{r}}-121^{\mathrm{V}}$
$\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2} \quad$ Identifies the two T scribes (fols $90^{\mathrm{r}}-115^{\mathrm{r}}$, and $115^{\mathrm{r}}-121^{\mathrm{v}}$ respectively)

## INTRODUCTION

## I. AMENDINGE OF LYF

The popular Latin text, Emendatio vitae, ${ }^{1}$ originally written by the fourteenth-century English hermit Richard Rolle, ${ }^{2}$ 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', 'pe rewl of lyfynge', 'be twelue chapitles of hampol', and 'xii chapitours of perfeccioun, ${ }^{3}$ 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: 'pe xii chapitres' or 'duodecim capitula'. ${ }^{4}$ 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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## INTRODUCTION

The Mending of Life. ${ }^{5}$ Harvey used as his base text Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 236, a copy of Richard Misyn's fifteenth-century translation, which opens: 'Bis boke is of mendynge of lyfe'. ${ }^{6}$ Utilising the spelling of my base text, I have chosen a similar title—Amendinge 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. ${ }^{7}$ The Latin Emendatio was even more popular than the English Amendinge, both in England and on the Continent, as is evidenced by the 108 Latin manuscripts that contain a copy of the text. ${ }^{8}$ 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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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

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scholarship of William James, Frederich von Hügel, Evelyn Underhill and others. ${ }^{14}$ 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.'. ${ }^{15}$ 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. ${ }^{16}$

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. ${ }^{17}$ 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

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edition for his doctoral dissertation, the publication of which is forthcoming. ${ }^{18}$ Denis Renevey's significant study of the contemplative tradition out of which Rolle wrote refers to Emendatio briefly but, as with Claire McIlroy's recent English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle, the English translations fall outside the areas of concern altogether. ${ }^{19}$ McIlroy does, however, offer a useful critique of current Rolle scholarship:

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 auctor. ${ }^{20}$

The aim of the present thesis, with its focus on one of the Middle English translations of 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. ${ }^{21}$

## 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

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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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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

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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. ${ }^{28}$

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,. ${ }^{29}$

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. ${ }^{30}$ The seventeenth-century manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque de

[^7]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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the Horstmann-Allen characterisation of Rolle. ${ }^{36}$ 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 Officium, but his biographical study is constructed primarily of quotations from the Melos amoris. ${ }^{37}$ John Daly's 1961 thesis, published unrevised in 1984, provided an edition of another of these key texts, Judica me Deus, although without providing any biographical analysis himself. ${ }^{38}$ In 1988 Malcolm Moyes's edition of the liturgical commentary 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 Incendium Amoris contains numerous autobiographical passages, as the editor Margaret Deanesly notes: ‘The Incendium Amoris itself is a rambling biography, an explanation of "how Richard Hampole came to the Fire of Love." ${ }^{39}$ In her 1929 thesis Mary Porter produced a transcription of the 1536 Johann Faber edition of Rolle's Latin Psalter, with an introductory 'Study of Rolle's Life and Works' that offered little more than a

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summary of Allen's biographical work and no attempt at a study of the text's complex manuscript tradition. ${ }^{40}$ 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. ${ }^{41}$ 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. ${ }^{42}$ 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. ${ }^{43}$ Nicole Marzac, also in

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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. ${ }^{44}$ 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. ${ }^{45}$ Sarah Ogilvie-Thomson's 1988 critical edition of the English writings, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, similarly focuses primarily on textual issues. ${ }^{46}$

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' ${ }^{47}$ 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. 1x],

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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. ${ }^{50}$

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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. ${ }^{51}$ 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 Dominicam; (b) Super apocalypsim, with Super threnos (?), Super magnificat, Super mulierem fortem, 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. ${ }^{52}$

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. ${ }^{53}$ 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. ${ }^{54}$

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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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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.

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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 sedyngham'. ${ }^{59}$ 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'. ${ }^{60}$ 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. ${ }^{.}{ }^{61}$ 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. ${ }^{62}$

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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others, McIlroy argues that the implied reader of the epistles is not so much the female religious, as the feminised soul: ${ }^{63}$

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. ${ }^{64}$

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. ${ }^{65}$ 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

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examples of his prose style and editorial presence. ${ }^{66}$ The final chapter of the book is dedicated entirely to a study of audience: "'Kepe this treulye"-"profite also and encres of grace to gastly louers": Reading and Readers in London, British Library, MS Additional 37790 ${ }^{67}$ 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. ${ }^{68}$ 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. ${ }^{69}$

## 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), ${ }^{70}$ The first half of Emendatio is essentially an

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exposition of one of the key themes of 'pastoralia' - penance-and covers such topics as conversion, despising the world, poverty, confession, tribulation, and patience. ${ }^{71}$ 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'. ${ }^{72} \mathrm{~A}$ 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, pat is my makar vn-made, list pe face and scharpnes of my inward eyn with clernes vn-made.] ${ }^{73}$

Only on one occasion, at the end of chapter ten, does the authorial voice momentarily break through:

Pastoralia', in H. Leith Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 196-227.
${ }^{71}$ Norman N. Tentler, Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 47, although commenting on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notes 'the artificiality of sharp divisions between pastoral and devotional literature'.
${ }^{72}$ 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

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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 wrech; for oft my
flesch is noyd and assayd.] ${ }^{74}$
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). ${ }^{75}$

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; be secunde, of pe despisynge of

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pis warlde; be pirde, of pouerte; pe fowrte, of pe settynge of mans lyfe; pe fyft, of tribulacioun; be sext, of paciens; be sevynt, of prayer; be aght, of meditacioun; be ix, of redynge; be $x$, of clerenes of mynde; be $x j$, of pe lufe of God; pe xij, of Godis contemplacioun. ${ }^{76}$

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 McGovernMouron 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 pe tre pat pu here sese:
Conuersion is be fyrste pat is herd,
Pe secund is despite of pe werld.
Pe thyrd is pouert of man and wyfe.
Pe ferth is settyng of gode lyfe.
Tribulacione pe fift is pan.
Be sext is penaunce of man.
be seuent is orisone, als telles be text.
Meditacione pe aghtent is next.
Be neyent is lessone wysly soght.
Pe tente is clennes of dede and thoght.

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be elleuent is lufe of Godes sonn.
Be 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,

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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 pe begynnynge turne pe entierly to pi lord Ihesu Crist. That turnynge to Ihesu is nat els bot turnynge fro al pe couaitise and pe lykynge and pe 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 зe habbeð iherd, mine leoue sustren, forbisne of pe Alde Lahe ant ek of pe Neowe, hwi зе ahen anlich lif swiðe to luuien. Efter be forbisnes, hereð nu reisuns hwi me ah to fleo pe world.

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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. $]^{86}$

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. ${ }^{87}$ 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.] ${ }^{88}$

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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professional religious. ${ }^{89}$ Rolle's words could have been read at a number of levels, depending on the audience:

Contempnere 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.
[bis warlde to despyse is all temporall pingis and passand, withouten ber lufe pis lyffe to passe. In pis nopinge bot God to seyk, of all vaynglory and solas not to charge, vnnethis pi nescessaris takand, and if pai sum tyme wante gudely bere it. This is despisynge of pis warld. $]^{90}$

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' ${ }^{91}$ 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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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.] $]^{92}$

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.
[Pou pat vndirstandis pat I ha sayd, take pi pouerte anoper way. Qwhen pat he says go and sell, he markis chawngynge of pi desire and of pi poght, als pus: he pat was prowde, now be lawly, pat was wrathfull now be meyk, he pat was envius now be charitefull, before couetus now large and discrete. $]^{93}$

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. ${ }^{94}$ Rolle emphasises that it is not riches themselves, but the desire for riches, which is the root of all evil:

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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. $]^{95}$ 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' ['Pai sothely pat in mekenes and lawlynes schynys, pof pai haue mikell ryches, on pe right hand sit of Criste qwhen he demys bai sall be sett']. ${ }^{96}$

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' ${ }^{97}$ 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

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goods. ${ }^{98}$ 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.] ${ }^{99}$

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 insistance 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. ${ }^{100}$ 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. ${ }^{101}$

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 $5^{\text {th }}$ July 1350 to Pope Clement VI calling for the friars' privileges to be removed. ${ }^{102}$ 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. ${ }^{103}$

While Rolle's intended audience for 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. ${ }^{104}$ In 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 Judica me, which was most probably composed for a secular priest. ${ }^{105}$

In 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
of the Bible', in The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley, ed. by Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 251-68 (pp. 262-67).
${ }^{103}$ Knowles, 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.
${ }^{104}$ Wenzel, Latin Sermon, p. 278.
${ }^{105}$ Watson, Invention, p. 213, comments on the Latin style of Judica me. Concerning the text's audience see footnote 94 above.

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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 redegi, 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, 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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seems to suggest), the hermit copied verbatim large segments from William's Oculus. ${ }^{108}$ 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'. ${ }^{109}$ 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. ${ }^{110}$ 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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[bat man to pe worship of God and his awen profett and profet of his neghbur rightwisly be dressyd, fowr pingis ar to be sayde.] ${ }^{111}$

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 Compendium theologicae veritatis (c. 1265): ‘Dinumeratio peccatorum cordis’, ‘De peccatis oris', and 'De peccatis operis'. ${ }^{112}$ 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 coinquinant; et sunt tria peccata uel tria genera peccatorum, scilicet, peccata cogitacionis, oris, et operis.
[Fyrst, what it is pat filis man, and it ar iij synnes or iij kyndis of syn, pat is to say, of poght, of mouth, of wark.] ${ }^{113}$

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 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 poght synnes man qwhen he pinkis oght agayn God, if his hart occupy not with lufe and louynge of God, bot suffyrs it with dyuers poghtis and pe warlde to go voyde.] ${ }^{114}$

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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 periurat, 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 aliis.
[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 Pennaforte in the thirteenth-century treatise, Summa de paenitentia, drawing himself from a fourth-century sermon by John Chrysostom, Sermo de poenitentia:

Sequitur videre quae sint necessaria in paenitentia vera et perfecta. Et quidem tria, videlicet: cordis contritio, oris confessio, operis satisfactio. Joannes, Os aureum: 'Perfecta paenitentia cogit peccatorem omnia libenter sufferre; in corde enim contritio, in ore confessio, in opere tota humilitas, haec est fructifera paenitentia'. Quia enim tribus modis Deum offendimus, scilicet: delectatione cogitationis, impudentia locutionis et superbia operis, secundum regulam ut contraria contrariis curentur, tribus modis oppositis satisfaciamus. [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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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.] ${ }^{119}$

Concerning confession Rolle goes on to write: ‘Confessio oris, que debet esse tempestiua et nuda et integra' ['Confessyon of mowth, pat aw to be tymely, bare, and hole']. ${ }^{120}$ 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. ${ }^{121}$ 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): 'pe schrift-fadre [. . .] schal juge be amendes of pe euel dede, as in fastyng, or in almesse doynge, or in biddynges of goode bedes'. ${ }^{122}$ Concerning the penance of alms-giving, Rolle appears to make reference to another source altogether:

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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 pat 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 pinges' 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 pe grauis of deed men, and I se no ping ellis pere but wormys, stenche, and askis. Suche as I am, suche weren pei; and suche as pei bene, suche shal I be.] ${ }^{126}$

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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']. ${ }^{127}$ 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 cunctorum admonetur hominum 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 ${ }^{128}$

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

Itaque in hunc modum ad uiuendum uir Dei institutus erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, id est, fluenta graciarum (ut semper uirescat in uirtute et nuncquam 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.

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[On pis wyse to lyfe be man of God sete sal be as a tre pat is sett be the rynynge watyrs and flowynge of gras, pat alway sal be greyn in vertu and neuer dry by synne, pat sal gyfe fruyt in tyme, pat is gude warkis in exaumpyll, and gude wordis to pe worschyp of God, and pis sal not seell for vaynglory. He says in tyme, agayns pame bat gyfis ensaumpyll of fastynge in tyme of ettynge, and reuerse way also. And agayns couetus men bat gyf ber fruyte qwhen it is rotyn, or ellis pa gyf not to pa 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 singularitates 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,

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on penance, typifies an ascetic approach to suffering:
Al is penitence, ant strong penitence, pet se eauer dreheð, mine leoue sustren. Al bet se eauer doð of god, al pet se polieð, is ow martirdom i se derf ordre, for se 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.] ${ }^{131}$

Similarly, in Raymund of Pennaforte's Summa de paenitentia, painful acts of contrition and the tribulation of illness are presented as the final part of penance: De quarto et ultimo, scilicet de flagellis, nota quod quadripartita sunt. Prima consistunt in armis paenitentialibus, scilicet, in cinere, cilicio et lacrimis. Secunda, in pectoris tunsione, jugi genuflexione, et disciplinis. Tertia, in afflictione peregrinationis. Quarta, in tribulatione, et cujuslibet aegritudinis 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.] ${ }^{132}$

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:

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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 gladshep as thilke is, that is ydrawen out of aduersite. Ne thilke gladshep may noon drawe him, but if he lerne first to knowe 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 be feynd seis o mane of thowsandis, to God parfitely turnyd, Cristis steppis felow, pis present warld despise, pingis 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 feyghtyng he reparells to kest hym from pe luf of God to pe lufe of pe warld.] ${ }^{134}$

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 fratribus' ['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:

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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.] ${ }^{138}$
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 pe Holy Gost makep his knyst hardy to a-bide pe turmentes and pe sorwes pat bep to come, rist also he makep hym strong and suffryng to suffre hem whan pei comen; and pat is pe ferpe degree, bat pei clepen pacience. ${ }^{139}$

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' ['be schelde of paciens to take'], and 'extinguenda ergo sunt iacula inimici' ['pe dartis of owr enmy ar to be slokend']. ${ }^{140}$ 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 pat deed ascend not to the wyndowes']. ${ }^{141}$ This same allegory is found in a passage from the English translation of the Somme concerning the disciplining of the senses or 'fyue wittes':

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Whan pes fyue wittes ben wel y-kepte, pan is pe castel siker and stedefast, for pes ben pe sates of pe soule. Pes ben pe wyndowes wher-by dep comep in-to pe soule ofte-tyme, as pe prophete seip. ${ }^{142}$

A commonplace gloss to the Biblical text, this is also found in Ancrene Wisse, ${ }^{143}$ 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.] ${ }^{144}$

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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 monastry 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 meditatione.
[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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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 per hartis stabyld pa 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 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

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contingit, possunt ad meditandum scripturas sanctas, uel aliquid aliud agendum utile accedere.
[Berfore qwhils pat swetnes and heet lastis, gude is fro prayers not to cese. Qwhen pa cese-pat oft happyns for be flesch corruptibyll-pa may turn holye scriptures to reed or sum odyr profetabil pinge do.] ${ }^{149}$

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 pat raper to meditacion takes heed pen to prayer']. ${ }^{150}$ 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 pis poght of all oper is moste profetabyll to pame pat nwly ar turnyd to Criste.] ${ }^{151}$ In his 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

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man, newly come to Christ, to train him in the interior life, is the outward actions of our Redeemer.] ${ }^{152}$

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:

Amorem ergo Dei, in homine ex gratia genitum, lacat lectio, meditatio pascit, oratio confortat et illuminat.
[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.] ${ }^{153}$

Rolle also, in his early work Judica me, lists reading first: ‘sacra leccio, oracio, meditatio' ['scripture reading, prayer, and meditation']. ${ }^{154}$ In Emendatio Rolle encourages his audience to keep up the discipline of reading: 'non sis necgligens ad meditandum et legendum sacram scripturam' ['be noght necligent in pinkynge 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']. ${ }^{155}$ 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.

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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 pis 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:

Feruor namque caritatis in ipso existens omnem rubiginem peccatorum consumit, quasi si gutta aque in camino ardenti mitteretur.
[Be 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:

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 pai draw duste of pe erth. Qwo may truly say, 'I am cleyn of synne'?-truly none in pis lyfe.] ${ }^{158}$

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

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may be achieved: 'Ex cordis mundicia surgit cantus glorie' ['Of clennes of hart risis songe of ioy]. ${ }^{159}$ In the Incendium Rolle narrates his first experience of this highest contemplative state, purportedly attained some five years after his conversion: Dum enim in eadem capella sederem, et in nocte ante cenam psalmos prout potui decantarem, quasi tinnitum psallencium uel pocius canencium supra me ascultaui. Cumque celestibus eciam orando toto desiderio intenderem, nescio quomodo mox in me concentum canorum sensi, et delectabilissimam armoniam celicus excepi, mecum manentem in mente. Nam cogitacio mea continuo in carmen canorum commutabatur, et quasi odas habui meditando, et eciam oracionibus ipsis et psalmodia eundem sonum edidi.
[While I was sitting in the same chapel, and repeating as best I could the nightpsalms 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. $]^{160}$

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 Emendatio. ${ }^{161}$

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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. ${ }^{162}$ 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 immobiliter [. . .] tunc 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. $]^{163}$

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, pat is my maker vn-made; list pe face and scharpnes of myn inward eyn with clernes vnmade.] ${ }^{164}$

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']. ${ }^{165}$ Rolle then

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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 be pat now nowdyr may be felt ne seyne? Sched piself into pe entrel of my saull; cum into my hart and fyll it with pi 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 ineternum [. . . ]. Calore tuo penetralia cordis mei incende.
[O Holy Gost, pat gifis grace qwher bou will, cum into me and rauisch me to pe [. . .]. Byrn my renys with pi fyre, and my hart pat in pin awter sal byrn

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endlesly [. . .]. Scrith [enter] into a longynge sawle for pe and to pe with sweit heet. ${ }^{168}$

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:

Sunt siquidem tres gradus amoris Christi, in quibus ab uno in alium proficit qui eligitur ad amorem. Primus vocatur 'insuperabilis', secundus 'inseparabilis', tercius 'singularis'.
[Thre degrese sothely ber er of Cristis lufe in qwhilk fro on to anodyr profetis he pat is chosyn to lufe. The fyrst is cald vnabyll to be ouercomen, be secund vnabyll to be partyd, pe pird is cald singuler.] ${ }^{169}$

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

Gif al byn entent to vndrestond pis writynge; and if bou haue set pi desyre to loue God, hire pese pre degrees of loue, so pat pou may ryse fro on to anoper til pat pou be at pe heghest. ${ }^{170}$

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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

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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.] $]^{175}$

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

Contemplacio, uel vita contemplatiua, habet tres partes, scilicet, leccionem, oracionem et meditationem.
[Contemplatyfe lyfe or contemplacion has thre partys: redyng, prayer, and meditacion. ${ }^{176}$

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 Summa, possibly drawing in turn from Hugh of St Victor's Allegoriae in novum testamentum:

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

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[Further, prayer, reading and meditation are said to be part of the contemplative life.] ${ }^{177}$

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. ${ }^{178}$ For example, citing Gregory’s Moralia, Aquinas writes: ‘Gregorius dicit in Moral. quod "Rachel [. . .] vitam contemplativam significat"" [Gregory says that 'Rachel [. . .] signifies the contemplative life'.. ${ }^{179}$ Rolle then offers a formal definition of the term 'contemplacio', first citing a number of less than satisfactory designations:

Dicunt quidam quod contemplatiua 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 pingis to cum and hyde, or to be voyde fro all wardly occupacion, or study of Godis lettyrs.] ${ }^{180}$ Allen has identified the source of this as Julianus Pomerius (or Prosper of Aquitaine), De vita contemplativa. ${ }^{181}$ 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: ${ }^{182}$

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Michi uidetur quod contemplacio sit iubilus diuini amoris, susceptus in mente suauitate laudis angelice.
[To me it semys bat contemplacion is ioyfull songe of Godis lufe takyn in mynde, with swetnes of aungell louynge.] ${ }^{183}$

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.] ${ }^{184}$

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. ${ }^{185}$ 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

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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 per may non aliene to God ioy in Ihesu, ne taste be swetnes of his lufe.] ${ }^{186}$

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 berfore be wilful pouert, so pat qwhils pou desires noght in pis warld, befor God and man lyfe sobyrly, chastly and mekely.] $]^{187}$

Adversity will produce only patience and meekness in such a person:
Quanto magis quis calore eterne lucis incalescere ceperit, tanto in aduersis quibuscumque paciencior erit.
[The warmer a man waxis with heet of lyght euerlastynge, be mekar in all aduersites he sal be. ${ }^{188}$

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 gaudiis suauiter ac ardenter iubilare.

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[Qwherefore hymself lawand to bisy meditacion, to rise to hym is givyn to behaldynge of heuenly pingis, and pe scharpnes of his mynde clensyd, as suffyrs seeknes of be 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:

Numquid iste qui predicat ideo melior? Non. Sed iste qui plus amat superior et melior est [. . .]. Est autem in ueris contemplatiuis uiris quidam feruor mellifluus, et affluencia diuine dileccionis [. . .]. Et hec in actiuis in hac uita nunquam inueniuntur, quia tantum celestibus non intendunt ut sic in Ihesu iubilare mereantur, et ideo merito actiua uita postponitur, et contemplatiua in presenti et in futuro digne prefertur.
[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.

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[Bot if it happyn sum be in slike state pat pa haue evyn pe heght of contemplatyfe lyfe, and zit pa cees not pe prechur office to fulfyll; pis odyr solitary, in contemplacion hiest onely givyn to Godly pingis not to nede of per neghburs, in pis pa passe. ${ }^{192}$

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

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

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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. ${ }^{195}$

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## 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 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. ${ }^{196}$ The

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base text for the present edition, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, fols $90^{\mathrm{r}}-121^{\mathrm{v}}$ (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 $141^{\mathrm{r}}-160^{\mathrm{V}}$ (from here C)
London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, fols $67^{\mathrm{r}}-80^{\mathrm{v}}$ (H)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18, fols $7^{\mathrm{r}}-37^{\mathrm{V}}$ (Dg)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, fols $78^{\mathrm{r}}-94^{\mathrm{r}}$ (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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## 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 Emendatio to emerge. ${ }^{201}$ 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 ${ }^{202}$
Unlike Misyn's translation, this hint of a curial or high prose style, is short-lived. ${ }^{203}$
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: ${ }^{204}$
[B] Magnum enim peccatum est in Dei misericordia confidere et a peccato non cessare.
[T, 6-7] For it is a gret synne forto truste in the mercy of God and not cesse fro synne.

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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'. ${ }^{205}$ 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, ${ }^{206}$ 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. ${ }^{207}$ 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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translation made just a year later: 'The whilk boke, in sentence ne substance I pink to chaunge, bot treuly aftyr myn vnderstandynge to wryte it in gude exposicione, ${ }^{208}$

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 pat drede pat has peyne, pat is a prale drede pat only abstenes fro synne for drede of peyne of helle, not for pe loue of God, ne for be lufe of vertue and of ryhtwisnesse. But I mene of lufe-drede, pat is when pe childe dredes for-to offende pe fader, thurh be whilke lufe-drede we beholde what reuerence, what honoure and wirsshipe we may gif to so grete and so worpi a maieste, euere more dredande to greue or to offende it.

Misyn simply translates the Latin literally, 'Of dreyd I speyk nott pat has payn, bot of pat bat is in charite, with qwhilk we gif reuerence to pe presence of so grete a maieste, and all-way we dreyd in any lityll pinge pat we offend not'. ${ }^{209}$ 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: 'pis is loue-dreed and sone-

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dreed; as be sone aboue alle opere men owyth to dredyn his fadyr. ${ }^{210}$ 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, ${ }^{211}$ 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. ${ }^{212}$ 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'. ${ }^{213}$ 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. ${ }^{214}$ 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 pai do penaunce for paire synn and tomorowe pei goo agayne to pe same synne.

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The translator then inserts the Biblical simile, 'like vntile an hounde pat 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 pese and al oper pat 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 pis pe penitent manly hym-self bus [behoves] vse and gostely armore take'. ${ }^{215}$ 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. ${ }^{216}$

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 pe leste pinge pat may be, yee and

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lesse pan a poynte, for yf alle pis present life be likkened to pat life pat neuer shal haue ende, it is ryht nouht.

Misyn translates the sentence more directly: 'In a poynt we lyfe, за les pen a poynt, for if all our lyfe to lyfe euerlastynge we wald likkyn, nost it is'. ${ }^{217}$ The word 'puncto' is used here in its temporal sense, but the translator's change of preposition (from 'in' to 'on') and insertion of 'bat is be leste pinge pat may be' gives it more of a spatial meaning. ${ }^{218}$ 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 pinges shal pou haue in pi poght [. . .]. On is pe mesure of pi lif here, pat so short is pat vnnethe is oght; for we lyve bot in a poynt, bat is pe lest pynge pat may be, and sothly oure life is lasse pan a poynt if we likene hit to pe lif pat lesteth euer. ${ }^{219}$

In this context, alongside words like 'mesure' and 'short' that clearly refer to time metaphorically in a spatial sense, 'bat is be lest pynge pat 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

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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. ${ }^{220}$ 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. ${ }^{221}$

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 occupacion, as redinge of holy writte, spekyng of God, writynge, or summe oper gude dede doynge.

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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. ${ }^{222}$
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). ${ }^{223}$ 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 Constitutions of 1409. ${ }^{224}$ 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 .

## 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

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PLATE 1. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 432, fol. $90^{r}$

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acquisition by the Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (1581-1656). ${ }^{225}$ 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 8 mm 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: ${ }^{226}$

1) Fols $88^{\mathrm{r}}-89^{\mathrm{r}}$ 'How men pat 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,

[^72]L.2; Wells Rev: 2360 (215); for editions of this version see Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, II, pp. 449-53; and English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books, ed. by Henry Littlehales, EETS, e.s. 90 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, \& Trübner, 1903; repr. New York: Kraus, 1975), pp. 6-8.
inc. [M]y dere sone or doustar in God [. . .]
expl. [. . .] is heelpe to pe soule and wille pou or nyle pou.

* fol. $89^{v}$ originally blank.

2) Fols $90^{\mathrm{r}}-121^{\vee}$ 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 $195 \times 135 \mathrm{~mm}$ and $195 \times 140 \mathrm{~mm}$, mostly with ruled spaces of $145 \times 100 \mathrm{~mm}$ 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 $170 \times 115 \mathrm{~mm}$ and containing respectively between 36 and 40 unruled lines of text. Red ink is found in only two places, the title 'How men bat be in hele schulde visite sike folk' on fol. $88^{\text {r }}$, and the expunction of a misplaced line on fol. $112^{\mathrm{v}}$. 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

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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. ${ }^{227}$ 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. $112^{\mathrm{v}}$ where several folios are skipped and a sentence copied and then expuncted from a passage eventually found on fol. 117': 'maker, she is panne made partenere of lyht vnfourmed, and pan after is she enspired and filled with the'. Soon after this, from the foot of fol. $115^{\mathrm{r}}$, a second scribe completes the Rolle text, but this scribe is noticeably less vigilant than the earlier one. Fol. $115^{\mathrm{V}}$ is ruled, possibly by the previous scribe, but from fol. $116^{\mathrm{r}}$ the pages are unruled and the number of lines increases from 22 to 26 . When this second Amendinge scribe gets to fol. $121^{\mathrm{r}}$, he or she re-copies an entire page already found on fol. $116^{\mathrm{r}}$. 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 ( $121^{v}$ ) 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

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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. $92^{v}$ 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. $94{ }^{\mathrm{r}}$, and makes marginal insertions of words omitted by the scribe on fol. $99^{\mathrm{v}}$ ('desire and oure') and fol. $113^{\mathrm{v}}$ ('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 $98^{\mathrm{r}}-99^{\mathrm{v}}$, drawing attention to Rolle's six groups of ' 3 pinges' 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. $114^{\mathrm{r}}$, 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 'bre 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 $91^{\mathrm{r}}, 94^{\mathrm{r}}, 95^{\mathrm{r}}, 96^{\mathrm{r}}, 100^{\mathrm{r}}, 101^{\mathrm{r}}, 101^{\mathrm{v}}, 105^{\mathrm{r}}, 109^{\mathrm{r}}, 110^{\mathrm{r}}, 115^{\mathrm{v}}$, $116^{\mathrm{v}}, 117^{\mathrm{r}}, 117^{\mathrm{v}}, 118^{\mathrm{v}}, 119^{\mathrm{r}}, 119^{\mathrm{v}}, 120^{\mathrm{r}}, 120^{\mathrm{v}}$, and $121^{\mathrm{v}}$. There is also evidence of later readership of the manuscript, where 'Iesu, Iesu, Iesu payed' is written in the margin of fol. $101^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $23^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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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## 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' ${ }^{231}$ 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 $244 \times 160 \mathrm{~mm}$, with a written space of $175 \times 108 \mathrm{~mm}$ 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. $141^{\text {r }}$ 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. ${ }^{232}$ 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. $144^{\mathrm{r}}$ the scribe has written 'fagen', which is later glossed 'i.e. flateren'; similarly on fol. $149^{\text {r }}$ 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).

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PLATE 2. Cambridge, University Library, MS F.f.5.30, fol. $141^{\text {r }}$

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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 $1^{\mathrm{r}}-4^{\mathrm{v}} \quad$ The flyleaves contain notes and pen trials in a variety of hands from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

1) Fols $5^{\mathrm{r}}-140^{\mathrm{v}} \quad$ 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 pilke of pis regiown whiche han noon hows [. . .]
expl. [. . .] which God grawnte to alle quike and dede. Amen.
2) Fols $141^{\mathrm{r}}-164^{\mathrm{V}}$ 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 bee to God [. . .]
expl. [. . .] endeles blisse in world of worldes withouten ende. Amen.
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:

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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 $108^{\mathrm{r}}-$ $111^{\text {v }}$ ) 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. $3^{r}$ there is written

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'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. $3^{\mathrm{v}}$ 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 $3^{\mathrm{v}}$ and $5^{\mathrm{r}}$. Another fifteenth-century hand can be found on fol. $68^{\mathrm{r}}$, 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. $79^{\text {v }}$ 'In my be [. . . ]'; fol. $80^{v}$ 'In my begynnynge'; fol. $81^{1 r}$ 'I in me by gynde God me spede'; fol. $84^{\mathrm{V}}$ ' I '; fols $111^{\mathrm{r}}-112^{\mathrm{r}}$ ‘Wyll'; fol. $140^{\mathrm{V}}$ 'W [. . .] m [. . .]’; and marks on twelve other folios. The beginning of a conveyance can be found on one of the end flyleaves (fol. $165^{v}$ ), 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 hac carta mea confirmaui
Willielmo P. de M. in comitatu Deuoniensi armigero etc. omne meum messuageum et terram meam in manibus de anton gefferd habendum et tenendum omne singulum. ${ }^{241}$

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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 $280 \times 190 \mathrm{~mm}$, with on average forty lines of text written neatly into a ruled area of $210 \times 140 \mathrm{~mm}$ 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 $1^{\mathrm{v}}-9^{\mathrm{r}}, 10^{\mathrm{r}}-17^{\mathrm{r}}, 18^{\mathrm{r}}-20^{\mathrm{r}}, 20^{\mathrm{v}}-97^{\mathrm{v}}$, and $98^{\mathrm{r}}-101^{\mathrm{v}}$ 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

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PLATE 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, fol. $78^{r}$

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example, are produced in red, blue, and green ink, with a thick gold border around each. Fol. $10^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $15^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $18^{\mathrm{r}}$, 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. $19^{\mathrm{v}}$ 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. $26^{\vee}$ contains a historiated ' $T$ ', depicting a man on his deathbed being attended by a priest.

The opening of the Amendinge text (fol. $78^{5}$ ) 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

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Knollys and Baron families. ${ }^{247}$ 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. $10^{r}$ ); 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. $78^{\text {r }}$ ). 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 ${ }^{\text {r }}$

Fly-leaf dedication, in a fifteenth-century hand.
inc. These booke in whome is contente dyuers deuowte [. . .]
expl. [. . .] nece to pe for seyde gentylman William Baron.
ii) Fol. $1^{\text {V }}$

A contents page.

1) Fols $2^{\mathrm{r}}-7^{\text {V }}$

A calendar in English verse by John Lydgate; IMEV 1721; Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part I, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS, e.s. 107 (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), pp. 363-76, edits the text from another copy but with variants from Douce 322.
inc. Ihesu Lorde for thy holy circumsicion [. . .]
expl. [. . .] hit ys made after the forme of a compote manuell.
2) Fol. 8
'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. $8^{\mathrm{v}}-9^{\mathrm{v}} \quad$ 'Quia amore langueo'; a poem describing the relationship between the Virgin Mary and humankind; Brown, Fourteenth Century, pp. 234-237.
inc. In a tabernacle of a toure [. . .]
expl. [. . .] and lerne to synge: Quia amore langueo.
4) Fol. $9^{v} \quad$ 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 reioyse euer by presence. Amen.
5) Fol. $10^{\mathrm{r}}-15^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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. $15^{\mathrm{r}}-17^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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. $17^{\mathrm{r}}-18^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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 gylty, and yelde me to God [. . .]
expl. [. . .] all the holy company of heuen.
8) Fol. 18 ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$-19 ${ }^{\mathrm{r}}$ '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. 19 $\quad$ 'A descripcion 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. $19^{v}$ '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.
11) Fol. $19^{v}$ Reflections on an illustration of Death; found also in Harley 1706; IMEV 3143; The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part 2, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS, 192 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 655-7; the illustration is reproduced in Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), facing p. 328.
inc. Syth that ye lyste to be my costes [. . .]
expl. [. . .] ffor Adams synns must dye of nature.
12) Fol. $20^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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 $20^{\mathrm{r}}-25^{\mathrm{V}} \quad$ '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

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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 $25^{\mathrm{V}}-26^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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. 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 [. . .]
expl. [. . .] that ys medyatoure betwene God and man. Amen.
16) Fols $39^{\mathrm{r}}-52^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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); this copy is edited by Valerie Murray, 'An Edition of A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle and Milicia Christi' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1970).
inc. Brother or suster that desyrest to come [. . .]
expl. [. . .] whyche man was ordeyned to in hys furst creation. Amen.
17) Fols $52^{\mathrm{V}}-61^{\mathrm{V}} \quad$ 'A ladder of foure rongys' or 'scala 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 euylles that vs myght lete hym to loue. Amen.
18) Fol $62^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ 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 resceue oure Lorde in fourme of brede [. . .]
expl. [. . .] the soule resceue hit nat worthyly than hit ys in heuenn.
19) Fol. $62^{v}$ 'Laudes deo Nostro'; a short Latin treatise concerning Mary Magdalene, attributed in the text to 'Adam Cartusiensis'; see Margaret Thomson, The Carthusian Order in England (London: SPCK, 1930), pp.336-338, who identifies the author as the Prior of the Hinton Charterhouse from 1377-1391.
inc. Hec sunt que Maria Magdalena [. . .]
expl. [. . .] hec magistrum Adam Cartusiensem.
20) Fols $62^{\mathrm{V}}-63^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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 blysse that neuer shall haue ende.
21) Fol $63^{\vee}$ '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 [. . .]
expl. [. . .] Deus bene dutis in scala. Amen.

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22) Fols $64^{\mathrm{r}}-77^{\mathrm{V}}$ 'the xij prophetis and euangelistes of tribulatioun'; an English translation of the shorter version of Tractatus de tribulacione, known also as De duodecim utilitatibus 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 deth oure Lorde Ihesus. Amen for charyte deo gracias.
23) Fols $78^{\mathrm{r}}-94^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ 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 $94^{\mathrm{r}}-97^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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 $97^{\mathrm{r}}-97^{\vee} \quad$ '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
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 thow shapest the to pray [. . .]
expl. [. . .] nothyng may be but synne and wrechydness 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. $1^{\mathrm{v}}$, and from fol. $84^{\mathrm{v}}$ 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 $98^{\mathrm{r}}-98^{\vee} \quad$ 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. $85^{\text {r }}$; 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 [...]
expl. [. . . ] thow lyuest and regnest Lorde Kynge God and man into worldes of worldes. Amen.
28) Fols $98^{\mathrm{V}}-100^{\mathrm{r}}$ '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 [. . .]
expl. [. . .] all the trespasse, mercy Lorde God, mercy. Amen. Amen.
29) Fols $100^{\mathrm{r}}-100^{\mathrm{V}}$ '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.

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30) Fol. $101^{\mathrm{r}} \quad$ '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 $90^{r}-94^{v}$ ) 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 pe tretis pat is called ars moriendi, ys of be sifte of William Baron Esquyer to remayne for euyr to pe place and nonrye of Detforde and specially to the vse of Dame Pernelle Wrattisley, sister of the same place by licence of her abbas pe whiche Pernelle is nece to pe for seyde gentylman William Baron.

The presence of the Baron and Knollys arms on fol. $78^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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

[^81]fact refers to William Baron's granddaughter, 'Pernelle'. ${ }^{249}$ 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. ${ }^{250}$ 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 beynge within the nonry of Dertforde' ${ }^{251}$ William was Parnel's brother, and as the second son he inherited the Baron estates in Berkshire from his

[^82]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. ${ }^{255}$

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## 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 $216 .{ }^{256}$ 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. ${ }^{257}$ The folios are $260 \times 190 \mathrm{~mm}$, with a written area that is usually around 220 x 140 mm in two 65 mm 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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PLATE 4. London, British Library, MS Harley 1706, fol. $67^{r}$

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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. $3^{r}$ ) is written 'Edmond Jernyngham' and at the foot of the page 'Elizabeth Oxnford'. On fol. $4^{\mathrm{r}}$ is found 'Elizabet Vere' and in a similar but less sure hand on fol. $11^{\mathrm{r}}$, '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 $93^{\mathrm{v}}$ and $95^{\mathrm{r}}$. On fol. $214^{\mathrm{r}}$, 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. $215^{\mathrm{r}}$ : '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. $3^{r}$ and in the same hand 'Elysabeth Rokewod' in capitals on fol. $37^{\text {r }}$. Partly smudged, at the foot of fol. $156^{\mathrm{V}}$ is written: 'my wyfe gayne' in another hand, and fol. $172^{\mathrm{r}}$ 'I prays you of younge' in the same hand. Another signature is found on fols. $191^{v}$ and $211^{v}$, 'margeret otwell', and 'I praye you of your marce in your prayers thenke' is written on fol. $213^{\mathrm{v}}$ in yet another hand. Other names are discernable: 'John Wylkyns' (fol. $1^{\mathrm{V}}$ ), 'Welyam Corwell' (fol. $2^{\mathrm{r}}$ ), 'Mari Nevil' (fol. $18^{\mathrm{r}}$ ) and 'Tomy3 Yeacens' (fol. $216^{\text {r }}$ ).

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

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to her father, Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton and Sir Henry's younger son. ${ }^{259}$ Elizabeth's aunt, Joan Scrope, was Prioress of Dartford from 1470-72. ${ }^{260}$ 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. ${ }^{261}$ On $24^{\text {th }}$ 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 $19^{\text {th }}$ December 1507, and had for some time prior to this been suffering from mental illness. The following winter Elizabeth married William's longtime friend John de Vere, $13^{\text {th }}$ 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. ${ }^{262}$ On $26^{\text {th }}$ June 1537 Elizabeth died, with Barking Priory heading her list of bequests. ${ }^{263}$ 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 $3^{r}$ and $37^{\mathrm{r}}$ of Harley 1706. Whether these signatures were written after Elizabeth's death, and whether either

[^86]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. $191^{\text {v }}$ 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 ninetyeight folios and two fly-leaves front and back are of vellum, sized $160 \times 120 \mathrm{~mm}$ with a boxed but not lined written area of $115 \times 85 \mathrm{~mm}$. 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. $1^{r}$ '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

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PLATE 5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18, fol. $7^{r}$

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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. $36^{\vee}$ 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. $10^{v}$. 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. $9^{\mathrm{r}}$ where 'coumfort' is crossed out in red. There are occasional scribal self-corrections, such as on fols $83^{\mathrm{V}}$ and $90^{\mathrm{r}}$, but these are infrequent. Catchwords are found at the end of some quires, for example fol. $14^{\mathrm{v}}$, but not all. The manuscript comprises a liturgical calendar (fols $1^{\mathrm{r}}-6^{\mathrm{V}}$ ), the Amendinge text (fols $7^{\mathrm{r}}-37^{\mathrm{V}}$ ), Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms (fols $38^{\mathrm{r}}-64^{\mathrm{r}}$ ), a list of saints with accompanying Latin prose entitled 'Litania' (fols $64^{\mathrm{v}}-68^{\mathrm{r}}$ ), and finally a copy of Rolle's Form of Living (fols $68^{\mathrm{v}}-93^{\mathrm{v}}$ ). The Form text concludes with an incomplete sentence, 'preie for richard heremite pat' (fol. $98^{\text {V }}$ ), which Ogilvie Thomson suggests might be descended (distantly) from a copy bearing Rolle's own signature. ${ }^{270}$ 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. ${ }^{271}$ The former owner of the collection was Thomas Allen, Digby's tutor at Oxford, who bequeathed most of his manuscripts to his pupil. ${ }^{272}$

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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 $175 \times 130 \mathrm{~mm}$, with a ruled area of $135 \times 85 \mathrm{~mm}$, 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
 versicle and prayer; a manual on the Apostles' Creed, sacraments, sins and virtues, beginning 'Primo notantur que Christiani' (fols $46^{\mathrm{r}}-110^{1}$ ); and 'Parabole Salomonis', collections of passages on related subjects from the Bible and writings of the Church Fathers (fols $110^{\mathrm{v}}-155^{\mathrm{r}}$ ). A note has been added in a fifteenth-century hand concerning the character of a true priest (fol. $155^{\mathrm{V}}$ ) as well as two marks of ownership (fol. $157^{\mathrm{V}}$ ): '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.

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PLATE 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 54, fol. $24^{v}$

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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. ${ }^{275}$ 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. ${ }^{276}$

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. ${ }^{277}$ But neither is it sufficient to give up and return solely to the pre-critical naïveté of transcriptional editing. ${ }^{278}$

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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 multilayered 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

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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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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. $67^{\mathrm{r}}$ of Harley 1706 and fol. $78^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $24^{v}$ ), 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. $19^{\mathrm{v}}$ of Douce 322 and fol. $19^{\mathrm{v}}$ of Harley 1706. This is

[^93]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. $68^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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 $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{C}$, or T. For example:
[H] no maner off comforte of the worlde, ne of the flesshly solace
[D] no maner comfort of the world, ne of flesshly solace
[C] no manere counfort of pe world, ne of fleshly solace
[T, 74] no maner comforte of pe 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

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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. $33^{v}$ ) 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 wip 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 pat we are noust in preier. Pei 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 $v p$ and offren oure prayere vnto God
[B] In leccione 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.

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$[\mathrm{Dg}] \quad$ 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 $\mathrm{D}\left(\right.$ fol. $78^{r}$ ) 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 ${ }^{0}$ apud sanctimoniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$ capitula videlicet: de conuersione peccatoris
[B] Incipit libellus Ricardi heremite de Hampole de emendacione peccatoris, qui obiit anno domini millesimo $\mathrm{CCC}^{\mathrm{o}}$ xlix ${ }^{\mathrm{o}}$ 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 ${ }^{\circ}$ ' and omitting the

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rather important detail ' $\mathrm{CCC}^{\circ}$. 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 thoughout. 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. $86^{\mathrm{V}}$ of D and fol. $35^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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

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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-focussed 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 $78^{\mathrm{V}}, 78^{\mathrm{r}}, 82^{\mathrm{r}}, 83^{\mathrm{v}}, 84^{\mathrm{r}}, 85^{\mathrm{r}}, 86^{\mathrm{r}}, 87^{\mathrm{v}}, 88^{\mathrm{V}}, 90^{\mathrm{r}}, 91^{\mathrm{r}}$, and $93^{\mathrm{V}}$. I will not expand on all of these here, but a typical example is found on fol. $84^{\mathrm{r}}$ :
[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. $91^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $87^{\mathrm{V}}$ :

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[D] 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'.
[T, 611-13; also C] 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, my sorowe, and my peynes'.
[B] 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 $85^{\mathrm{r}}$ :
[D] do awey al peyne that ys to come in purgatory
[T, 475-76; also C] do away alle payne pat is to come
[B] 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.

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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 fortyone 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 $79^{\text {r }}$ :
[D] and put awey all vnprofitable occupacions and worldly nedys, so that oure hert all holy and perfytely 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 pat oure herte, alle holy and parfitely turnede to God, may gladly and merily dye til ale pinge pat may be lufede or geten in pe worlde, and when it is pus spered [ C : spred out] and made brode purh heuenly desires, pat it pen euermore haue God before pe eyen of pe soule.
[B] et dare obliuioni omnes ocupaciones inutiles et negocia 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. $94^{\mathrm{v}}$, is the work of the first T scribe:
[T, 149-51] Bei pat duellen in habundaunce of worldly ryches, pe secunde is worldly dignitee
[C; also D] Pei pat dwellen in habundaunce of worldly richesse ben desceyued bi fyue thinges whiche pei louen: pe firste is richesse, be 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. $96^{\vee}$, 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 setteth his loue and his desire only in ioyinge of his Creatour
[B] et in solo Conditoris sui gaudio desiderium suum ponit.
Finally, on fol. $120^{\mathrm{r}}$, 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] Perfore what man so euere feeleth bitinge and remorse of conscience for his sinne pat is passed, bouh he haue long time doon penance, wite he wel pat he dide not yit 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. $90^{v}$ 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 'clopes'. 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:

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[T, 884] '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. $92^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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 bat he myht loue Ihesu Crist. He flees fro synne as a drunken man; he has none eye ne no beholding to no maner comforte of be worlde, ne of flesshly solace
[C] so pat he mihte loue Ihesu Crist, to no manere counfort of pe 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. $142^{\text {r }} \mathrm{C}$ reads: 'Soo pat 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 pat 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. $147^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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).

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There is no need to list all the remaining scribal errors found in C; two examples should suffice. In fol. $142^{\vee} \mathrm{C}$ 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. $145^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $100^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $104^{\mathrm{r}}$ :
[T, 445-46] pe brede of lyf bat come fro heuen
[C] bat bred of lyfe pat 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. $98^{\mathrm{r}}$ 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. $113^{\mathrm{r}}$ of T there is another example:
[T, 718] I be neuer delyted in beholdyng of goostly pinge bot godly and gostly
[C] I be neuere delited in biholdinge 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 pi sweteful brennynge and brenne pe entrelles of myne herte

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[C] Write into myn herte with pi sweteful brennynge and brenne pe entrailes of myn herte
[D] Come into myn hert with thy swetefull brennyng and brenne the entrelles of myn hert 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 legacytheir 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). ${ }^{289}$ 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. ${ }^{290}$ To achieve this I have produced full linguistic profiles for the two T scribes (from here $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ ), taken from the entire text, and a selective profile for the C scribe. ${ }^{291}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe (whose language is demonstrably close to the $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe) this has resulted in a positioning north of Nottingham, somewhere within a circle of approximately fifteen kilometre radius, centred on the juncture of

[^96]Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, West Riding. ${ }^{292}$ 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. ${ }^{293}$

## 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe (and similarly the $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ 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). ${ }^{294}$ By first considering selected items from the linguistic profiles of the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribes the means by which this conclusion has been reached is outlined below.

Item 8: THEM. The $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe uses two basic forms, with almost equal frequency: 'hem' (17 times) and 'baim' (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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Fig. 1 THEM: 'h-' type, all forms (from LALME, i, dot map 40)


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 'paim' (and less frequently 'thaim' or 'paym'), is predominantly a northern form with its southern boundary passing through Cheshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and the smaller counties south of Lincolnshire. The equal occurence of both forms in the base text is a distinctive characteristic of the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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). ${ }^{295}$ 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. ${ }^{296}$ By comparison, the $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe is much more consistent, using only the southern form 'hem' (6 times). The geographical location of the language of the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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. ${ }^{297}$

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Item 9: THEIR. The main form used by the $T^{1}$ scribe is 'paire' ( 25 times), with other spellings, 'thaire, thair, bair', used less frequently. This form is northern, with a similar boundary to 'thaim' above (see LALME dot map 54). ${ }^{298}$ The $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe uses this form alone, and with only one spelling: 'thaire'. Another form, 'beire', is used by the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 northwestern 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $T^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe's most

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common form is 'many' ( 5 times), found in both north and south, and is also used 3 times by the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe also uses the spelling variants 'mekyl', 'mykele' and 'mykyl' once.

Item 32: (AL)THOUGH. The $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe uses 'pof' most frequently ( 7 times), but almost as often records a rare form 'pof-al(le' (5 times), which LALME locates chiefly in Lincolnshire and the close vicinity (dot map 208). The $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe displays both the northern form 'thof(e', and the southern form 'though(e' found also in the midlands (dot map 197).

Item 36: AGAINST. The predominant forms used by the $T^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe for comparison.

Item 91: BUT. The northern form, 'bot', is used primarily by the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe ( $>60$ times), and the southern form, 'but', less frequently ( 15 times). $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ records the northern form only once, otherwise choosing the southern form 'but' (33 times; see dot maps 375,376 ).

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Item 93: CALL. The $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe's work (dot map 388).

Item 149: HIGH. Used primarily by the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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).

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Item 251: WHETHER. A less common form, 'wheder(e', is used by the $T^{1}$ 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 $T^{1}$ 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 $1^{\mathrm{r}}-154^{\mathrm{V}}$ ). ${ }^{300}$ 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. ${ }^{301}$

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Table 1. Forms Used by the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ Scribes, Compared with Forms from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 32 (LP 110)

| Item | T | LP 110 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 8. THEM | hem, paim | hem | ((thaim, paym)) |
| 9. THEIR | paire | hem, pem |  |
|  | ((thaire, peire, |  | (bem) |
|  | thair, pair)) |  | peire |


| Item | $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ | $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ | LP 110 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36. AGAINST | ayeyns (ayens) | - | ageynes, ageyn |
|  | ((agayns, agayn, |  | agayne (azenus) |
|  | agayne, ageyns)) |  |  |
| 91. BUT | bot ((but)) | but ((bot)) | bot ((but)) |
| 93. CALL | cal[1]e, clepp- | - | call- |
| 98. CHURCH | kyrke | - | kyrke |
| 149. HIGH | heye | - | hegh |
| 202. OWN adj. | owen (oune, owne) | owen | owen |
| 208. RUN | rynne (renn-, rynn-) | renn- | rynn- |
| 251. WHETHER | wheder (whedere) | - | wheper |
| 257. WITEN | wete ((wote)) | wete | wote |
| 259. WORSE | wers (wors, worse) | - | wors |
| 260. WORSHIP sb | worschip, worship | - | worschip |
|  | worshipp, worshippe |  |  |
| 278. -LY adv suffix | -ly ((--li)) | -ly | -ly |

Of the twenty items listed above from the full profile of the $T^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribes, which is especially noteworthy given the much smaller item sample available for the $\mathrm{T}^{2}$

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scribe. ${ }^{302}$ 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 'baire/thaire' (item 9, dot map 54) and 'swilk(e' (item 10, dot map 66), whereas the Corpus Christi 32 scribe records the southern form 'peire' (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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe. The first, Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Eng. 109 (hand B; fols $32^{r}-163^{v}$ ), contains sermons in English and Latin, including a

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Middle English translation of the Robert de Gretham'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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribes is San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 139 (hand C; fols $156^{\mathrm{r}}-187^{\text {r }}$ ), another fifteenthcentury 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 'pouh' (item 32: THOUGH; dot map 205) and the consonantal '-y-' of

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'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 'pouh', '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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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

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Brut or Chronicles of England, the standard account of English history from the Middle Ages. ${ }^{309}$ This particular vernacular version concludes the chronicle in 1419, and hand B (fols $11^{\mathrm{v}}-35^{\mathrm{r}}$ ) is located by LALME in the south of Essex near London (grid ref. 572-192). ${ }^{310}$

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). ${ }^{311}$ 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. ${ }^{312}$

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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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archetype. ${ }^{316}$ I do not consider there to be sufficient information concerning the anonymous $\mathrm{T}, \mathrm{C}$, 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.

[^106]
# Table 2. Forms Used by the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ Scribes, Compared to the Language of the C and D Scribes 

| Item | $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ | $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ | C | D |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8. THEM | paim, hem | hem | hem | hem |
|  | ((thaim, |  |  |  |
|  | paym)) |  |  |  |
| 9. THEIR | paire | thaire | here ((her)) | her |
|  | ( thaire, |  |  | ((here, |
|  | peire, thair, |  |  | theyre)) |
|  | pair)) |  |  |  |
| 10. SUCH | swilke | swilke | swich | suche |
|  | (swilk) | (swilk) | swiche |  |
|  |  |  | ((suich, |  |
|  |  |  | suiche)) |  |
| 11. WHICH | whilke |  |  | whyche |
|  | (whilk) | (whilk) | (which) | (whych) |
|  | ((whiche)) |  |  |  |
| 12. EACH | ilke | ilke | eche | eche |
| 13. MANY | mony | many | many | many |
|  | ((many)) | ((mony)) | ((manye)) | ((meny) ) |


| Item | $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ | $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ | C | D |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 16. MUCH | mykel | mykel | michel | moche |
|  | ((mekyl, |  | ((miche, |  |
|  | mykele, |  | michil)) |  |
|  | mykyl)) |  |  |  |
| 32. (AL)-THOUGH | pof (bof-al) | though, thof | pouh | though |
|  | ((thof, | (thofe, |  |  |
|  | pof-alle)) | thoughe) |  |  |
| 36. AGAINST | ayeyns | - | ayens | ayenst |
|  | (ayens) |  | ((ayen)) | ((ageyne, |
|  | ((agayns, |  |  | agenst |
|  | agayn, agayne |  |  | ayenste)) |
|  | ageyns)) |  |  |  |
| 91. BUT | bot ((but)) | but ((bot)) | but | but |
| 93. CALL | cal[1]e, | - | calle | call |
|  | clepp- |  |  |  |
| 93. CALL ppl | called | called | called | called |
|  | ((callede)) |  | cleped | clepyd |
| 98. CHURCH | kyrke | - | cherche | churche |
| 149. HIGH | heye | - | high, hygh | hygh |
| 202. OWN adj | owen | owen | owen | owne |
|  | (oune, |  |  | (oune) |
|  | owne) |  |  |  |


| Item | $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ | $\mathrm{~T}^{2}$ | C | D |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 208. RUN | rynne | - | renne | renne |
| 251. WHETHER | wheder, | - | rennen | rennen |
|  | whedere |  | wheper | whether |
| 257. WITEN | wete | wete | wite | wete |
|  | $(($ wote $)$ |  |  | ((wote)) |
| 259. WORSE | wers | - | wers | worse |
|  | (wors, |  | $(($ werse)) |  |
| 278. -LY | worse) |  |  |  |
|  | -ly | $-l y$ | $-l y,-l i$ | $-l y$ |

Item 8 (THEM) here affirms the observation made earlier that this particular mixed form is probably a unique characteristic of the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ scribe. ${ }^{317}$ Given the consistency of the $\mathrm{T}^{2}, \mathrm{C}$, 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 'beire/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;

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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 $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ 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 possiblity 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.

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## 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

## Capitulum primum ${ }^{\prime}$

Tary not for-to turne the to God, ne drawe not a-lyte fro day to day. For f. $90^{r}$ sodenly he takes wrecches in sharpnesse of deeth, and ere thy wene shal deuour hem bitternesse and hidousnesse of peyne. And sothely it may not be noumbrede of vs how mony worldely wrecches that wicked presumpcion has deceyued. For it is a gret synne forto truste in the mercy of God and not cesse fro synne, supposynge 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 dampned, 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 werkyng, so pat be Deuel founde vs neuer vnoccupiede, for we wote nouht how long it shal laste. For-why be nyht of bodily deth comes as a pefe; in pe whilke nyht oure lymmys arne bounden, oure wittis are refte from vs. And ben mow we no goode werke worke, bot ilke man shal receyue after his dedys oper ioy or turment. We lyuen here but on a poynt, 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 greuous | dampnacion waste and destroye pis short tyme pat is 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 shale turne to be, hel

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2 a-lyte] a-leyte T, onlonge C, alonge D 3 thy] pei C, they D 3 wene] werne C,
wene D 20 yn] inwardly C, in D 20 to] so T, to C, om. D 20-21 and ... heuen]
om. D 22 ydel] ydel C, ydell ... heuen D turne (2)] be turned C, torne D
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pow vs and we shal be hole, as who say, with-outen pe we mow neuere be turned fro synne, ne be helede of oure seknesse.

But many ber are pat are nouht heled, but paire woundes are corupte and roten. For today pay turne paim to God and tomorow pai are fro God, today pai do penaunce for paire synn and tomorowe bei goo agayne to pe same synne, like vntile an hounde pat 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 parfitely to God. What is pe turnynge to God? Sopely a turnynge a-way fro be worlde, fro synne, fro pe Fende and fro pe flessh. What is efte-sonys a turnynge a-way fro Crist? Nopinge but a turnynge to delitable and temporel goodes, to pe plesinge shape of creaturis, to werkes of be fende, and to lustes of pe flessh and of pe worlde. We are nouht turnede to God with goynge of oure bodely fete, but thurh chaungynges of oure affeccions $\mid$ and oure maners. Then turne we vs vnto God, when we reyse vppe be sharpnesse and be heyhte of oure mynde vntil hym, besily thinkande and beholdande his biddynges and his counseilles pat we myht fulfill paim in dede. And where-so-euere we be, what-so-euer we do, goynge or sittynge, be drede of God gos neuer oute of oure herte. I speke not of pat drede pat has peyne, bat is a prale drede pat only abstenes fro synne for drede of peyne of helle, not for pe loue of God, ne for be lufe of vertue and of ryhtwisnesse. But I mene of lufe drede, pat is when pe childe dredes for-to offende pe fader, thurh pe whilke lufe drede we
beholde what reuerence, what honoure and wirsshipe we may gif to so grete and so worpi a maieste, euere more dredande to greue or to offende it. To be turnede away fro be worlde is not ellys but for-to caste be-hynde and forto for-yette all pe delectacions and delyces 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 pat oure herte, alle holy and parfitely turnede to God, may gladly and | merily dye til ale pinge pat f. $91^{v}$ may be lufede or geten in pe worlde, and when it is pus [spred] and made brode purh heuenly desires, pat $\mathrm{i}[t]$ pen euermore haue God before pe eyen of pe soule, as pof it sawe God with-oute cesynge.

As pe prophete says: 'I sette oure Lorde euermore in my syht'. Nouht for a short tyme, as done al pose pat settene al erpely pinge pat is faire [and] lufely before pe eye of paire soule, whilke pai beholde and coueite and haue paire ioy and paire delyte in. And also pe prophete says eft-sonys: 'Myne eyen are euere more to oure Lorde'. Sothely it is openly shewede be pese wordes pat we may nouht fle pe snares and pe trappes of temptacions bot if we myhtyly and with-outen stynttyng reyse vp pe eyen of oure soule vnto God. Mony lettynges pere are pat drawen a man doune, bat he may not parfitely turne hym to God ne festen his eye vpon hym. Of whilke I shale shewe some: habundance of erbely riches, blaundisshynge and fagynge of wommen, shappe and fairenesse of youngehede. This is a pre-folde corde pat is ful harde to breke. Neuerbeles it behoues nedes to be broken and sette at
$\mathbf{4 6 - 4 7}$ be turnede] <be> turn<ed> T, be turned CD $\mathbf{5 0}$ herte] om. C, hert D $\mathbf{5 1 - 5 3}$ til ... pen] to ... panne C, and that thow D $\mathbf{5 2}$ spred] spered T, spred out C, om. D $\mathbf{5 3}$ it] is T, it C, om. D 56 and om . T, and CD
nouhte if Crist shal be lufede. For who-so desires truly for-to lufe Ihesu Crist, | nouht oonly with-outen heuynesse, but with fulle gret ioy and glad- f.92 nes, he forsakes and castes away ale ping pat may lete hym. Yee, in pis case he spares neiper fader ne moder ne yet hym owen self, ne takes no comfort of ony erpely pyng. He dos violence to ale, he brekes alle obstacles and lettyngis, him pinkes it bot lytel ale pat he may do, so pat he myht loue Ihesu Crist. He flees fro synne as a drunken man; he has none eye ne no beholding to no maner comforte of be worlde, ne of flesshly solace, bot he gifes himself so holy inwarde to God, pat wel-neye he has loste ale outwarde wittis. He is ale gederd with-yne hym-selfe and ale reysed vp into Ihesu Crist, pat who-so sey him he shulde wen pat he were heuy or sori. Bot sekerly he has ful gret ioy. Per are mony bat seyn pai wolde fayn forsake be worlde and turne hem holy vnto God, but pei sayn pei may not yette, for pei are letted purh certeyne occupacions. Whos colde soules sorouyng we reproue, for with-oute doute if pei were onys touched with pe lest sparcle of pe loue of God, pei shulde seke alswipe wip al maner besines what wei pei myht come to Goddis seruice. Ne pei shulde not leue sekynge vntile pei hade founden it.

Bot bei feyne oft-tymes a $\mid$ maner of excusacion pe whilke raper ac- f. $92^{v}$ cusis paim. Ryches drawes mony men o-bake, and mony are deceyuede purh wymmen, and sumtyme mony pat longe tyme han lyued wele purh hem are caste doune into be depnesse of synne and wikednesse. For fairehed is sone lufede, and when it feles pat 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, he fleeth ... beholding D
sacion pan he was before, for ben is his fame and his lose defouled. And were he was before wirshipful and preisable, now is he holden of al wlatsome and despysable.

I seye ones a man, be whilke as men sayde had fyftene yere tamed his body with gret and wounderful penance, and efterwarde he fel with his seruantis wif, and myht neuer after be departid fro hir in al his lyf. In his dyinge pei sayde when prestes come to him he cursyd and waryede paim and forsoke to take pe wirshipful sacramentis of Holy Kyrke. Yunge men perfore newly turned fro pe word shulde fle besily al maner occasions pat drawes to synne, and eschewe purh a waker entencion al maner wordes and dedes steryng to yuel. For ay pe more vnleful pat a pinge is in itselfe, so mykel | f. $93^{r}$ more sumtyme it is coueited and desirede. be fende ryses gretly agayne ale swilke men as he sees are turnede fro hym, kyndelynge desires of pe worlde and of pe flessh. And delectacions pat pei hade before tyme in synne he brynges agayne to paire pouht. He shewes forpe gret hardenesse and bitternesse of penaunce for-to make vs yrke with hit. He rayses vp fantasyes withouten noumbere and new pouhtys and affeccions pat profiten nouht, pe whylke were before stille and o-slepe.

Amonge pese and al oper pat fallen we shalle myhtely and manle vse oure-selue, and as Cristes knyhtys take gostly armures of feyth, hop, and charite, feyhtynge stalworthly ayeyns pe fende and al his suggestions and yuel entisynges, destroynge and qwenchynge al flesshly and worldly desires,

89-90 conuersacion] conuersacion C, conuersion D 93 seye] <seye> 'sawe' T, seigh C, sawe D $\mathbf{9 8}$ word] wor l'd T, world CD 101 ryses] reysed C, reyseth D $\mathbf{1 0 5}$ yrke] irke C, wery D

Ch. 2
euermore desirynge and sekynge pe lufe of God thurh despisynge and forsakynge of be worlde.

## How a man shal despise pe worlde: Capitulum secundum

Despisynge of pe world is nouht elles bot an ouerpassynge of al erply and failynge pinges, with-outen luf of paim, bruh feruent lufe and desire of God and heuenly pinges, in pis lyf no-pinge to seke bot | God, and to acounte and f. $93^{\mathrm{v}}$ sette at nouht al vayne ioyes and flesshly comfortes of pe worlde and of be flessh, vnnepes takynge his nedfulnesse, and if it ony tyme wante or faile, gladly and paciently forto sufre. bis is be despisynge of pe worlde. Haue pow pis, pat pow be not slayne pruh lufe of it. On pis manere is pe worlde despised and not lufede. Alle pinges pat we lufen, we wirchippen. And sikirly a foule pinge it is for-to worchippe muke, and 'bat' dos he pat lufes erpely pinge only for it-selfe. And perfore erpely lordes and ryche men of worldly goode maken peim-self seruantis and tharlles til most vile filthe and stynke, and han ioy and lykynge to be called lordes of men, pere pei ben hem-self seruantis of synne. Sopely pat man has lordeshipe of man it is not of kynde bot oonly of happe and fortune, bot pat a man is sugget vnto synne it comes oonly of a wickede wile. Do away perfore pis yuele wille and bow shalt be made fre fro be fende and fro synne, made pe seruant of ryhtwisenesse, be whilke teches be nouht for-to lufe erbely pinges.

The lufe of God and be lufe of pe | worlde are euen contrary, and ber- f. $94^{\mathrm{r}}$ for pei may not dwele togydere in a soule; pe bedstede is so narowe pat it
nedes behoues pat oon to falle oute. And berfor ay pe clenner and pe more fully bow castis oute couetysse and erpely lufe, be more feruently and brennyngly shalt pow tast and fele pe lufe of God; and ay be more pi coueityse is, pe lesse is pi charite. A, pow wrecched soule, what sekes bow in pe worlde, where pow sees wele pat alle pinges are passande and deceyuande? Poo pat most fagen and plesen pe sonnest gon away and deceyuen pe. Where-to art 'thou' so besy for dedely pinges? And wherto coueitys pow with so grete affeccion swilke pingis as pow knowes welle shale perysh and were away? Sees pow not pat sonnere pei passen away pen pei may be geten? Bot I wote where pow duellest, bere is pe sete of pe fende, for he has so blynded pe, and purh his qwentise deceyued be, pat pow coueites and desires fleande and passande pinges, and so bow lufes pat pou shulde hate. And bow despises lastande pinges, and cleues to pat pinge pat is vanyschynge away. And so bow art sete $\mid$ and groundede vpon a wayke and deceyuable grounde, and f. $94^{v}$ perfore when pow wenes pi-selfe forto stonde, pow shalt falle in endeles fire.

Pei pat duellen in habundaunce of worldly ryches [ben desceyued bi fyue thinges whiche pei louen: pe firste is richesse], be secunde is worldly dignitee, be pridde is erpely powere, be fer't'h is lufe of paire flessh, and be fyfth is wayne worschippes and honures. Pese constreyne paim in synne and byndes in wickednesse; with pese lustes and delectacions are pai bounden so fast pat mony may not be lesed fro paim tile depe come; but ben is ouerlate

[^109]lesyng, when nouht foloues aftere but endeles dampnacion. Bese fyue lettyn a man fro despisyng of pe worlde, fro pe lufe of God, fro knowynge of hymselfe, and fro appetit and coueitise of pe kyngdome of heuen. For sykirly ber may no man be saufe bot if he fle pe worlde and leue to lufe ale pat is per-in. Late vs perfore begyne whils we are hole and pe hete of oure younghede is with vs, lest pat we be taken with deth or we witte, and seeke space of pennaunce and may noon fynde. For he pat abydes of amendinge whils he may no more synne, synne leues hym and he not synne, and berfor he is worthi no mede of God. | Bot what may lyke or plese hym pat disposes hym forto lufe $\mathrm{f} .95^{\mathrm{r}}$ Ihesu Crist? He shal defoule his youthehede, he shal kepe ale his strenthe vnto God, alle rychesse and honours of pe worlde shale he acounte and set at nouht, hym shale pinke pat alle bodily fairnesse is bot fals and veyne ioy, and nouht worth. What shal I sey more? He dispises parfitly ale pinges of pis worlde pat passen away als a shadowe.

A pow flesshly lufe, what fyndes bow in pe flessh pat pow hast so gret delyte in it? If bow haue ioy and delyte in shappe and fairhede of body, why beholdes pow not what is hydde with-inne in be skynne? Knowes pow not wele pat fairenesse of flessh is bot an hillynge of foulnesse, enclynynge and norischynge of corrupcion, and oft-sithes cause of perdicion and endeles dampnacion. Lat it berfore suffice vnto be, ale oper pingis dispisede and set at nouht, to lufe God, to lovue God, to be with God, to ioy in God, not for-to go fro God, bot for-to cleue to hym purh continuel and brennynge desire.

158 per-in] per-inne C, synne D 161 whils] til C, in-to the tyme D 163 hym (2)] hym fulli CD 164 defoule] defoule C, nat defoule D 175 lufe ... lovue] loue C, loue God and to lofe D

For-to despice pe worlde, pe worlde it-selfe it steres vs, be whilke is ful of so mony wrechednesse, for in it is malyce lastynge, perse|cucion dounthristyng, f. $95^{v}$ envie defailinge, bacbityng knawyng, fals inposiciones of crymes, and bitternesse of sclaundres; where ale pinges are confused, ale pinges inordinate; where neiber ryhtwisnesse is lufuede, ne sopefastnes is approued.

Also oper pinges per are pat shulde stere vs forto despise pe worlde: pat is pe chaungynge of tyme, shortenesse of pis life, deth pat is certeyne, pe comynge of deth pat is vncerteyne, stablnesse of euerlastyngnesse, vanyte of pinges pat are nowe, and sothefastnes of pinges pat are to come. Chese perfore what pow wilt. If pow luf pe worlde, pow shalt perysche with pe worlde. And if pow lufe Ihesu Crist, pow shalt regne and be kynge with hym in endeless blysse.

## Of wilful pouerte: Capitulum tercium

'If pow wilt be parfite, goo and selle ale pat pow has and yeue to pore folke, and come and folowe me'. In pis two, pat is in forsakynge of worldly pinges and in folowynge of Crist, is heyest perfeccion. Bot sopely al men pat forsaken worldly pinges foluen not Crist, for sume are worse aftere pey haue forsaken peire gudes pen pei were before. Ben | yeue pei paim to bacbitynge f. $96^{r}$ of paire euen-cristen. Be $\mathrm{i}^{\prime}$ ' drede not to do away and lesen pe gude faame and lose of peire euen-cristen, ben ar pei ful of envie, pei freten in malice, pei sette paim-selfe before al ober in paire owne syht, bei lovue and preyse

178 lastynge] om. D 179 knawyng] om. D 183 certeyne] certeyn C, vncertayn D
192-3 is ... Crist] om. D 196 pen] pen <drede> T, panne C, Then D 197 lovue and preyse] loue and preyse C, preysen D
paire owne state and degre, and blames and dampnes oper mennys lyvinge. How trowes pow pe fende has deceyuede swilk maner of men, pe whilke haue neiber be worlde ne God, whom be diuerse wronge ways of errours and wickednesse he ledes to euerlastynge peyne and dampnacion.

Perfor vndirstonde wele pese wordes pat ar sayde, and take pouert be anoper way. When he says perfore: 'Goo and selle ale pat bow has', pow shalt vndirstonde changynge of pin affeccions and of pi thouhtys; pat where pow was before proude, angry, enviouse and coueitous, be now meke, softe, pacient, ful of charite, large and fre. And if pow haue keppede pe pruh grace clene fro grete synnes here before, pow shalt now abstene pe, not oonly fro ale yuel, bot also fro ale pe spices of yuel. And yif pow haue ony tyme before synned pruh outrage of mete and drynke, pow shalt now amende it pruh fastynge and discret abstinens. Yif pow haue before | ouer-mykel lufede pe f. $96^{v}$ worlde, pow shalt now gedere pi-self al holy to pe loufe of God, and festen ale pe scaterynges o-brode, and pe wauerynges of bi[ n$]$ hert, in all-onely oon desire of Ihesu and heuenly pinges pat are ay-lastande. And sopely, if pow do pus, pen shal thi wilful pouert be medeful to pe, and ale pe anguysche and disese pat pow suffres shal be to pe a gloriouse corone.

For oure Lorde says: 'Blessede are pei pat are pore in spirit', bat is pat are meke in paire owen felynge, 'for-why pairs is pe kyngdome of heuen'. What is pouert bot mekenesse, bruh pe whilke a man sees his owen freltee? And when he sees bat he may not come to parfite stabilnesse of soule bot oonly pruh grace of God, al manere of pinge pat myhte let hym to receyue pis 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 pis manere, spryngen mony wonderful vertues. Nouht as sume done pat chaungen paire clopes bot not paire soule; pei semen forto forsake worldely rychesse, bot pei cese not vnder pe clopes of holynesse forto | gedere in-numerable synnes and wickednes.

What is wers pen a proude pore man? What is foulere pan an enviouse beggere? Perfore if pow leue al pinge for God, beholde more what pow dispises pan what pow forsakes. Loke bisily how pow may folowe Crist in vertues. 'Leres of me', he says, 'for I am myld and meke of herte'. Sopely pouert, be it-self, it is no vertue ne preisable, bot raper wrecchednesse. Bot for as mykele as it is an instrument of vertue, and it helpes to get endeles blisse, perefor it is desirable. It makes a man not to be wirshippede bot to be dispised, pof-al he be vertuous, namely amonge myhty and ryche worldly men, whilk despite and reproue to suffre mekely and gladly for Ihesu Criste is souereynly medeful. And perfor oure Lorde Ihesu was pore in pis worlde, for he knewe welle pat it is ful harde to riche men, and to paim pat abunden in delyces, for-to come to be kyngdome of heuen. And perfore pat we shulde more feruently coueyte and take pis pouerte, he behyht souereyn worschip to paim pat forsaken al pinge for hym, bat is to say power of dome, where he says pus in pe Gospell: 'Ye pat haue for-saken al pinge and folued me, ye shul sitte vpon twelf setes, demande | be twelf kynredes of Israel'.

Neuerbeles pof a man haue pouert, yee and wilful pouerte, and wante meknes, he is more wrechede pan he pat aboundes in riches; ne he shal not take in dome pe sete of dignite wyth pe apostles, bot he shal be clopede and couerede with a dowble mantel of confusion, pat is double dampnacion of body and soule. Bot pei pat shyne in mekenes, pof-al pei abounde in ryches, neuerbeles pay shal be sete at pe ryht honde of Crist when he demes. Sume men seyne: 'We may not forsake alle, we ar seke and feble, and perfore vs behoues holde sume-pinge wher-with we may lyff. . $i$ is is leful, bot pei are pe lesser worth, for pai dar not for Cristes sake suffre pe streytnesse ne pe hardenesse of pouerte. Neuerbeles pei may pruh Goddis grace come to pe perfeccion and heyht of vertues, and be raysed vp to contempplacion, if pai forsak al occupacions and worldly nedes, and gif paim bisyli and mekly to prayere and meditacion, and swilke pinge as pei haue of worldly goodes, lufe it not bot forsake pe lufe of it for Ihesu Crist. And wete pai ryht wele pat forto get more pan barely nedes, it is of coueitise, bot forto forsake al for Crist, it is of perfeccion. And perfor whils pei see heyere pinges abouen hem, pe whilke pei mow not ateyne to, pei shulde not be proude ne presumpteous | of f. $98^{r}$ pat lytel pat pei haue, so pat pei myht come to pe reule and forme of goode lyuynge pruh meknesse and feruent loue of Ihesu Crist.

247 abounde] abounde C, haue D 249 alle] alle C, all thynges D 259 ateyne] atteyne C, come D $\mathbf{2 6 1}$ pruh] thoruh C, treuthe D

## How a man shal ordeyne and dispose his lyuyng: Capitulum quartum

That a man may ryhtwisly be dressed to be worship of God, to profite of him-self and helpe of his euen-cristen, foure pinges rynne to mynde to be saide. First is to knowe what pinges make a man foule, and pai are pre kynde of synnes: pat is of pouht, of mouthe, and of werke. In pouht synnes a man ayeyns God if he occupie not his herte in louyngis and lufynge, if he suffre it to be abstracte in diuerse pouhtes and to be rennende abowte in pe worlde. With mouthe synnes a man ayeyns God when he lyes, when he sweres, when he curses, when he bacbites, when he defendes errour bof it be him-selfe vnwitynge, when he spekes foly wordes, foule wordes, or wayne wordes. In werke synnes a man ayeyns God in many maneres, in doyng lech[e]ry, in vnhoneste touchynge, in kyssynge in luste, in pollu[t]and hym-selfe, or withoute gret nede to stel, and in mony oper maneres.

Be secunde is to wete what pinges clensen a man, and pei are pre, ayeyns be $\mid$ pre synnes befor sayde: contricion of hert ayeyns be synne of $\mathrm{f} .98^{\mathrm{v}}$ pouht; confessioun of mouthe ayeyns be synne of mouthe, be whilke ouhte to be naked, hole and hasty; and satisfaccion ayeyns be synnes of dede, be whilke has pre parties: pe first is fastynge, for he synnede ayens hym-selfe, pe secunde is prayere, for he synnede ayens God, pe predde is almesdede, for

262 and dispose] om. C 264 euen-cristen] '3 thingis defele a man' $T$ to mynde] to my mynde C, or comyn to mynde D 267 louyngis and lufynge] praysinge $C$, preysyng and louyng D 268 abstracte] obstracte C, abstracte or stered D 271 foule wordes] om. CD wayne wordes] om. D 272 ayeyns God] om. C 272 lechery] lechry T, leccherye C, lechery D 273 pollutand] polluand T, pollutinge C, polluting D 275 what] 3 thingis do kepen a man cleane ${ }^{\prime} T$
he synnede ayeyns his neyhbore. Neuerbeles I say not pat he shal gif almesdede of oper menys gude, bot he shal restore it, for pe synne is not foryeuen bot if it be restorede pat is taken, if it in any wyse may be done.

Pe pridde is to wete what pinges kepen clennes of herte, and pei are pre: pe first is wakere pinkynge on God, so pat ber be no tyme bot pat pow pinke on God, outaken slepe pat is comune to alle; pe secunde is bysines of pe kepynge of pe vtwarde wittes, pat pi tastynge and smellynge, herynge, seynge and touchynge be wisely restraynede vndere pe brydel of heuenly discipline; pe pridde is honeste occupacion, as redinge of holy writte, spekyng of God, writynge, or sume oper gude dede doynge. Also pre pinges kepyn clennes of mouth: on is avisinge befor or we speke, anoper is to fle mykel | speche, be predde is hatynge of lesynggis. Also pre pingis kepen cle- f. $99^{r}$ nes of werke: oon is mesuryng and temperaunce of mete and drinke and slepe; anoper is departynge fro yuel cumpanye; pe pridde is besy pinkynge on be deth, for pe wise man says: 'Thinke ay on pi last ende, and pow shalt neuere synne'. Pe ferthe is what byndes and confourmes oure wile to Goddis wil. And pai are pre: on is pe ensamplere of creaturis, be whilke is getyn purh consideracion; an-oper is homlynesse of God, be whilke is geten be praire and heuenly meditacion; pe pridde is myhte and ioyinge in God, pe whilke is goten purh lufe and contemplacion.

And so pe seruant of God pat is on pis wise ordeyned to lyfe, is as a tre pat is sette besyde pe rynnynges oute of waters, pat is to sey, beside pe flowynges of grace, bat he may euermore wax grene in vertue, be whilke shal yeue his fruyte (bat is gude werkes in exsample, and gude yiftes, vnto helpe of his euen-cristen) in tyme, he shal yeue al pis to pe honour and pe worshippe of God, not selle it for vayne ioy of pe worlde. Perfor prayde pe prophete when he sayde: 'Godenesse, disciplyne, and cunnynge teche | me f. $99^{v}$ Lorde. I haue trowede in pi comaundementis'. What is discipline bot correccion and refourmynge of maners and of lyuynge, nouht ellis? Firste berfore ar we enformede and tauht purh discipline and ryhtwisnesse, and amendede fro yuel, and per-after knowe we what we shulde do and what we shuld fle, and at pe last oure 'desire and oure' coueityse is taken fro erbely pingis and raysede vp vnto heuenly pingis.

When any man with al his besynesse and myht has dressede and confourmede hym to pe will of God, and has encresced in vertues, and parauenture ouerpasses, purh stablenesse of lyuynge and desire of Ihesu Crist, oper pat are of longer tyme pan he, he shulde not berfore haue vayne ioy $\mathrm{n}[\mathrm{e}$ ] yeue ony pinge of it vnto him-selfe, or holde hym-selfe heyere or better pan paim pat semen synners or yuel men. Bot he shulde holde hym vilest and most wreche of alle and deme no man bot hym-self, and sette al oper men abouen hym-self, and coueite not to be holden holy, gude and wirshipful, bot to be despisede and reprouede of alle. And when he comes amonge men,
loke, in as mykel as in hym is, pat he be last in place and lest in opinyoun. For ay pe gretter pat pow arte, so | mykel more make pi-self lowe in al f. $100^{r}$ pingis, and pen sha l't [b]ou fynde grace before God to be maade hye; for gret is pe powere of God, and of meke men he is wirschippede and honured; perfor of proude men pat seke paire oune ioy and not Goddis wirschippe, he is despised.

If it befall, pat God forbede, bat pou hast ioy in pe fauoure of pe peple, and resceyueste gladly pe fauoure and honoure pat is done to pe of men for pi gude fame and holynesse, wete pou ryht welle pat pou hast resceyuede pi mede here. And pof-alle pow seme chast and in pennaunce, neuerpeles whils pow hast more delite in fauor of men pan in ioy of angelles, bow shalt nouht haue in pe toper worlde bot payne and tormentis of endeles dampnacion. Pow shalt perfore at begynnynge parfitely despise pi-self and fle, pute away, and sette at nouht al worldly ioy, and sette al pin entente and pe luf of pin herte so fully and holly in God, pat pow do no-pinge, $\mathrm{n}[\mathrm{e}]$ pinke, bot only for luf and wirschippe of God, so pat al pi lyuinge inwarde and outwarde crie and shewe be lovuynge of God.

In mete and drynke and slepe pow shalt 'be' scarce and discrete. Pow shalt no-pinge forsake ne putte away for pe tyme and place | pat cristen men f. $100^{\mathrm{v}}$ vsen with ponkynge of God. Whils pow etes and drynkes loke pat pe mynde of pi God pat fedes pe passe not away fro pi herte, so pat pi herte be more 325 shalt pou] sha ' I'tou T, shalt pou C, thow shalt D 334 worlde] worldlde T, world CD 337 ne] no T, ne CD 338 inward and outward] inward and outward C, inward D 339 lovuynge] loovinge `and preisinge' C, preysyng D 340 and slepe] om. D 341 for] fro C, for D besy aboute pe lovuynge of God panne aboute pi mete. And if pow do pus, pow shalt eschape and dryue away temptacions of pe fende, pat most bysyli waytes vs in mete and drynke to desceyue vs. For vnwise men, eiper be vnmesurable takynge of mete and drynke are casten downe fro heynes of vertue, or purh ouermykel abstinence breken hem in pe selfe vertue, so pat pei may not for wayknesse and feblenesse fulfille ne bringe til ende pat pai haue begunne. And bope are displesaunce to God and ayeyns his wille. Mony are euermore so vnstable and vncerteyne in etynge and drynkynge pat pai taken al-ways epir ouermykel or ouerlitel, and so pei holde no tyme ne no fourme of liuynge, whils pei holde now on better, now anoper. Pai pat are vnwise and assaiede neuer yette ne felede pe swetnes of pe lufe of God, supposen and wenen pat undescrete abstinens be souereyne holynesse. And pei wenen pat pei may not be made holy but purh an vncustimable and \(\mid \mathrm{f} .101^{\mathrm{r}}\) vnryhtwise abstinence, so pat pei may appere singuler and be knowen of men. Bot sikirly abstinence be it-selfe is not holynesse. Bot if it be discrete, it helpes a man to be holy; y[i]fe it be vndiscrete, it lettes a man to be vertuous. Who-`so' perfore wolde take a singulere abstinence, he shulde fle syht and preisynge of men, for men demen hem mooste holy oft-tymes whom pei see most abstinent, when it is oft-sithes operwise in sopefastnesse. For he pat has sopefastly tasted and felde pe swetnesse of pe lufe of God, he shal not deme any man more passande, or more holy, for abstinence of mete and drynke; bot so mykel shal he deme him of lesse pris pat he is holden more wonderful in abstinence anentys oper men.

344 lovuynge] preysinge $C$, loouyng and worshippyng D 350 displesaunce] displesant $C$, despysyng D 358 Bot (1) ... holynesse] om. D 359 yife] yefe T, if C, yef D

It is best perfore as I trowe, and mooste plesyng to God, pat a man confourme hym in mete for pe place, and tyme, and honeste til paim pat he is conuersant wit-all, so pat he seme not a feynere of religioun. Wete pei wele pat are swilke men, pat pof oon or two fel wele of paim, al oper shal deme ypocricy of paim and feinynge. Bot per are sume pat on no wise wil not be seyne comune amonges men, pat pei eiber ete so litell pat pei gare algates men speke | of hem, or ellys bei sekyn oper kynde of metys so pat pai may f. $101^{v}$ be vnlike in sume-pinge to al oper men whos abstinence be ferre away fro me. Sopely it is helful counceile, and sikere, pat pei pat are of lesse abstinence holde paim better pat are of more abstinence, and haue compunccion of herte, for pei may not do so mykel abstinence as oper men may. And on pe toper syde pai pat are of wonderful abstinence, pat pei holde oper men abouen hem pat do not so mykel abstinence in syht of men outewarde, whos vertue is hidde fro men in be whilk pei passen. Sopely whils peire abstinence is so lovued and praisede of mony men, bot if it be borne vp and kept purh grete meknesse, befor God it is nouht. Bot oper mennys vertue is so mykel more pat it is not seyne nor knowen of men outwarde. Who may wete how mykel a man brennes in lufe ayeyns God or how mykel he shynes in compassioun ayeyns his euen-cristen?

And with-outen doute be vertue of charite passes with-oute comparisoun al abstinence and al oper werkes pat may be seyne. And oft it falles pat pei pat shewen lesse abstinence befor men are more feruent and brennande in lufe wipinne before God. For it behoues paim | to be stronge pat shal my- f. $102^{\text {r }}$ htely and manly trauayle in be lufe of God. And berfore when a manys flessh
is made wayke purh ouermykel abstinence of mete and drynk and slepe, a man oft-tymes is made vnmyhty to pray; and mykel more pen he shal not mow lyft vp him-selfe purh brennynge desire to God and heuenly pinges. Perfore me were leuere pat a man failed for mykelnesse of lufe panne for fastynge, as pe spouse says: 'Telles to my lufede pat I languyse for lufe'. And sopely fastynge of bred and water plesses not God so mykel as forsakynge of synne. Berfor be pow stable in all pi ways, and after pis reule pat is yeuen to pe ordyne pi lif. And pof-al bow maist not in pe first begynnynge atteyne ne come to pat pat pou coueitys, dispaire not berfore ne mystriste not bot continue forth and perseuere, for by longe tyme and exercise pou shalte mowe come to perfeccion.

Whedere pou be in trauayle or in rest, lyfte vp always pe eye of pi soule vnto God, and lat neuere pi pouht go fro hym, for al pat tyme pat pou pinkes not on God, pou may acounte it pinge pat pow has loste. Lovue God in pi soule, and coueite euermore his lufe, pat slepe fynde pe neuere operwyse | occupiede pan eiber prayande or pinkande on God. And loke warly f. $102^{v}$ pat bow be not scatred ne distracte with vayne poustys, ne yeue pe not to ouer-mony besynessys, bot pis stablenesse of hert studie to gete, pat pow neiper drede pe noyes nor diseses of pe worlde, ne coueite not vnordinatly his gudes. For he pat dredes to suffre aduersites, knowes not yitte how he shulde dispise pe worlde; and he pat ioyes in erpely pingis is ful ferre fro heuenly pingis. It longes to pe vertue of strenthe, for-to dispise al aduersitees
393 mow] mown C, be in power to D $\quad 398$ pi lif] pi lyf C, thysylf D $\quad 401$ mowe]
mowen C, om. D $\quad \mathbf{4 0 4}$ Lovue] Loue CD $\quad \mathbf{4 0 5}$ lufe] loue CD $\quad \mathbf{4 0 6}$ prayande]
preyinge C, preysyng D $\quad \mathbf{4 0 8}$ pis] pis C, to D $\quad \mathbf{4 0 9}$ noyes] annoyes C, noyse D
and prosperitees, yee and be self depe, for endeles lyf; and charite is only to desire pe ioyes of heuen. Sopely a parfite louer ioyes, and is fayne forto dye, and yet suffres he pis lyfe with pacience. Whilk perfeccion, if pow may purh Gooddes grace come to, pou shalt not be wib-outen tribulacion, of whilk shal now be spoken.

## Of tribulacioun: Capitulum quintum

When pe deuel sees oon amonge a thousande turne hym parfitely to God, and oonly seke and lufe aylastande pingis, take parfite penaunce, and clense and purge hym of al filthe of body and soule: a pousande desceytes he | f. $103^{r}$ ordeynes to begile hym with, a thousande craftes he ordeynes pat he myht brynge hym doun with and cast hym fro pe lufe of God to pe lufe of pe worlde, and pat he myht make hym foule with filth of syn and wrechednes, and at last to make hatful and wlatsome to God purh yuel and lecherouse pouhtes. He reyses vp ayens hym persecusions and tribulacions, reproues, fals inposicions of crimes, and many maners of wrethe and hatreden, so pat purh aduersite he myht ouercome and breke whom prosperite myht not deceyue. He puttes vnto hym now softnesse, nowe sharpenesse, nowe bitter, nowe swete. He bringes to his mynde ymages of bodily pingis and fantasies of olde synnes, and kyndeles his herte wip delectacion of olde lufe and wrecchednesse, pe whilke he has before ben delited ynne, and he enflaumes pe 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 begile] bigile C , disceue $\mathrm{D} \mathbf{4 3 0}$ ymages ... pingis] ymages ... thinges C , ymaginacions D 431 synnes ... olde] om. D
mykel pe more, with al maner of synes, he studies nyht and day to reyse ayeyns hym al maner of anguysches and tormentis; for he knowes pat he is, purh $\mid$ be mercy of God and grace, ferre fledde and escapede fro his seruage $\mathrm{f} .103^{\mathrm{v}}$ and powere. He sekes nouht ellys in al his myhtes bot pat he myht disseuere and departe vs fro be swetest and most chaste cleppynges of aylastande lufe, and pat he myht on pe toper syde defoule vs and caste vs doune into pe slade of wrechednesse and clay of erpely lufe.

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

## Of pacience: Capitulum sextum

bay pat are derlynges and childre to pe heye kinge of heuen purh feyth, hope, and charyte haue gret dedignacion to fal doune and be fede wyth | vnreson- f. $104^{\text {r }}$ able bestes mete; pei dispise al vnleful lustes and worldly solace for pe lufe of Ihesu Crist. For sopely he pat is fede wib pe brede of lyf pat come fro heuen to fedde mankynde, he suffres not his affeccion ne his lufe to bow ne
to fal doun to pose pinges pat pe deuyl steres and entises to. When temptacions and tribulacions rysen agayns a man, lat 'hym' panne take his gostly armoures, bat is, feyth, lufe, and pacience, and so manly to go to bataile. For temptacions and tribulacions are ouercome and vengi $[s]$ id purh pacience, feith, and lufe.

What is pacience bot a gladde and wilful suffrynge of contrarious thynges, nouht ellys? He pat is very pacyent grucches in noon aduersitee, bot ay lovues God in al tyme. And ay pe more meke and pacient pat a man is in tribulacion here in pis lif, pe more glorious and heyer shal he be in pe blesse of heuen. Berfor with gret ioy and gladnesse shulde we suffre tribulacion and anguysshes, bitternesse and peynes, sekenes and diseses, for thurh hem oure synnes are purged | and clensed, and oure merites are eked and encresced. f. $104^{v}$ And be apostle says pat alle pe paynes and passiouns pat we may suffre here in pis lif are not euen worthi to pe ioy comande, pat shal be shewed and yeuen to vs in pe blesse of heuen. Sikirly either behoues vs here in pis lyf be brent with pe fire of Goddis lufe and tribulacion, or ellis efter pis lyf be greuously and sore pyned and turmented with pe fyre of purgatorie or of helle. Chese perfore what we wyl, for pat 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 pat is to come. Perfore are tribulacions sent vnto vs pat pai shulde cal[1]e vs ayeyn fro lufe of be worlde, and pat we be not more greu-

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457 pose] pese C, the D 460 and vengiid] <and vengiid> T, and venquisshed C, and
vencused D 464 lovues] looueth C, loueth and worshyppeth D 466 tribulacion]
tribulacions C, tribulacion D 471 lyf] world C, lyfe D 476 to come] to come C, to
come in purgatory D 477 calle] cale T, calle C, call D
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ousely punysshed in pe tothir worlde. For the synnes behoues to be clensid with sorowe and bitternes bat we done here with lust and likynge. If synful men pursue vs, pai noye vs nouht if we suffre it paciently, bot to hem-self; for pof-al pay bryng into vs a lytel payn, neuerpeles it is to vs a coroune, and to paim-self | endlesse turment.

Yuel men and synners are suffred to passe oute of pis present lyf wibouten mony tribulacions or disseses, to whome in pe tothir world is no ioy ordeyned bot payne. And perfore holy men lufen tribulacions and angers, for pai knowe welle pat pai shal come thurh hem to endeles rest. And on pe contrary syde, synners and wicked men euer more gruchyn, and als mekyl as pai may eschewe and fleen hem; for whils paire herte and paire lufe is fully and vnmesurably yeuen to erthly pinges, pai are vtterly pryued and departed fro hope of pe blysse of heuen; oonly in ovttewarde thinges pai fynde comforte and solace, for pai haue vtterly loste pe sauour of heuen.

Per is no resonable soule here in pis lyf, pat ne eipir it cleues pourh lufe to his Creatour, or to a creature. If it luf more a creature, it loses and departes fro God and gos wip pat it lufes to endeles payne; and swilke loue in pe begynnynge is trauayle, in pe myddes it is wrechednesse 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 pat is of pe worlde; and | hym shal thinke ioy f. $105^{\mathrm{v}}$ and swetnesse to speke of hys lufed, a delicate fedynge more swete pan all deyntees; hym thinkes to haue hym in mynde, he spares the wyndowes of hys outwarde wittes that deth entre not in at thaim, ne that he be not vnprofit-

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484 pe tothir] pat ooper C, the other D 489 vtterly] bitterly C, vtterly D 498 lufed]
loue C, loued D
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ablely ne vaynly occupied in no worldly vanite. And for als mykel as sumetyme ther ryse agayns hym despites and reproues, scornyngys, and sclaundres of the fende and of wicked men, therfor it is nedeful to hym to take pe shelde of pacience, and pat he be more redy for-to forgete than forto forgyfe wronges and diseses that are done to hym, and for-to pray besily for thaire conuersacion that haten hym, and charge not pof he plese not alle men, bot drede he in al thynges to offende God.

If he haue temptacion of the flessh, lat hym stryue to ouercome it and putte it vnderfote, so that the wille of the spirit falle 'not' doune to consente and fulfillynge 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. $106^{r}$ wheder he be stronge or weyke, bot if he be asaied. And a manes paciens may nouht be knowen whils he is quiete and [in] rest, bot when he is asayed thurh wronges, tribulacions, or disseses; then 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 pai here on worde ayens paire wille, pai wil yeue two more felle and more bitter agayne; frome whos counceyle God kepe my soule.

501 And] And C, As D $\mathbf{5 0 1 - 2}$ sume-tyme] om. D $\mathbf{5 0 2}$ ryse] risen C, ben raysed D 504 than] and C, than D 506 conuersacion] conuers<ac> ' $y^{\prime}$ on C, conuersion D 509-10 consente and] consentinge C, consent in D 512-13 And ... asayed] om. D $513 \mathrm{in}] \mathrm{om} . \mathrm{T}$, in C 518 of ire and melencolye] of ire and malencolye C, or yre or wreth and malencoly D

Therfor al pe fyre dartes and pe assautes of oure enemy shulde be sloken and brouht to nouht, purh meknesse and swetnesse of Cristes loue, ne we shal not yeue stede ne consente to no temptacion, be it neuer so stronge; for ay be more pe batayle is, pe more gloriouse is pe victorie and pe heyere corone is ordeyned for pe ouercomer. For as pe apostel says: 'Blessed is pat | f. $106^{v}$ man pat suffres temptacion, for when he is proued and examined as golde in pe fire of tribulacion, he shal take pe coroune of endeles lyf'. Sopely panne pare pe nouht doute pen pou arte in pe way of perfeccion, if dispite be as lefe vnto be as lovuynge, pouert as riches, penaunce and scarsenesse as delyces and deyntees, so pat pou myht thurh Goddes grace wib-outen chaungynge of hert suffre al pise; and pat pou in no-pinge falle fro pe heynesse of pouht. Lothe and hate, as mykel as pou may, louynges and preisynges of men; for pat is full comendable, if pou be worpi preisyng and fle to be praysed of men. For be tounges of fagers and flatereres deceyues mony man, and pe lippes of bacbiters confoundes wib-outen noumbre. Perfore despise pou boldely and vtterly al fauore and vayne ioy of men, and suffre gladly and paciently al bacbitynge and hatred of pe worlde, so pat purh yuel lose and goode lose, purh flaterynges and tribulacions, pou cese nouht to haste pe to pe kyngdome of heuen.

Oft-tymes we fallen, so pat purh mony fallynges we leren to stonde after|warde more strongly. He pat is stronge dredes nouht, and he pat is pa- f. $107^{r}$
$\mathbf{5 2 2}$ sloken] sloken C, slokun or queynt D $\mathbf{5 2 6}$ temptacion] temptacion C, temptacions D
$\mathbf{5 2 8}$ pen pou arte] pat pu ne art C, than art thow D $\mathbf{5 2 9}$ lovuynge] loovinge C, longyng or
worshippyng D $\quad \mathbf{5 3 2}$ louynges and preisynges] loovinges and preisinges C, loouyng
and preysyng D $\mathbf{5 3 6}$ fauore] favour honour C, fauour D $\mathbf{5 4 0}$ leren] lerne C, lernen D
cient is nouht angerde for no tribulacion pat may falle. As pe wyse man says: 'It shal nouht heuey pe ryhtwise man, what-so-euer befalle hym'. If pou be disp[o]sed on pis wyse, bou shalt lyhtly ouercome alle temptacions of pe deuel and of pi flessh; and pou shalt sloken and brynge to nouht al pe malice of pe worlde; and alle tribulacions and angeres shalt pou trede vnder-fote thurh pacience and lufe; and pou shalt cleue to God Ihesu Crist wip alle thi soule.

## Of prayere: `Capitulum septimum'

If pou be in temptacion or tribulacion anoone rynne to prayer, for if pow pray purely with clene affeccion and gude entente pou shalt haue redy helpe. Bot sumtime per comen dispersions and wauerynges of herte, and rauyshen pe pouht into diuers pinges, and wil not sufre it to stonde hole ne to rest in pe lovuyng of God. Then parauenture it were goode pat a man gaf hym for a while to meditacion of God and holy write, or of pe passion of Crist and swilke other, vntil | his herte were more stabled, and so make an ende and f. $107^{\mathrm{v}}$ fulfille his praiers. Who-so euer forsakes parfitly for pe loue of Ihesu al worldely ocupacions, and settis hym-self stably and sadly to gostly and heuenly meditacions and to holy and deuoute prayr, I trowe pat wipin a shorte tyme wip pe grace of Ihesu Crist he shal fynde his herte sadde and stable to lufe and to pray, so pat his pouhtis shal not be disparpled into diuerse pingys ayeyns his wille, bot he shal rather rest in stilnesse and softenesse of endles pees.

544 disposed] dispised T, despised C, dysposed D 547 God Ihesu Crist] God Ihesu Christ C, Ihesu Crist D $\mathbf{5 5 0}$ purely] om. D $\mathbf{5 5 1}$ dispersions] dispersions C, dysparblynges D 553 lovuyngl loovinge C , loouyng and worshyppyng D

It helpes mykyl to stablynge of pe herte a man oftymes to gyf hym to deuote prayer and to synge psalmodie. For thurh besi praiers we ouercome pe fendes and make vnmyhti al paire malyce and deceites; pai are made wayke and as it were with-outen strengthe as longe as we are myhty and deuote in prayinge. Sothly pose men pat of longe tyme and vse haue in custum to pray, sumtyme bei felen more swetnesse and gretter feruour of praynge pan oper sum. Therfore as longe as pat feruoure and swet|nesse f. $108^{\text {r }}$ lastes it is gude pat pei cese nouht of paire prayngis. And when pai cesen, pat oft-sithes hapyn's' for corupcion of be bodely kynd, bay may pen go to meditacion of holy write, or ellis go do sume other gude dede, so pat for nothinge pai suffre not paire mynde ne paire lufe go wauerande aboute fro God; bot when pai come agayne to praiere pat pai may panne be more feruent and brennande in God pan pai were before. Sopely pan pray we vereily when we penke on noon other pinge, bot al oure herte and oure entencion is lyfted vp til heuen and oure soule is enflawmed wib be fire of pe Holy Gost.

On pis maner pe wonderful habundance of Goddes goodnesse shal be founden in vs. For fro pe innermoste deuocion of oure herte ryses be loue of God. And pan al oure praiere shal be with feruoure and affeccion, we shal not pan ouerlepe wordes for hastinesse bot fully sounande $\mathrm{i}[1] \mathrm{k}$ a sillable with a myhty voice and an ynwarde dissire we shal offre to oure Lorde Ihesu Crist. When oure herte is kyndled | wip pe hote lufe of God pen oure praier is $\mathrm{f} .108^{\mathrm{v}}$ brent intil odour of swetnesse in oure mouthe and offred vp into pe syht of
$\mathbf{5 6 3}$ be] be C, a mannys D $\mathbf{5 6 7}$ pose] bese CD and vse] om. D $\mathbf{5 7 1}$ oft-sithes]
ofte-times CD 572 ellis go do] om . D 573 not$] \mathrm{om}$. C wauerande] waveringe C, wandryng D 579 innermoste] indereste C, innermost D $\mathbf{5 8 1} \mathrm{ilk}$ ] ik T, euery C, eche D 584 intil] into C, in the D

God. It is not pan yrksome nor heuysome bot gret yoy and myrthe forto pray. For w'h'en in praier gostly swetnesse vnspekeablely is yette in pe soule, pen pat praier is turned into so mykel yoy pat no voice ne worde may shewe it.
bis is ageyns hem pat gif paim first to meditacion ore pai gif paim to praier, nouht knowynge pat pe worde of God is brennande, purh whilke al pe filthe of oure synnes is purged and oure soules are enflaumed and made brennande in pe luf of God. Bei seyn pat first wil yeue hem to meditacion pat paire herte myht so be made stable, bot so mykel be latlyer pai come to stablenesse pat pei ar not comforted, ne made stronge to continuel praier. Sothely pof we may not als sone as we wolde geder oure hert to-gider vntil one thinge, we shal not perfore leue of, bot be litil and be litel studie we forto waxe and encrese, bat Ihesu Crist wil wochesafe | sumtyme forto stable vs f. $109^{\text {r }}$ and make vs sadde, to pe whilke meditacion most helpes if it passe nouht mesure an ${ }^{\prime} d^{\prime}$ discrecion.

## Of meditacion: `Capitulum octauo'

It is gude often to thinke on pe preciouse passion and on pe 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 pat a wreched seruant and an vnprofitable shulde not thinke heuy forto folowe his emperour and his lorde. Sothely who-so wenes and sayes pat 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 fulfillyng of al other gude vertues pis is pe way in pe whilk Crist went for vs, yeuyng 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. $109^{\text {v }}$ my sorowe and my peynes, thurh whilk I passed oute of pis worlde to my Fader. Sothely ofte pinkyng or meditacion of pis gloriouse manhede, on pe bitter passioun and pe doleful deth of oure Lorde Ihesu Crist, confoundes pe fende and destroyes al his myht and hys deceytes; it sleckes flesshly temptacions and kyndles pe soule to pe loue of Ihesu Criste; it reises vp oure pouht aboue al erthly 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 matere of ioyng and of sorowynge: of ioyng for certeyntee of oure redempcion, of sorowyng for pe viletie and be gretnes of oure synne. For be whilke synne to be done away, Goddes soune oure Lorde Ihesu Crist toke oure kynde and clothed hym with $\mathrm{cl}[\mathrm{o}]$ thes of oure dedelynesse. In pe whilke he suffred so hydous a passioun, and so cruel | and so dispitouse a deth. For a boystous and a flesshly soule f. $110^{\text {r }}$ may not be rauysshed into contemplacion of be Godhede, bot if it be first

609 pe (2)] om. D 611 Haue] haue C, haue thow D 612 of galle] of galle C, the galle of D $\mathbf{6 1 7}$ kyndles] kindeleth $C$, kyndeleth or quencheth D $\mathbf{6 2 3}$ viletie] vilete $C$,
fylthe D $\mathbf{6 2 4}$ soune] loue C, sone D $\mathbf{6 2 5}$ clothes] clythes T, clopes CD $\mathbf{6 2 6}$ and ... dispitouse] om. D
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 thynge may begile hym, than is he taken vntil heyere thinges, and forto ioy in pe lowe of be 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 acordante for pair astate, degre and condicion. I myht telle pe meditacions, bot whilk are most spedeful to pe I knowe nouht, for-why I haue nouht seen thin inwarde affeccions. I trowe certeynly pat pose meditacions plese moste God pe whilk he sendes himself into pi soule. Neuerpeles pow may haue be bygynnynge of oper menys techynge and pat I haue assayde in 'my'self, for if pow dispise pi doctours, supposynge | pi-self $\mathrm{f} .110^{\text {v }}$ to fynde better pinge pen pay haue tauht pe in paire writynges, wete pow wel pou shalt nouht taste pe loue of God. For it is foly to say, 'God tauht hem, whi shal he nouht als wele teche me?' I answere be, 'For pow art not swilk as pai were'. Thow arte proude and sterne, and pei were meke and mylde. bai asked no-pinge of God presompteuously, bot mekeand paim-self vnder al oper, pei gate be cunnynge and grace of techers; therfor God hem tauht, pat we shulde be lered by paire writynges and bokes.

Sopely if pi pouhtys and pi meditacions desiren pe lufe of Ihesu Crist and coueiten his lovuynge, as me pinke, bou art wele disposid. Bot neuertheles pose pinges or meditacions in whilk pou feles most sauour and swet-
nesse to God are moste profitable to pe, for meditacion wib-outen swetnesse profites lytel.

## Of redynge: `Capitulum nonum'

If pou coueite to come to pe loue of God, and forto be kyndled wip be desire of heuenly ioyes, loke pat pou be nouht necglygent ne rekles forto rede holy writte, and moste in pose places where | it teches forto fle pe quentise of pe f. $111^{r}$ fende and where it spekes of pe loue of God and of contemplatif lif. And harde sentence pat pou may not lyhtly vnderstonde, leue paym to wisemen of gret wittes pat haue in custome of longe tyme forto dispute in holy writte. Sothely pis werke of redynge helpes us gretly to profite and to waxe in pe loue of God. In it we knowe oure defautes and in whilk pingges we synne, in whilke nouht, and what thinges we shulde do and what forsake. In holy writte sotelly apperes to us pe fals craftes of oure enemys. It steres us forto loue God, and reyses oure herte up forto lovue hym. It araies to us a delicate borde if we delyte us in it, as in al deyntees and delices.

Neuerbeles no coueityse of praisynge or fauour of men stere us to pe loue of holy writ, bot only entencion and desire to plese God, that we may knowe how we shal lofe him, and pat we may teche pe same to oure brother. And nouht for pat we wolde be holden wise or cunnynge anentes men, but we shal raper hide oure cunnyng and holde it pryue pen forto shewe it forthe for lovuyng and praisynge | of men. As pe prophete says, 'In my herte I haue f. $111^{\mathrm{v}}$
$\mathbf{6 6 0 - 1}$ in (3) ... nouht] and in whiche nouht $C$, and in whyche we synnen nat $D \quad \mathbf{6 6 5}$ stere] stere C, shuld styre D
hidde pi worde Lorde, pat I synne nouht to pe', pat is to say thurh vayne shewynge. Therfor al pe cause of oure spekynge shal be oonly pe lovuynge of God and edificacion of oure euen-cristen, pat pat may be fulfillid in vs pat pe prophete says of him-self in the psalme: 'The lovuynge of God is euermore in my mouthe'. And pat is when we seke nouht oure oune lovuynge ne speke noping ayeyn be lovuyng and worshipp of God.

## Of puryte and clenes: `Capitulum decimum'

Thurh pise nyne degrees before saide we comen to clennesse of soule, in pe whilk God is seen - that clennesse I mene pat may be hadde in this lyfe. Bot how may clennesse be hadde here where a man is so ofte defowled, at pe lest with veniale synnes? For as pe prophete says, 'Pe fete of seyntes nedes to be wasshyn, for pei haue drawen pouder wip hem fro pe 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', bat is with sothefast penauce, 'and my hondis shyne as moste clene', pat is for gude werkes, 'neuerbeles | in f. $112^{\text {r }}$ filthe bou shalte dippe me', bat is for veniale synnes be whilke may not be fled, 'and my clopes shal lothe me', pat is my flessh an'd' my sensualite, wip whilk a resonable soule is cledde, shal make me abhominable. The whilke flessh is so frele and so buxome forto lufe pe fairenes and pe vanite of pe worlde, pat it ofte-tymes makes a man to synne. Perfor biddes pe apostle pus, 'Synne regne not in youre dedely body'; as if he saide pus, 'synne may not

672 lovuynge] loovinge $C D \quad 676$ lovuyng and worshipp] loovinge and wurshipe $C$, loouyng and worshyppyng D $\mathbf{6 8 0}$ may] may C, many D $\mathbf{6 8 6}$ dippe] dippe C, wype D 688 cledde] cloped CD 691 youre] youre C, oure D
vnbe in yowre body of deth', pat is in your flessh and sensualite, 'bot it may vnregne'; pat is pe vnleful sterynges pat spryngen oute of yow be corrupcion of youre flessh may be restreyned and casten downe by reson and myht of pe soule, purh pe merite and pe deserte of pe gloriouse passioun of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste.

Therfor what clennesse may a man haue in pis lif? Sothely grete and lovuable if he ryhtwisly and besily vse hym-selfe in studye of redyng, of praiynge, and of meditacioun as it is before sayde. For pof a man be freltee synne sumtyme venialy, neuerpeles for his hole entent pat he has vnto God it is | done away. For pe feruoure and brennynge of charite pat is in his soule consumes and wastes to nouht al be rouste and filth of synne, as yif a droppe of water were caste in a grete brennand fire. The vertue therfor of a clensed soule is forto haue pe mynde euermore contynuelly directe vnto God, so pat in pat state al his thouht is in God, al his mynde is spreed in God and sumtyme when he spekes with oper men. Sothely in a clene consciens is nothinge bitter, no-pinge sharpe, ne no-thinge harde, bot alle pinge swete and softe, lykande and esy. Fro clennesse of herte ryses be songe of ioy, dytie most swete, and alle myrth and gladnesse. For then oftetymes so grete vnspekable gladnes is yeuen of oure Lorde to swilk a soule, pat heuenly melodie is in-yetted, and ioy vnseable is feled.

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698 lovuable] louable C, loouyng D 703 clensed] 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
7 1 1 \text { in-yetted] inyette C, in hit D}
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## Of pe loue of God: `Capitulum vndecimum'

O thou swete lyht and delitable pat arte my Maker vnspekable, lyhten pe face and pe sharpenes of myn eyen with pin vnmade | clere bryhtnesse, so bat my f. $113^{\text {r }}$ soule, myhtyly clensed from alle vnclennesse and made wonderful poruh heuenly giftes, may flee swyftly into be he y'te of swetest and myryest loue. A swete Ihesu, brenne me with pi loue pat I may sitte and rest in pe, wonderfully ioyande, and pat I be neuer delyted in beholdyng of goostly pinge bot Godly and gostly. A pou loue, enflaume my herte for-to loue God, so pat I brenne nouht bot in the swete halsynges of hym. O goode Ihesu, who shal yeue to me pat I may fele pe pat now maist nouht be seen nor feled bodily? Yette pi-self into pe entrelles of my soule, come into my herte and fille it with pi ful briht swetnesse. Make drunken my soule with feruent wynne of pi swetest loue so pat I , foryetyng alle yuels and alle deceyuande ymages of bodely pinges and pe oonly halsinge with pe armes of loue, I may be glad in body and vnspekablely enioye in soule in God my Ihesu, pat is my saueoure. A my dereworth swete Lorde Ihesu, departe no more fro me bot dwell continuelly with me in pi blessed swet|nesse, for pi presence is alle my comforte, f. $113^{v}$ and oonly pin absence makes me sorye.

O pou Holy Gost pat enspires where pou wilte, rauyssh me to the, a creature whilk pou made of nouht; and make me oon with pe thurh pi swete yiftes so pat my soule, al holy supped up in pi delycate ioy, 'dispise', cast

715 myhtyly] mihtily C, myght be D 716 swetest and myryest] swettest and merieste C, swettest D $\mathbf{7 1 8}$ goostly pinge] thing C, gostly D $\mathbf{7 2 4}$ ymages] ymages C, ymaginacions D $\mathbf{7 2 5}$ halsinge] halsinge C, halsyng or clyppyng D
away, and set at nouht al pinge in pis worlde; and thurh pi yeuynge pat it may take gostly yiftes, and thurh endles ioy and gostly songe it may beholde pe pat art lyht vnspe ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{k}^{\prime}$ able, and alle holy be molten in pi loue. O Lorde, brenne with pi holy fyre of loue my $n[e] y r s$ and my herte, be whilk fire shal brene in pin autere with-outen ende. Come, I beseke be, softe and verray ioy; come pou swetnesse most desired; come my welle beloued pat art alle my comforte, haue pitee on my languysshyng soule. Slyde into myn herte with pi sweteful brennynge and brenne pe entrelles of myn herte. And with pin inwarde lyht lyhtnande me, fede my body and my soule with so huge ioy of loue pat it may nouht be tolde.

In | swilk maner of meditacions haue delyte, so pat pou may sumtyme f. $114^{\mathrm{r}}$ come to be inwarde felyng 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 pat she is more verely where she loues pan per be body is pat leues and feles by hyre. Ther are pre degrees of loue: on is insuperable, the secunde is inseperable, and pe thridde is called singuler. Thi loue is insuperable when no-pinge pat is contrarie to Goddis wille may ouercome it, bot it is ayens alle temptacions euermore myhty and stronge, wheder pou be in ese or in anguyssh, in hele or in seknesse, so pat pe thinke pou wolde nouht for alle pe worlde to haue it with-outen ende any tyme greue God. And be were lefere, if eiper

735 alle] om. D 736 my neyrs] my nyers T, myn eres C, my reynes D 739 Slyde] write C, come D 741 lyhtnande me] lightnynge me C, lyghtene vs D $\mathbf{7 4 5}$ of] if $T$, of $C D$ 747 on] oon C, the furst D 751 pou] bou C, that D 752 greue] greeue C , to greue or wrathe D
shulde be, to suffre alle pe peyne and woo pat myht come to any creature, or pou wolde do ony pinge pat shulde displese him. On pis maner shal pi loue be insuperable, pat no-pinge may brynge it doune to synne, bot pou arte spryngande vp purh vertues. |

Blest art pou if pou be in pis degre, bot yete shalt pou be more blest if pou holde pis degre and myht come to pe secunde pat is inseperable. Inseperable is pi loue when alle pi herte, and pi pouht, and pi myht is so holly, so entierly, and so parfitly festned, set, and stabled in Ihesu Criste pat pi pouht comes neuer of 'of hym ne neuer is departed fro him, outakyn slepynge tyme. And als sone as pou arte wakande pi hert is pinkand on hym, as if he were bounden in pi herte; him pou syhhes after; to hym pou cries, praiande euer to be holden in his loue, desirande brennandly with grete affeccion pat he wolde vouchesaufe to lese pe fetters and bondis of pis dedly lyf and brynge pe to hym-self, whome oonly bou desires and coueites. And specialy pis name, Ihesu, shalt pou honour and worchipe, holdyng it besily in pi mynde with-outen cessyng. And berfore when be loue of Ihesu Criste is so gretely festned in pin herte, pat pou for no-pinge in pe worlde may be twynned nor departed fro pat affeccion, it is callede $\mid$ most heye loue. When pi $\mathrm{f} .115^{\text {r }}$ soule is on hym euer pinkynge, no tyme hym foryettynge, bot vndepartablely cleuues to Ihesu Criste, thi lufe is called inseperable and euerlastande.

What loue may be more than pis? Yit is pere the thridde degre pat is called synguler. In pis degre of loue is he pat excludes fro hym and forsakes

753-4 or poul er pou C, than that thow D 755 doune to] $<$ to $>$ don to doo C, doun to D 760 and (2)] om. D 760 and (2)] om. D 761 of of] of C, oute of D 763 syhhes] sighest C, sechest D $\quad 771 \mathrm{hym}] \mathrm{om}$. D 773 pere] om. D
alle maner comforte bot oon pat is in Ihesu Criste; when no pinge may suffice to him bot Ihesu. A soule pat is set in pis degre loues Crist for him-self. Ihesu she thristes, Ihesu she coueytes, hym oonly she desires, in him she brenes, and in hym she brennandly restes. Nopinge is swete to hire, no pinge sauory 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 pinkes she has al pinge with hym, withouten whome alle thinges are lothly, al thinges are wlatsome and foule. But for als mykel as she trowes to haue him with-outen ende in the blys of heuen she stondes stably, she fayles nought in body, ne is not cast doune in | soule, but she lufes lastendly and suffres al thinge gladly. And ay the more she lyues in this degre, ay the more is she kyndeled in lufe 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 outwarde thinges, and letted with heuynes, charges and besynesses of this lif, the more ioy of lufe has he with-inne in his soule. In so mykel that he is made impassible in his soule, or what anguyssh or what disese falle outwarde, his soule is euermore ioyande in God.

O thow my soule, fayle thow fro the lufe of the worlde and melte holly in the lufe of Ihesu Crist, that euermore it be swete, 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 vncesably to love him. A swete Ihesu, my soule deuoute vnto the desires for-to se the, she cryes for-to fare 778 swete] so sweete C, swete D 788 heuynes] heuynes' ses' T, hevinesse C, heuynesse D besynesses] bisynesses C, heuynesses D 792 fayle] faile C , fayle and fall D 794 thinke or rede] thinke or rede C, for to thynke or to rede D 796 forto fare] forto come C, for to fare D
vnto the, she brennes in the, and languysshe th' in thi lufe. O thow endeles lufe thow has ouercomen me, and thow hast wounded my herte, aylastande swetnesse and | incomparable fayrnesse. And now ouercomen and wounded I f. $116^{r}$ 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 oonly languysshynge in thi lufe.

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 cowples 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 yifte of lufe, how worthi is it before al othere yiftes, 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 erthly thinges vntil heuen.

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 erthly
thinge. Thow boldly entres into the priuee bedstede of the endeles kynge | of f. $116^{v}$ 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 swete and sauory; thow art the sete of heuen, the felowshipe of aungels, a wonderful 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, esye, pesable, plesaunt, and restfull in conscience.

In this degree is lufe chaste, holy and wilfull, 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, feruent and gretly brennande, he byndes him in him, hastie in wonderful manere, al thinges ouer-passand, spred a a nde himself oonly til his lufede, al othere thinges despisande and foryetande; in his loue vnspekeably ioyande, him thinkande, stiande vp in desire and fallande in his lufed, go a 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 coueytes degre in lufynge, for in this present lif ay the more feruent and ioyand he $\mid$ is in loue, so mekel coueytes he more brinnyngely to more loue. And $\mathrm{f} .117^{r}$
$\mathbf{8 2 2}$ loued] om. D $\mathbf{8 2 6}$ duellande] om. C $\mathbf{8 2 9}$ thrale] thrall C, thrall or bonde D
831 thow] and C, thow D restfull] restful C, ryhtfull D 833 and $\ldots$ himself (2)] om. D 833-36 nothinge ... lufede] om. D $\mathbf{8 3 8}$ halsinges] halsinges C, halsyng or clyppyng D
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 gretnesse, of vnspekable swetnesse, and til al creatoures incomprehensible, and therfore he may neuer be comprehended of vs als he is in endelesse beynge. 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 erthely thinge and is lifted vp to fele the swetnesse of endeles lyf. And whan she feles thus-gates the swetnesse of the Godhede she is al brent in-to sacrifice offerd vnto the kynge of heuen.

O lufe stronge brennande and wilfull that may noust be quenched, that castes doun al the heyght of myn entent into thi seruage, and suffers it to thinke on noone othere thinge 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 and in whome we lufen al thinge 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 flesshly luste, shulde like thoughe it were leffull.

O thow lufe inseperable, O thow lufe singulere, though there were no mede to chosen soules, ne no tourmentes | ordeyned for synners, thow $\mathrm{f} .117^{\mathrm{v}}$ wold'e'st neuer the sonnere departe the fro thi lufed. It were more suffrable
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 thyn 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?

O thow derworth charyte, come into me and take me into the, and so present me 'be'fore my Makere. Thow art sauorre makand sauoury, odoure welle smellande, swetnesse plesaunte, feruour purifiand, and comforte 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 ouercome the worlde, by whom we clembe the leddere of heuen. Come to me in thi swetnesse, for the with me and with myne I comende now and euermore with-outen ende. Amen.

## 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 spekes 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 whilke are messangeres now a- $\mathrm{f} .118^{\mathrm{r}}$ twix God and vs. Prayere is a meke affeccion of the soule directe in-to God,
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 sekynge, and inquisicion of sothfastnes, the whilk is fre lyght prynted vpon vs. To prayere partenes lovynge, ympne, beholdynge, ouerpassynge, and wonderynge; and thus is contemplacion in prayere. To meditacion partenes inspiracion of God, vndirstondynge, wisdome, and syghhynge or mornynge.

If thow 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 cessynge fro al worldly occupacions, ore study of holy wryte. Othere seyn, and wele that, that contemplacion is a wonderfule ioyinge of heuenly thinges. The thridde seynge, and best, that contemplacion is, thourgh a wonderful ioy of an vpraysed soule, deth of alle flesshly affeccions. Sothely me thinkes that contemplacion is a wonderful ioy of Goddes lufe conceyued in the soule with swetnesse of aungels lovuynge. This wonderful ioiynge is ende of parfite prayere and of hyest deuocion. This is a ioynge of the soule, had for hire endelesse luffed, brestande oute be voyce into songe. And sothely this werke is a fulfyllynge and moost parfite of al othere werkes in this lif. And therfore says the prophete, 'Blessed is that folk that know wonderfull ioynge', that is 'the' contemplacion of God.

Sothely no man that is straunge 'and' ferre fro God thorugh synne may thus-gates enioye | in Ihesu, ne fele the swetnesse of his lufe. And therfore he f. $118^{v}$

895 sayl 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] pus C, nat on thys manere D
that desires besily to be kyndeled 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, ioyand in blisful lyf. And if he do thus than shal he mow come in this lyf to this wonderful ioynge of contemplacion. And therfore yrke he not for-to yeue him to prayers and wakynges, and to vse him-self in holy meditacions, for sothely with swilke manere gostly trauayles, with mournynges and wepynges of inwardely compunccion, 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 wilful pouert that he coueyte no-thinge 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 parfite man to take, for ellys were he not parfite if he forsoke that thinge the whilke him behoued to lyfe by. And therfore this manere $\mid$ is to be keped in $\mathrm{f} .119^{\text {r }}$ parfite men, that thai dispise for Goddis sake al erthely goodes, and yette of

909 forto] for to C, ought to D 914 mow ... in] mown come pus in C, come into D
921 that] pat C, and that D 923 comes of] cometh of C, hit ys D 926 that ... he (2)] he pat hath it C, that that he hath he D
the saame shal thai take thaire mete, thaire clothes, and othere necessaries. And if thai any tyme fayle ore wante, he shal not grucche but thonge God of alle, and alle outrage shal he forsake in that that in him is. Ay the more a man is brent with the fire of endelesse light, so mykel more stronge and pa- ciente shal he be in all aduersites. He also is made meke with-outen feynynge that holdes him` self' despisable and nought, and is not stered til ire ore wrethe fore no harme ne no reproue that man may say ore do to him.

Wherfore he yeues him to continuel meditacion, and therfore him is yeuen of God to come til heuenly contemplacion, and wonderfully swetly and brennandly for-to enioye in inwarde ioiynge, and with the eye of his soule purifyed als mykel as his dedly frelte may suffre he sees and knowes God. Sothely whan he is sette in this degre 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 rauysshed in the swetnesse of Goddes loue, and rauysshed he is wonderfully gladded. Sothely swilke is lyf contemplatif if it be taken in due manere. Thorugh 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 vnderstondynge be besy forto behold gostly light, neuertheles the light as it is in it-selfe he may $\mid$ not yitte see. And yitte he fe- f. $119^{v}$ les wele that he has been there as longe as he holdes the sauoure and the
feruour of the light with him. And therfore says the prophet: 'Als his 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 vnspekable ioy as it is in it-self.

Holy and contemplatif men beholden the ioy of God thorugh reuelacion. And that is eithere thorugh openynge 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 heuenly cytesynnes. Sume men han taken booth; and therfore right as whils we are in derknesse of synne we may 'not' se gostly light, the whilke a clene soule sees in contemplacion, right so in contemplacion, the whilke lightnesse oure soule vnseablye, 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 swete that is feld. And soothely in that is shewede parfite lufe, when a man lyuande in dedly flessh can-not ioyen but in God, ne nothinge wille ore coueyte but God ore fore God.

Herfore it is wele shewed that holynesse stondes not in sobbynge or rumyinge of herte, in teres ore many outwarde wirchynge, but it stondes specially in swetnesse of parfite lufe and hye contemplacion. For mony haue

[^110]ben molten in teres and afterwarde haue fallen ayen 'vn'to synne, but there was neuer noone that euere woolde fyle him eftsones with worldly be|synesse after that he had ones sothfastly tasted the swetnesse of endeles $\mathrm{f} .120^{\mathrm{r}}$ lufe. For-to wepe and sorowe falles to hem that are newly turned bygynners and profiters, but forto wonderfully ioy in contemplacion falles oonly to hem that are parfite. 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 bat 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 swetnesse of contemplacion but if he first trauayle himself with wepynges and sighynges of verry compunccion. The swetnesse of contemplacion may not be goten but with huge trauayles. Bot whan it is had it is souereyne gladnesse and endeles comforte.

Yee, shortly to say, it comes not thoroughe meryte nor deserte of man, but oonly of the fre gifte of God. And sothely there was neuere man fro the beginnynge of the worlde vnto this day that euere myght be rauesshed into contemplacion of endeles lufe but if he before forsooke parfitly al worldly vanyte. And forthermore, him | behoueth to gif him-self lastandly to holy f. $120^{\text {v }}$ meditacion and deuoute prayere or he myght come to heuenly contemplacion. Contemplacion is trauayle but it is swete, softe, and desirable. 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 wery. O goode trauayle, to the whilke men in dedely bodyes ordeyne hem. O noble besynesse, whilke

975 vnto] into CD 976 fyle] fowle C, fyle or defoule D 978 turned] turned and CD 982 wite ... penance] CD, om. T 996 goode] goode C, that good D
setters and resters most parfitely fulfillen, 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 cesynge 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 feruently vse him-self in his affeccions and in his gostly wirkynge, that he is not letted with no man withoutenforthe. \| Therfor se ye it is f. $121^{r}$ certeyne contemplatif lyf to be more worthi and mor meritorye than actif lyf. f. $121^{v}$ And al contemplatif men thorough the sterynge of the lufe of God, lufynge solitude for the swetnesse of contemplacion, arne chefly brennynge in lufe. It sh[e]wes that solitarye men, thorough the gift of contemplacion made hye, atteynes to the hyeste and moost souereyne degre of perfeccion. But if it be so that sum arne in that degre and $s[t] a t t e$, that on the oo syde thai haue caught thorugh grace the hyght of contemplatif lyf, and yet thai fulfille on the tothir syde the office of prechynge, thes passen solytary men thof thai be most hy in contemplacion and of gretest perfeccion, in that that thai shal

1002 Ceese] Cese C, Taste D sees] seeth CD 1003 cesynge] cesinge C, tastyng D 1007 withoutenforthe] with oute conforte $C$, withoutenforth $D$ se ye] sithe CD 1009 sterynge] stiringe C, steryng D 1011 shewes] shwes T, sheweth CD 1012 atteynes] atteyneth C, atteyneth or commeth D 1013 statte] satte T, statte CD 1013 the oo] the too T, pe C, that oo D 1015 men om. D
haue, al othere thinges lyche, a speciale mede in heuen that is called aureole for thaire prechynge.

A verrey contemplatif man is ofte rauysshed in so grete desire in-to that gostly vnseable lyght, that 'he' is demede of men as a foole and vnsensible. And that is fore the soule is so fully enflaumed in the luf of Ihesu Crist that it vtterly chaunges the bodily $\mathrm{g}[\mathrm{e}]$ 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 brothere, that I may flynd] 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 deuoute soule that is yeuen to contemplatif lyf and filled with loue 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 languysshes in lufe and hugely desires that she myght be sette with thos chores of aungels

1017 al ... lyche] <al ... lyche> T, al ... liche C, ouer ... suche D called]
called C, clepyd D 1022 gesture] gusture T, gustur C, gesture D and departed] om. D 1026 bodily] bodily C, bodyly nedes D delices] delices C, delytes D
in blysful ioy where no worldly dises shall mow dere hir. Therfore 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

What is grace of contemplacion but a bygynnynge of endeles ioy? Nought elles. And what is perfeccion of this ioy but fulfillynge of this grace? In the whilk is keped til vs glorious gladsumnesse, a blest 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 vnspekable and wonderful ioiyng and melodye to lovue him with-outen ende. To whom be honoure, wirship, and endles blisse in world of worldes with-outen cesynge. 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](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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ 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. $24^{\mathrm{v}}$ opens with a full list of the twelve chapters:

Incipit libellus Ricardi Heremite de Hampole, de emendacione peccatoris, qui obiit anno domini millesimo $\mathrm{CCC}^{0}$ xlix ${ }^{0}$ apud Sanctimoniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xii capitula videlicet: de conuersione peccatoris, capitulum primum; de contemptu mundi, capitulum $\mathrm{ij}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de paupertate, capitulum $\mathrm{iij}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de institucione vite, capitulum iiij $^{\mathrm{m}}$; de tribulacione, capitulum $\mathrm{v}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de paciencia, capitulum $\mathrm{vj}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de oracione, capitulum vij${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$; de meditacione, capitulum viij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$; de leccione, capitulum $\mathrm{ix}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de puritate mentis, capitulum $\mathrm{x}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de amore Dei, capitulum $\mathrm{xj}^{\mathrm{m}}$; de contemplacione, capitulum $\mathrm{xij}^{\mathrm{m}}$.

The D scribe similarly opens with the twelve chapter headings, in both English and Latin, whereas C reads simply, 'Heere biginneth pe xii chapitres of Richard heremite of hampool'.

2 Tary ... day(2): Sir 5:8. Conversion is a common theme throughout Rolle's writings (see Allen, English Writings, p. 155; Deanesly, Incendium, p. 148; OgilvieThomson, Prose and Verse, p. 9, line 267).

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, $a d v$. , 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 'pey'. Most commonly used by the T scribes are 'pei' (x63), 'pai' (x35), and 'pay/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 pei 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 'bridde 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 praesumtio videtur oriri directe ex superbia' (Aquinas, Summa, IIII, 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 berfore qwhils it is day: be nyght truly cumys in qwhilk no man may wyrk' (Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 105, lines 23-25).

13 as a pefe: T, C, and D agree. Not found in B. Cf. 2 Pet 3:10, Mt 24:43 and Lk 12:39. An addition by the translator. Cf. Chaucer, The Pardoner's Tale, ‘Ther cam a privee theef men clepeth Deeth' (Benson, Riverside Chaucer, p. 199, line 675).

16-18 We ... ende: T, C, and D agree. B reads differently, 'In puncto viuimus, immo minus puncto, quia si totum tempus nostrum eternitati comparetur 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. lxxxi; also notes to line 16 and 748-56 below).

16 on a poynt: $T, C$, and $D$ generally agree. The Latin 'puncto' has a temporal meaning here (OLD punctum, n., 'moment, instant'). The translator, however, adds the gloss, 'bat is pe leste pinge pat may be' which gives the English meaning a spatial sense (MED pointe, $n$. (1), 'geometric point'). Cf. the debate in the 1970s concerning

Julian of Norwich's use of the word 'point'. Sister Anna Maria Reynolds argued for a spatial sense of the word, citing the geometrical analogy in chapter five of the PseudoDionysian Divine Names as a possible source, while Edmund Colledge and James Walsh argued for a temporal sense. See the summary of this debate in Denise N. Baker, 'The Structure of the Soul and the "Godly Wylle" in Julian of Norwich's Showings', in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII, ed. by E. A. Jones (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 37-49 (p.38); also comment in Watson and Jenkins, Writings, p. 162; and for the possible source see PseudoDionysius: the Complete Works, trans. by Colm Luibheid, The Classics of Western Spirituality (London: SPCK, 1987), p. 99-100.

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 ... pe: 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 bat has payn, bot of pat pat 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 pe childe dredes for to offende pe fader'.

51-53 til ... pen: 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.

58-59 Myne ... lorde: Psa 24:15. B reads, 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum, quoniam ipse euellet de laqueo pedes meos'. T, C and D agree, but only record a translation of the first half of the verse. Cf. Misyn, who translates the whole verse, 'Myn eyen euermore ar to owr lorde, for he fro pe snare my feyt sall delyuer' (Harvey, p.106, lines 37-38).

65-66 This ... breke: Cf. Eccl 4:12.
69-70 Yee ... self: Cf. Lk 14:26.
$73 \mathrm{He}(1)$... 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 conuersacion: 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.

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.

101 ryses: B reads, 'insurgit' (MED risen, v., 'attack'; OED rise, v., 'make insurrection'; OLD insurgo, tr., 'rise up [in revolt]'). Cf. the C scribe who uses the preterite 'reysed', and the D scribe who writes in the present tense 'reyseth' (MED reisen, $v .(1),=$ risen $v$. 'rise up'). Misyn uses a different verb again, 'vp-braidys' (Harvey, p. 107, line 34; MED upbreiden, v. (1), 'arise').

109 gostly armures: Cf. Eph 6:11.
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.

114 How ... secundum: B reads, 'Capitulum secundum: De contemptu mundi'. Rolle gives this second chapter the same title as the widely circulated twelfth-century penitential tract by Pope Innocent III, De contemptu mundi (see Lewis, De miseria). Cf. Nicholas Love, who inserts a similar reference to this genre in the opening of his fifteenth-century translation of the fourteenth-century Meditationes vitae Christi: 'bat stant specialy in perfite despysing of be worlde, in pacience, suffryng of aduersitees, \& in encrese \& getyng of vertues' (Michael G. Sargent, ed., Nicholas Love’s Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Critical Edition (New York: Garland, 1992), pp. xxx, 11, 258).

125 tharlles: $M E D$ records this as a spelling variant for thral, $n$. (1), 'slave’.
133-34 be ... oute: Isa 28:20.

142-43 I ... 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, $n ., ~ ' d e c e i t, ~ t r i c k e r y ' ~ ' p l o t, ~ s c h e m e ' . ~$

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 'youthehede' 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 $\sim$ ' in an attempt to correct the text.

164-65: he (2) ... God: Cf. Psa 58:10.
166: bodily ... veyne: Cf. Pro 31:30. B reads, 'fallax gracia et vana est pulcritudo'. 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 poverte chees to lyve his lyf....
Glad poverte 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').

195 euen-cristen: T, C, and D all record this particular translation of the Latin 'proximorum' (MED even-cristen, n., 'neighbour (in the Biblical sense)'; OLD proximus, n., 'nearest one'). Cf. Vices and Virtues, ed. by F. Holthausen, EETS, 89, 2 vols (London: N. Trübner, 1888), I, p. 79, lines 3-4: ‘Qui iurat proximo suo ... his nexte, pat is, his emcristenn'. Misyn translates the Latin more literally, 'neghburs'
(Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 109, line 36). See also Laquita Higgs, 'Richard Rolle and His Concern for "Even-Christians", Mystics Quarterly, 14 (1988), 177-85. 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 Blessede ... spirit: Mt 5:3a.
216-17 pat (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 pe excellence of hem whiche ben poore in spirit . . .. For sich oon . . . holdip himsilf meke \& low in his owne sist' (The Orcherd 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.

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237-38 it ... heuen: Cf. Mt 19:23.
241-42 Ye ... Israel: Cf. Mt 19: 27-8.
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'.

245-46 he ... confusion: Cf. Psa 108: 28.
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 twelfthcentury rule for anchoresses, De institutione inclusarum (Hoste and Talbot, Aelredi Rievallensis, in CCCM, I, 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 pynges' that follow: 'pat pou be right disposed, both for bi soule and pi body, bou shalt vndrestond foure pynges. The first is what thynge fileth a man. That other, what maketh hym clene. The prid, what holdeth hym in clennesse. The fourth, what pynge 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 pynges' Rolle draws loosely from the

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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 $14^{\text {th }}$ 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 bynges'. 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 pese: il thoghtis, il delites, ... vndeuocioun (if pou let pi hert any time be ydel without occupacioun of be loue and pe praysynge of God), il dreed ... vnstablenesse of thoght ... dispite of good consaille and of good techynge' (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 11, lines 32948; 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 'vndeuocioun' (MED undevocioun, $n$., 'absence of devotion'), and then glossed with his own translation of the parallel passage in Emendatio: 'if pou let pi hert any time be ydel without occupacioun of be loue and pe 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').

269-71 With ... wordes (3): T records a close translation of $B$, ‘Ore peccat quando mentitur, quando periurat, quando maledicit, quando detrahit, quando errorem licet ignorans defendit, quando stultiloquia, vel turpiloquia, vel vana profert'. C and D omit 'foule wordes', and D also 'wayne wordes', but otherwise they agree with T. Cf. Hugh of Strasbourg's Compendium (ca. 31), 'Peccata oris sunt hec . . . periurium . . .
detraccio . . . mendacium . . . maledictio . . . vaniloquium . . . stultiloquium . . . turpiloquium' (Hugh of Strasbourg, 'Compendium', p. 146); and The Form, 'Synnes of pe mouth ben these: . . . forswerynge . . . bacbitynge . . . lesynge . . . wreyynge . . . vayne speche . . . fool speche . . .', which does not translate 'turpiloquium' (OgilvieThomson, 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 pof 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' OgilvieThomson, 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'.

271-72 In ... maneres: T and D agree. C omits 'ayeyns God'. B reads, 'Opere peccat multis modis'.

275-300 De ... 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 Ре ... neyhbore: T, C, and D agree. B reads, 'Secundo, que mundificant 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, ieiunium quia peccauit contra seipsum, oracionem quia peccauit contra Deum, elemosinam quia peccauit contra proximum'. Cf. the thirteenth-century penitential manual by Raymund of Pennaforte, 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 pe schrift comep be amendes, bat is fulfillyng . . . 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 pat doth pe wronge and pray for ham, and enfourme ham how pay shal do pat ben in poynt to perisshe' (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 13, lines 408-10).

285 wakere ... God: T, C, and D agree. B reads, ‘vigil meditacio Dei'. Cf. the seventh degree of 'euenhed' ('fairness' or 'righteousness') in an English translation of Somme le roi: 'he pat . . . hap alwey God to-fore hym' (Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 158, lines 7-8).

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 bihouep to lede and gouerne wel be fyue wittes of pe body bi resoun and bi euenhed . . . as pe eizen to loke, be eeren to heren, pe noseperles to smelle, pe moup to taste and to speke, be honden and al pe 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 prid 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. 1xxxiii.

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 louynge of men, bot he gifes thaim for louynge of God’ (Bramley, Psalter, pp. 6-7).

307-8 Godenesse ... comaundementis: Psa 118: 66. T, C, and D largely agree. B reads, 'Bonitatem et disciplinam et scienciam doce me', but omits the second half of the verse, 'me quia mandatis tuis credidi'.

359 yife*: T and D read similarly, 'yefe/yef'. C reads, 'If'. Emended here as MED records 'yef(fe' as an incorrect form of the conjunction 'if'.

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 conuerti viderit, Christique vestigia imitari, presencia despicere, et sola inuisibilia 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 pe feynd seis o mane of thowsandis, to god parfitely turnyd, cristis steppis felow, pis present warld despise, pingis 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 [be deuyl] seth a man or a womman amonge a pousand turne ham holy to God, and forsake al pe vanite and pe
richesse pat men pat loueth pe world coueiteth, and seche pe ioy lestynge, a thousand wiles he hath in what manere he may deceyue ham' (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 3, lines 21-25).

442-43 Bot ... mete: Cf. Lk 15:15-16.
448-50 Bot ... pe: 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 be Holy Gost makep his kny3t hardy to abide pe turmentes and pe sorwes pat beb to come, rist also he makep hym strong and suffryng to suffre hem whan bei comen; and pat is pe ferpe degree, pat bei clepen pacience' (Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 167, lines 9-13).

452-53 derlynges ... charyte: T, C, and D agree. B reads simply, 'filii regis'.
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).

458-59 gostly armoures: Cf. Eph 6:11.
460 vengi[s]id: 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 vengen, $v$. , 'take vengeance'.

469-71 And (1) ... heuen: Cf. Rom 8:18. T, C, and D agree; omitted in B. Added by Version A translator.

499-500 spares ... thaim: Cf. Jer 9:21. Commonplace teaching based on the Biblical allegory of death entering at the windows of the palace. See discussion above, Introduction, p. liii.

504 shelde of pacience: Cf. Eph 6:16a. Note Rolle's adaptation here of the Biblical metaphor of the shield of faith.

521 fyre ... enemy: Cf. Eph 6:16b.
525-27 Blessed ... lyf: Jas 1:12. Note the translator inserts the words, 'as golde in pe fire of tribulation', possibly alluding to 1 Pet 1:7.

528 ben: 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 'pat'.

543 It ... hym: Pro 12:21.
544 disposed*: T and C agree in error, reading 'dispised/despised’ (MED despisen, v., 'feel contempt for, despise'). D reads, 'dysposed' (MED disposen, v., 'disposed, having a certain disposition'). Cf. B, ‘dispositus' (OLD dispono, tr., ‘dispose'). 548 Of ... septimum: The first of three chapters based on the triad of spiritual exercises associated with Benedict: 'lectio', 'oratio', and 'meditatio' (see Leclercq, Love of Learning, pp. 15-17, 72-74). Cf. Walter Hilton's Scale of Perfection, bk 1, ch. 15 , 'Thre meenys there ben whiche men most comonli use that gyven hem to contemplacioun: redynge of Holi Writ and of hooli techynge, goosteli meditacion, and besi praeris with devocioun' (Walter Hilton, The Scale of Perfection, ed. by Thomas H. Bestul (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2000), p. 45, lines 332-4). See above, Introduction, p. lv.

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, 11. 219-23).

599 Of ... octauo: Addressing the second element of the Benedictine triad, 'meditatio'. See also discussion above, Introduction, p. lvii.

600-5 It ... lorde: This form of affective visualisation and meditation became a widely recognised spiritual discipline from the twelfth century onwards. See, for example: Millet, Ancrene Wisse, p. 91, lines 875-86; the gospel meditations in Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones super cantica canticorum (Leclercq, Opera, I, pp. 114-21) and Aelred of Rievaulx, De institutione inclusarum (Hoste and Talbot, Aelredi Rievallensis, in CCCM, I, pp. 662-73; Ayto and Barratt, De Institutione, pp. 17-25); Sargent, Mirror, pp. ix-xx, concerning Nicholas Love's fifteenth-century translation of Johannes de Caulibus' fourteenth-century Meditationes vitae Christi. See also Rolle's own Meditations (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, pp. 64-83). 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 pe 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, 11. 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 ... pe: 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 'pe prophete'. Misyn translates more
closely, 'Sayntis feet ar to be waschyd for pai draw duste of pe 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, 'pan for heynesse of pi hert, pi praiers turneth in to ioyful songe and pi poghtes to melodi. Pan Ihesu is al pi desire, al pi delit, al pi ioy, al pi solace, al pi comfort, so pat on hym wil euer be pi songe' (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 31, lines 231-4). See also discussion above, Introduction, p. 1x.

711 in-yetted: B ends here. T, C, and D add, 'and ioy vnseable is feled' (T). Cf. 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 contemplatiua vita contineantur. Aliquid tamen de illis specialius ad vtilitatem vestram dicendum est' (Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, lines 3341). See also Misyn's Mending of Life which translates this, 'In pis astate a man may knaw, pat he is in charite, pat hee sall neuer lose; withoute greet drede he lyfis not, not for suffiryng turmentry, bot pat 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 pof all in pis pingis beforesayd is godis lufe \& life contemplatife continude, sit sumqwhatt of pame more specially to sour 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 71342; 792-831; and 853-879) interspaced with two didactic segments on 'pre 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 brightnesse, $n$., 'light'). This is a common theme in Rolle's writing; see, for example, the English translation of Rolle's Oleum effusum, 'bo name of Ihesu ... has lyghtynd my mynde with po 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 ... pe: Cf. B, 'Tuo sapore succende quatenus sedeam et quiescam in te Ihesu'. Misyn's translation is more literal, 'kyndyll with pi savyr, pat I may sytt and rest, in pe, 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 I', 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 nunc 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, 11. 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 pan ... 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 'pre 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 diligendo 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

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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 ben 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 ben 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, wheper pou be in ese or in anguys, in heel or in sekenesse, so bat pe pynke pat pou wil nat for al be world, to haue hit withouten end, wreth God oo tyme; and be ware leuer, if au[b]er shold be, to suffre al pe peyne and woo pat myght cum to any creature, ar pou wold do pe pynge pat myght myspay hym. On pis maner shal pi loue be insuperabile, pat no pynge may brynge hit doun, bot
spryngynge on heght' (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 16, lines 527-535). Cf. also Richard of St Victor, De quattuor gradibus, which Watson here (and elsewhere below) compares with the Emendatio text (Dumeige, Les quatre dégres, p. 131, lines 10-27; Watson, Emendatio, p. 58, n. 39-46).

757-58 Blest ... inseperable: T, C, and D agree. B omits. Cf. Rolle's The Form, 'Blesset is he or sho pat is in pis degre, bot yet ware pai blesseder pat myght hold pis degre and wyn in to pe toper, bat 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 pi loue when al pi hert and pi poght and pi myght is so hooly, so entierly and so perfitly fasted, set and stablet in Ihesu Criste pat pi poght cometh neuer of hym, neuer departeth fro hym, outtaken slepynge; and als son as pou wakest, bi hert is on hym' (Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 16, lines 538-41). Cf. also Dumeige, Les quatre dégres, 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 pou haue been tempted in pi slepe, or thynkynge his loue and his praisynge as pou did wakynge' (OgilvieThomson, 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 dégres, p. 135, lines 6-18. 774-87 In ... felawe: Cf. Dumeige, Les quatre dégres, p. 135, line 19, to p. 137, line 9.

781 with hym: The second T scribe takes over from this point until the end.
786-91 Sothly ... God: Cf. Dolan, Super psalmum, p. 10, lines 17-26.
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 vnto 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'.

797-805 O ... lufe: B reads, ‘Deuicisti me, O amor indeficiens, vulnerasti cor meum, perhennis dulcedo et pulcritudo. Et iam victus et vulneratus succumbo, pene morior et vix viuo pre gaudio; quia non sufficio in carne corruptibili tante magestati perferre suauitatem. Totum enim cor in desiderio Ihesu defixum, in amoris ardorem conuertitur, et in aliam gloriam atque formam absorbetur. Hinc, O bone Ihesu, miserere miseri, ostende te languenti, medere sauciato. Infirmum non sencio nisi languens amore tuo' (emphasis mine). Cf. Rolle's Super canticum, 'Devicit me eternus amor, non ut me occidat, set ut vivificet. Attamen, vulneravit me ut mederetur; transfixit cor meum ut medullitus sanetur. Et iam victus, succumbo; vix vivo pre gaudio. Pene morior, quia non sufficio in carne corruptibili tante maiestatis perferre tam affluentem suavitatem . . . Cor totum in desiderio Ihesu defixum in igne amoris convertitur, et dulcore deitatis funditus absorbetur. Hinc, O bone Ihesu, miserere miseri; ostende te languenti; medere vulnerato. Si veneris, sanus sum. Infirmum me non sencio, nisi languens amore tuo' (Murray, Super canticum, p. 42, lines 9-25).

806-8 Sothely ... desire: Cf. Murray, Super canticum, p. 75, lines 15-21.
809-27 Sothely ... ende: Cf. Murray, Super canticum, p. 35, line 14, to p. 36, line 8. 818 leses: B reads, 'iacet' (OLD iaceo, intr., 'lie, be situated'). C probably records the original translation, 'lyth' (MED lien, v. (1), 'be situated'). Cf. T and D which agree in error, 'leses/leseth’ (MED lesen, v. (4), 'lose, be dispossessed of').

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.

832-46 In ... beynge: Cf. Murray, Super canticum, p. 49, lines 2-10, and p. 50, line 19 , to p. 51, line 4 .

836-39 in ... loue: The translator has preserved something of the style of Rolle's Latin here, which I arrange below for emphasis: in his loue vnspekeably ioyande, him thinkande, stiande vp in desire and fallande in his lufed, gola/nd in halsinges, lapped in kissynges, and al molten in the fire of loue.

And which can be seen in B: in amato iubilans, ipsum cogitans, ipsum incessanter reminiscens, ascendens in desiderio, ruens
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 pat neuer is wery to loue, bot euer, standynge, sittynge, goynge, or any oper dede doynge, is euer his loue bynkynge, and oft sithe perof 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

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sapimus, omne quod sumus! Sit ergo Christus nostri amoris principium; sit et finis, propter quem diligendum est quicquid ordinate diligimus, et ad quem totum quod diligimus seu diligimur referimus. Hic itaque perfectus amor ostenditur quando tota mentis intencio, tocius corporis occulta operacio in diuinum amorem eleuatur, quatenus sit tanta vis diuini amoris, tantaque iocunditas, quod nullum mundi gaudium nullumque carnale commercium libeat, et si liceret. O amor inseperabilis, O amor singularis!' (emphasis mine). Cf. chapter 7 of Rolle's Contra amatores, 'O amor vehemens, flagrans, fortis, rapiens! qui totum quod summus in tua servitute redigis, et aliud preter te cogitari non sinis, tibi vendicans omne quod vivimus, omne quod sapimus, et omne quod sumus . . .. Ipse sit igitur nostri amoris principium quem propter ipsum solum diligimus, et sit finis [propter quem quicquid diligendum est ordinate diligemus] ad quem totum quod diligimus vel diligimur referemus. Hinc nimirum perfectus amor ostenditur: si tota mentis intencio, tociusque cordis occulta operacio in divinum amorem [erigatur], ut tanta sit vis puri amoris, tanta iocunditas sancte dileccionis quod nullum mundi gaudium, nullum carnale solacium libeat eciam si liceret. O amor inseparabilis et insaciabilis, insuperabilis, violentus et impetuosus!' (Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 108, lines 254-57 and 265-75).

866-70 Therfore ... lufe: B reads, 'Ergo vere amas Deum propter Deum et nichil aliud, nec eciam te ipsum nisi propter Deum. Et inde sequitur quod in te nichil aliud nisi Deus amatur. Alioquin quomodo est Deus omnia in omnibus, si aliquid in homine remaneat humani amoris?' (emphasis mine). Cf. Bernard's De diligendo Deo, 'Quoniam tamen Scriptura loquitur, Deum omnia fecisse propter semetipsum, erit profecto ut factura sese quandoque conformet et concordet Auctori . . .. Alioquin quomodo omnia in omnibus erit Deus, si in homine de homine quidquam supererit?' (Leclercq, Opera, III, p. 143).

869 alle in alle: Cf. $\operatorname{Col} 3: 11$.
871-79 O ... Amen. Cf. Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 109, lines 296-303.
$\mathbf{8 8 0}$ 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 Ezechielem, 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. 1xvii.

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 pis gyfte schynes contemplacyone, pat es, saynt Austyne says, a gastely dede of fleschely affeccyones thurghe pe 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 perspicandas 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 currimus, per speculum in enigmate videmus' (emphasis mine). Cf. Rolle's Contra Amatores, 'Mentalis visio sursum capitur, celestia non terrena contemplantur. Est autem hec enigmatica visio et speculativa, non clara et perspicua, quia dum per fidem currimus eciam per speculum et in enigmate videmus' (Theiner, Contra Amatores, p. 88, 11. 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 diligit Deum propter se' and 'Tertius gradus amoris, cum homo diligit Deum ipsum' (Leclercq, Opera, III, p. 1401).

972-82 Herfore ... penance*: Cf. Theiner, Contra Amatores, p. 84, lines 19-30. 973 rumyinge: 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 $116^{r}$ ), 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 actiuam' (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 stiring(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 ... perfeccion: 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 doctrinam. 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' ( $O L D$ 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
 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; ' p ' is treated as 'th'; and ' 3 ' 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. | possesive |


| prep. | preposition |
| :--- | :--- |
| pron. | pronoun |
| refl. | reflexive |
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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

## Linguistic Profiles - $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ 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 $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribes, followed by the numerical frequency of each scribal form. I have silently omitted any items that are not found in the text. The $T^{1}$ scribe is responsible for copying approximately $80 \%$ of the text (fols $90^{\mathrm{r}}-115^{\mathrm{r}}$ ) and the $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe $20 \%$ (fols $115^{\mathrm{r}}-121^{\mathrm{V}}$ ).

| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}}$ Freq. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. THE NOR | the | 22 | $>50$ |
|  | pe | $>50$ | - |
| 2. THESE | thes | - | 1 |
|  | pese | 6 | - |
|  | pis | 1 | - |
|  | pise | 1 | - |
| 3. THOSE NOR | thos | - | 1 |
|  | boo | 1 | - |
|  | pose | 6 | - |
| 4. SHE | she | 9 | 18 |
| 5. HER | hir | 4 | 1 |
|  | hire | 3 | 1 |
|  | hyre | 1 | - |
| 6. IT | hit | 1 | - |
|  | it | $>50$ | 40 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freq }}$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 7. THEY | thai | - | 10 |
|  | pai | 35 | - |
|  | bay | 6 | - |
|  | pei | 63 | - |
|  | bey | 1 | - |
| 8. THEM | hem | 17 | 6 |
|  | thaim | 3 | - |
|  | paim | 22 | - |
|  | paym | 1 | - |
| 9. THEIR | thair | 1 | - |
|  | thaire | 3 | 7 |
|  | pair | 1 | - |
|  | paire | 25 | - |
|  | peire | 3 | - |
| 10. SUCH | swilk | 4 | 1 |
|  | swilke | 9 | 2 |
| 11. WHICH | whiche | 1 | - |
|  | whilk | 14 | 4 |
|  | whilke | 28 | 12 |
| 12. EACH | ilke | 2 | 1 |
| 13. MANY | many | 3 | 5 |
|  | mony | 19 | 1 |
| 14. MAN | man | $>50$ | 19 |
| 15. ANY | any | 5 | 4 |
|  | ony | 5 | - |
| 16. MUCH | mekyl | 1 | - |
|  | mykel | 20 | 7 |
|  | mykele | 1 | - |
|  | mykyl | 1 | - |
| 17. ARE | ar | 7 | - |
|  | are | $>50$ | 10 |
|  | arne | 1 | 2 |
|  | ben | 2 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18. WERE NOR | were | 16 | 8 |
| 19. IS | is | $>50$ | $>50$ |
| 20. ART SOU | art | 7 | 3 |
|  | arte | 6 | - |
| 21. WAS | was | 4 | 5 |
| 22. SHALL $s g$ | shal | 40 | 6 |
|  | shale | 2 | - |
|  | shall | - | 1 |
| 22. SHALL 2 sg | shalt | 24 | 1 |
|  | shalte | 2 | - |
| 22. SHALL $p l$ | shal | 10 | 5 |
|  | shale | 3 | - |
|  | shalle | 1 | - |
|  | shul | 1 | - |
| 23. SHOULD sg | shuld | - | 1 |
|  | shulde | 9 | 3 |
| 23. SHOULD 2sg | shulde | 1 | - |
| 23. SHOULD pl | shuld | 1 | - |
|  | shulde | 14 | - |
| 24. WILL sg | wil | 2 | - |
|  | wille | 1 | - |
| 24. WILL 2 sg | wilt | 2 | - |
|  | wilte | 1 | - |
| 24. WILL pl | wil | 5 | - |
|  | wyl | 1 | - |
| 25. WOULD sg | wolde | 3 | - |
|  | woolde | - | 1 |
| 25. WOULD 2 sg | wolde | 2 | - |
|  | woldest | - | 1 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25. WOULD $p l$ | wolde | 3 | - |
| 28. FROM | fro | 53 | 11 |
|  | from | 4 | 1 |
|  | frome | 1 | - |
| 29. AFTER | after | 7 | 3 |
|  | aftere | 2 | - |
|  | efter | 1 | - |
| 30. THEN | than | 1 | 6 |
|  | then | 4 | - |
|  | pan | 5 | - |
|  | panne | 3 | - |
|  | ben | 18 | - |
| 31. THAN | than | 2 | 4 |
|  | ban | 14 | - |
|  | panne | 2 | - |
|  | ben | 3 | - |
| 32. THOUGH | thof | 1 | 2 |
|  | thofe | - | 1 |
|  | though | - | 3 |
|  | thoughe | - | 1 |
|  | pof | 7 | - |
|  | pof-al | 4 | - |
|  | pof-alle | 1 | - |
| 33. IF | if | 51 | 11 |
|  | yf | 1 | - |
|  | yif | 3 | - |
| 34. AS NOR | als | 9 | 5 |
|  | as | $>50$ | 18 |
| 35. AS + AS NOR | als + as | 4 | 3 |
|  | as + as | 7 | 3 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{1}$ Freq. | $\underline{\underline{1}} \underline{\underline{\text { Freq }}}$. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36. AGAINST | agayn | 1 | - |
|  | agayne | 1 | - |
|  | agayns | 2 | - |
|  | ageyns | 1 | - |
|  | ayens | 5 | - |
|  | ayeyns | 14 | - |
| 37. AGAIN | agayne | 4 | - |
|  | ayen | - | 1 |
| 38. ERE conj. | ere | 1 | - |
|  | or | 3 | 1 |
| 40. YET | yet | 2 | 2 |
|  | yete | 1 | - |
|  | yette | 1 | 2 |
|  | yit | 1 | 4 |
|  | yite | 2 | - |
|  | yitte | 1 | 3 |
| 41. WHILE | while | 1 | - |
|  | whils | 9 | 1 |
| 42. STRENGTH | strengthe | 1 | - |
|  | strenthe | 2 | - |
| 45. NOT | not | <50 | 37 |
|  | nouht | 39 | - |
|  | nought | - | 5 |
|  | noust | - | 2 |
| 46. NOR | ne | 54 | 54 |
|  | nor | 6 | 6 |
| 48. WORLD | word | 1 | 1 |
|  | world | 2 | 3 |
|  | worlde | 46 | 4 |
| 48. WORLD $a d j$. | worldely | 3 | - |
|  | worldly | 14 | 5 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}}$ Freq. | $\underline{T}^{2}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 49. THINK | think- | 2 | 2 |
|  | thinke | 5 | 3 |
|  | benke | 1 | - |
|  | pink- | 9 | - |
|  | pinke | 5 | - |
| 50. WORK sb | werke | 5 | 1 |
|  | werke- | 5 | 1 |
| 50. WORK $v b$ | werk- | 1 | - |
|  | worke | 1 | - |
| 51. THERE | ther | 3 | - |
|  | ther- | 8 | 18 |
|  | there | - | 6 |
|  | per | 8 | - |
|  | per- | 40 | - |
|  | pere | 3 | - |
| 52. WHERE | were | 1 | - |
|  | wher- | 2 | 1 |
|  | where | 11 | 2 |
|  | where- | 7 | - |
| 53. MIGHT | myght | - | 5 |
|  | myht | 17 | - |
|  | myhte | 1 | - |
| 54. THROUGH | thorough | - | 4 |
|  | thoroughe | - | 1 |
|  | thorugh | - | 6 |
|  | thurh | 18 | - |
|  | poruh | 1 | - |
|  | purh | 29 | - |
|  | puruh | 1 | - |
| 55. WHEN | whan | - | 5 |
|  | when | 38 | 5 |

$\underline{\text { LP Item } \quad \text { MS Form(s) } \quad \underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }} \quad \underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freq. }} . ~}$
56. Substantive Plural

| -es | $>50$ | $>50$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -esse | 1 | - |
| -is | 24 | - |
| -s | 51 | 6 |
| -ys | 11 | - |

57. Present Participle

| -and | 3 | 1 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -ande | 24 | 17 |
| -ynge | 16 | - |

58. Verbal substantive

| -ing | 1 | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -inge | 6 | 5 |
| -yng | 10 | - |
| -ynge | $>50$ | 14 |

59. $3^{\text {rd }}$ Singular Present Indicative

| -es | $>50$ | $>50$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -eth | 1 | 1 |
| -is | 1 | - |
| -s | 15 | 3 |
| -ys | 2 | - |

60. Present Plural NOR
-en
-ene
-es
$>50$
15
1
3
61. Weak Preterite NOR
-d
-de
-ed $>50$
$>50 \quad>50$
-ede $>50 \quad 4$
-id 4
-yd
-yde
1
2
62. ABOUT adv NOR
aboute 3
$3 \quad 2$
abowte 1
63. ABOVE $a d v$ NOR
aboue
abouen

$$
1
$$

3

| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}}$ Freq. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 68. AFTERWARDS | NOR |  |  |
|  | afterwarde | 1 | 1 |
|  | efterwarde | 1 | - |
| 70. ALL NOR |  |  |  |
|  | al | $>50$ | 38 |
|  | ale | 20 | - |
|  | all | 5 | 1 |
|  | alle | 35 | 10 |
| 71. AMONG pr NOR |  |  |  |
|  | amonge | 4 | - |
|  | amonges | 1 | - |
| 72. ANSWER vb NOR |  |  |  |
|  | answere | 1 | - |
| 73. ASK |  |  |  |
|  | ask- | 1 | - |
|  | aske | - | 1 |
| 76. AWAY NOR |  |  |  |
|  | away | 19 | 3 |
| 77. BE ppl |  |  |  |
|  | been | - | 1 |
|  | ben | 3 | 1 |
| 78. BEFORE adv-p | NOR | 2 |  |
| 78. BEFORE adv-t | NOR |  |  |
|  | befor | 2 | - |
|  | before | 8 | 1 |
| 78. BEFORE pr-p | NOR |  |  |
|  | befor | 2 | - |
|  | before | 5 | 2 |
| 78. BEFORE pr-t | NOR before | 5 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}}$ Freq. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 80. BEHOVES NOR |  |  |  |
|  | behoues | 7 | 1 |
| 84. BLESSED NOR |  |  |  |
|  | blessed | 2 | 1 |
|  | blessede | 1 | - |
| 85. BOTH |  |  |  |
|  | bothe | 1 | - |
|  | bope | 1 | - |
| 87. BROTHER |  |  |  |
|  | brother | 1 | - |
|  | brothere | - | 1 |
| 88. BURN SOU |  |  |  |
|  | brene | 1 | - |
|  | brenn- | 14 | 6 |
|  | brenne | 4 | - |
| 88. BURN pt SOU |  |  |  |
|  | brent | 2 | 2 |
| 90. BUSY adj |  |  |  |
|  | besi | 1 | - |
|  | besi- | 5 | 2 |
|  | besy | 1 | - |
|  | bisi- | 1 | - |
|  | bisy- | 1 | - |
|  | bysy- | 1 | - |
| 90. BUSY $v b$ | besy | 3 | 1 |
| 91. BUT | bot | $>50$ | 1 |
|  | but | 15 | 33 |
| 92. BY NOR | be | 14 | 14 |
|  | by | 4 | 4 |
| 93. CALL | cale | 1 | - |
|  | clepp- | 1 | - |
| 93. CALL ppl | called | 4 | 1 |
|  | callede | 1 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}}$ Freq. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 94. CAME | come | 1 | - |
| 95. CAN NOR | can- | 1 | 2 |
| 96. CAST NOR | cast | 3 | 1 |
|  | caste | 4 | - |
| 96. CAST ppl | casten | 2 | - |
| 97. CHOOSE NOR |  |  |  |
|  | chese | 2 | - |
| 97. CHOOSE ppl NOR |  |  |  |
|  | chosen | - | 1 |
|  | chosyn | - | 1 |
| 98. CHURCH | kyrke | 1 | - |
| 101. DAY NOR | day | 6 | 2 |
| 102. DEATH NOR |  |  |  |
|  | ded- | 1 | 5 |
|  | dede- | 4 | 2 |
|  | deeth | 1 | - |
|  | deth | 11 | 1 |
|  | depe | 2 | - |
| 103. DIE | dy- | 1 | - |
|  | dye | 2 | 3 |
| 104. DO 3sg SOU |  |  |  |
|  | dos | 2 | - |
| 104. DO pt-sg NOR |  |  |  |
|  | did | 1 | - |
| 105. DOWN NOR |  | 2 | 1 |
|  | doun- | 1 | - |
|  | doune | 7 | 2 |
|  | downe | 2 | - |
| 106. DREAD, SPREAD SOU |  |  |  |
|  | drede | 13 | 1 |
|  | spred- | - | 1 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\mathbf{1}}$ Freq. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freg. }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 107. EARTH NOR | erth | - | 1 |
|  | erth- | 2 | 5 |
|  | erthe | 1 | - |
|  | erthe- | - | 2 |
|  | erp- | 1 | - |
|  | erpe- | 11 | - |
| 110. EITHER pron | eiber | 1 | - |
| 111. EITHER + OR | either | 1 | - |
|  | eithere | - | 1 |
|  | eiber | 4 | - |
|  | epir | 1 | - |
|  | oper | 1 | - |
| 114. EVIL SOU | yuel | 11 | - |
|  | yuel- | 1 | - |
|  | yuele | 2 | - |
| 115. EYE NOR | eye | 4 | 2 |
| 115. EYE pl | eyen | 4 | - |
| 116. FAR NOR | ferre | 3 | 1 |
| 117. FATHER NOR |  |  |  |
|  | fader | 4 | - |
| 119. FELLOW NOR |  |  |  |
|  | felow- | - | 1 |
| 121. FIGHT NOR | feyht | 1 | - |
|  | feyht- | 1 | - |
| 122. FILL SOU | fill- | - | 2 |
|  | fille | 1 | - |
| 123. FILTH SOU | filth | 3 | - |
|  | filthe | 5 | - |
| 124. FIRE | fire | 6 | 4 |
|  | fyre | 4 | 1 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\mathbf{1}}{ }^{\text {Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 125. FIRST | first | 7 | 2 |
|  | firste | 2 | - |
| 126. FIVE NOR | fyue | 2 | - |
| 126. FIVE ord NOR | fyfth | 1 | - |
| 127. FLESH | flesh | 1 | - |
|  | flessh | 15 | 4 |
|  | flessh- | 8 | 2 |
| 128. FOLLOW NOR |  |  |  |
|  | folou- | 1 | - |
|  | folow | 1 | - |
|  | folow- | 1 | 2 |
|  | folowe | 4 | - |
|  | folu- | 2 | - |
| 130. FOUR NOR | foure | 1 | - |
| 130. FOUR ord NOR |  |  |  |
|  | ferth | 1 | - |
|  | ferthe | 1 | - |
| 134. GAR NOR | gare | 1 | - |
| 136. GET SOU | get | 1 | - |
|  | gete | 1 | - |
| 136. GET ppl SOU | geten | 3 | - |
|  | getyn | 1 | - |
| 137. GIVE NOR | gif | 6 | 1 |
|  | gif- | 1 | - |
|  | gyf | 1 | - |
|  | yeue | 10 | 2 |
|  | yeue- | 7 | 3 |
| 137. GIVE pt-sg | gaf | 1 | - |
| 138. GO 3sg SOU | goos | - | 2 |
|  | gos | 2 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 139. GOOD | good | 1 | - |
|  | goode | 7 | 1 |
|  | gude | 14 | 2 |
| 139. GOOD sb | goode | 1 | - |
|  | goodes | 2 | 1 |
|  | gudes | 2 | - |
| 142. HAVE | haue | 41 | 16 |
|  | han | 2 | 1 |
| 142. HAVE 3sg | has | 18 | 12 |
| 142. HAVE $p t$ | had | 1 | 3 |
|  | hadde | 2 | - |
|  | hade | 2 | - |
| 144. HEAR SOU | here | 1 | - |
| 145. HEAVEN NOR |  |  |  |
|  | heuen | 13 | 11 |
|  | heuen- | 12 | 6 |
| 146. HEIGHT NOR | heyht | 1 | - |
|  | heyhte | 1 | - |
|  | heyght | - | 1 |
|  | hyght | - | 1 |
| 147. HELL NOR | helle | 2 | - |
| 149. HIGH | heye | 2 | - |
|  | hey- | 2 | - |
|  | hy | - | 1 |
|  | hye | 1 | 2 |
| 149. HIGH $c p v$ | heyer | 1 | - |
|  | heyere | 4 | 1 |
|  | hyere | - | 1 |
| 149. HIGH sup | heyest | 1 | - |
|  | hyest(e | - | 3 |
| 152. HIM NOR | hem | 17 | 6 |
|  | him | 10 | 29 |
|  | hym | $>50$ | - |
| 155. HOLY NOR | holy | 24 | 12 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 156. HOW NOR | how | 14 | 7 |
| 158. I SOU | I | 32 | 10 |
| 160. KNOW NOR | knowe | 5 | 2 |
| 166. LESS | lesse | 5 | 1 |
| 169. LIFE NOR | life <br> lyf <br> lyfe | $\begin{aligned} & 3 \\ & 12 \\ & 4 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 8 \\ & 3 \end{aligned}$ |
| 170. LITTLE | litel <br> litell <br> litil <br> lytel | $\begin{aligned} & 3 \\ & 1 \\ & 1 \\ & 4 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 171. LIVE $v b$ | lyu- <br> lyue | $8$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ |
| 172. LORD NOR | lorde | 17 | 2 |
| 173. LOVE sb NOR | loue <br> lowe <br> luf <br> lufe | $\begin{aligned} & 34 \\ & 1 \\ & 4 \\ & 40 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 8 \\ & - \\ & 1 \\ & 30 \end{aligned}$ |
| 173. LOVE $v b$ NOR | lofe <br> loue <br> lufe <br> luf | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 4 \\ & 14 \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ |
| 176. MAY NOR | may | 76 | 26 |
| 176. MAY pl NOR | mow | 3 | - |
| 180. MOTHER NOR | moder | 1 | - |
| 181. MY + c NOR | my | 27 | 4 |
| 181. MY + h NOR | $\begin{aligned} & \text { my } \\ & \text { myn } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5 \\ & 3 \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 181. MY + v NOR | my myn myne | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 2 \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \\ & 1 \end{aligned}$ |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 182. NAME $s b$ NOR | name | 1 | - |
| 188. NEITHER + NOR |  |  |  |
|  | neiper + ne | 4 | - |
|  | neithere + ne | - | 1 |
| 189. NEVER NOR | neuer | 11 | 1 |
|  | neuere | 5 | 4 |
| 190. NEW NOR | new | 1 | - |
|  | new- | 2 | 1 |
| 192. NINE NOR | nyne | 1 | - |
| 195. NOW NOR | now | 11 | 3 |
|  | nowe | 4 | - |
| 196. OLD NOR | olde | 2 | - |
| 197. ONE adj NOR | on | 1 | - |
|  | one | 1 | - |
|  | oon | 2 | 1 |
| 197. ONE pron NOR |  | 3 | 1 |
|  | one | 1 | - |
|  | oon | 6 | - |
|  | oone | 1 | - |
| 198. OR | or | 39 | 11 |
| 199. OTHER NOR | other | 5 | - |
|  | oper | 23 | - |
| 199. OTHER indef NOR |  |  |  |
|  | anothere | - | 2 |
|  | anoper | 4 | - |
| 199. OTHER def NOR |  |  |  |
|  | tothere | - | 1 |
|  | tothir | 2 | 1 |
| 200. OUR NOR | oure | 53 | 7 |
| 201. OUT NOR | oute | 8 | 2 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq }}$. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 202. OWN adj | oune | 2 | - |
|  | owen | 3 | 3 |
|  | owne | 2 | - |
| 203. PEOPLE NOR | peple | 1 | - |
| 204. POOR NOR | pore | 4 | - |
| 205. PRAY NOR | pray | 7 | 2 |
| 208. RUN | renn- | 1 | 1 |
|  | rynne | 2 | - |
|  | rynn- | 1 | - |
| 210. SAY (inf., imp., pres subj, etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | say | 9 | 4 |
|  | sey | 2 | - |
| 210. SAY 3 sg NOR | says | 16 | 3 |
|  | sayes | 1 | - |
|  | seis | 1 | - |
| 210. SAY pl NOR | sayn | 1 | - |
|  | seyn | 2 | 1 |
|  | seyne | 1 | - |
| 210. SAY pt-sg NOR | sayde | 1 | - |
| 210. SAY pt-pl NOR | sayde | 3 | - |
| 210. SAY ppl NOR | saide | 3 | - |
|  | sayde | 3 | - |
| 211. SEE (inf., imp., pres subj, etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | see | - | 4 |
|  | sey | 2 | - |
| 211. SEE 3sg NOR | sees | 5 | 2 |
| 211. SEE $p l$ NOR | see | 4 | 2 |
| 211. SEE pt-sg | seye | 1 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq }}$. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 211. SEE ppl | seen | 3 | - |
|  | seyne | 3 | - |
| 212. SEEK NOR | seeke | 1 | - |
|  | sek- | 5 | 3 |
|  | seke | 5 | 1 |
| 213. SELF | self | 3 | 1 |
|  | -self | 24 | 12 |
|  | selfe | 1 | - |
|  | -selfe | 15 | 2 |
| 216. SIN sb NOR | syn | 1 | - |
|  | synn | 1 | - |
|  | synne | 30 | 6 |
| 216. SIN pl NOR | synes | 1 | - |
|  | synnes | 10 | 1 |
| 216. SIN $v b$ NOR | synn- | 7 | - |
|  | synne | 9 | 1 |
| 219. SLAIN SOU | slayne | 1 | - |
| 220. SOME NOR | some | 2 | 1 |
|  | sum | 1 | 1 |
|  | sum- | 8 | 2 |
|  | sume | 6 | 1 |
|  | sume- | 3 | - |
| 222. SORROW sb NOR |  |  |  |
|  | sorowe | 3 | - |
| 222. SORROW $v b$ NOR |  |  |  |
|  | sorou- | 1 | - |
|  | sorow- | 2 | - |
|  | sorowe | - | 1 |
| 223. SOUL NOR | soule | 35 | 27 |
|  | soule- | 1 | - |
| 223. SOUL pl NOR | soules | 1 | 1 |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq }}$. | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 227. STEAD | stede | 1 | - |
| 231. THEE NOR | the | 2 | 26 |
|  | pe | 32 | - |
| 232. THOU NOR | thou | 1 | - |
|  | thow | 2 | 37 |
|  | yow | 1 | - |
|  | pou | 51 | - |
|  | bow | 72 | - |
| 233. THY + c NOR | thi | 4 | 6 |
|  | pi | 43 | - |
| 233. THY + h NOR | pi | 6 | - |
|  | pin | 3 | - |
| 233. THY + v NOR | thin | 1 | - |
|  | bin | 6 | - |
| 236. THOUSAND | thousande | 1 | - |
| 237. THREE | thre | - | 1 |
|  | pre | 10 | - |
| 237. THREE ord NOR |  |  |  |
|  | thridde | 2 | 1 |
|  | thride | - | 1 |
|  | predde | 2 | - |
|  | pridde | 5 | - |
| 238. TOGETHER | togydere | 1 | - |
| 239. TRUE NOR | trew | - | 1 |
| 240. TWELVE NOR twelf |  | 2 | - |
| 242. TWO | two | 3 | - |
| 243. UNTIL SOU | til | - | 1 |
|  | tile | 2 | - |
|  | vntil | 1 | 1 |
|  | vntile | 1 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{2}$ Freq. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 244. UPON NOR | vpon | 3 | 1 |
| 245. WAY NOR | way | 3 | - |
|  | wei | 1 | - |
| 247. WELL $a d v$ NOR | weelle | - | 1 |
|  | wel | 1 | - |
|  | wele | 9 | 4 |
|  | welle | 5 | 1 |
| 248. WENT | went | 2 | - |
| 249. WHAT SOU | what | 30 | 6 |
| 250. ----- |  |  |  |
| 251. WHETHER | wheder | 3 | - |
|  | whedere | 2 | - |
| 253. WHO SOU | who | 6 | 1 |
| 254. WHOM SOU | whom | 3 | 5 |
|  | whome | 2 | 6 |
| 255. WHOSE SOU | whos | 5 | - |
| 256. WHY NOR | whi | 1 | - |
|  | why | 1 | - |
| 257. WITEN | wete | 7 | 1 |
|  | wote | 2 | - |
| 258. WITHOUT $p r$ | withouten | 1 | 2 |
|  | wipouten | 1 | - |
| 258. WITHOUT $a d v$ | withouten | - | 1 |
| 259. WORSE | wers | 2 | - |
|  | wors | 1 | - |
|  | worse | 1 | - |


| LP Item | MS Form(s) | $\underline{T}^{\underline{1}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ | $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 260. WORSHIP $s b$ NOR |  |  |  |
|  | worschip | 1 | - |
|  | worschipp- | 1 | - |
|  | worship | 1 | - |
|  | worshipp | 1 | - |
|  | worshippe | 1 | - |
| 260. WORSHIP $v b$ NOR |  |  |  |
|  | worchipe | 1 | - |
|  | worchippe | 1 | - |
| 261. YE NOR | ye | 2 | 2 |
| 262. YOU NOR | yow | 1 | - |
| 263. YOUR NOR | your | 1 | - |
|  | youre | 2 | - |
|  | yowre | 2 | - |
| 264. YEAR NOR | yere | 1 | - |
| 266. YOUNG NOR | younge- | 1 | - |
|  | young- | 1 | - |
| 267. -ALD NOR (eg. HOLD, BOLD, TOLD, FOLD etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | -old | 26 | 12 |
|  | -oold | - | 1 |
| 269. -AND NOR (eg. LAND, HAND, STAND etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | - ond | 9 | 7 |
| 270. -ANG NOR (eg. LONG, STRONG, HANG, WRONG etc) |  |  |  |
|  | -ong | 20 | 8 |
| 271. -ANK NOR (eg. BANK, TANK etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | -onk | 1 | - |
| 272. -DOM NOR (eg. KINGDOM, WISDOM etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | -dome | 6 | 1 |
| 273. -ER (eg. older, wiser etc.) |  |  |  |
|  | -ere | 7 | 4 |

## LP Item <br> MS Form(s) <br> $\mathbf{T}^{\underline{1}}$ Freq. <br> $\underline{T}^{\underline{2}} \underline{\text { Freq. }}$

274. -EST sup (eg. fairest, foulest etc.)
$\begin{array}{lll}\text {-est } & 7\end{array}$
275. -FUL deriv. suffix (eg. awful, beautiful etc.)

| -ful | 29 | 11 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -fule | - | 6 |
| -full | - | 1 |

276. -HOOD deriv. suffix (eg. brotherhood, falsehood etc.)

| -hed | 1 | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -hede | 6 | - |
| -hode | 1 | - |

277. -LESS deriv. suffix (eg. penniless, endless etc.)

| -les | 10 | 12 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -lesse | 1 | 4 |

278. -LY adv suffix (eg. badly, beggarly etc.)

| $-l i$ | 2 | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $-l y$ | $>50$ | $>50$ |

279. -NESS deriv. suffix (eg. boldness, humbleness etc.)
-nesse
$>50$
41
280. -SHIP deriv. suffix (eg. kingship, lordship, etc.; also worshipful etc.)

| -chip | 1 | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| -chipe | 1 | - |
| -chipp- | 3 | - |
| -chippe | 3 | - |
| -schip | 1 | - |
| -schipp- | 2 | - |
| -schippe | 2 | - |
| -ship | 1 | 1 |
| -ship- | 3 | - |
| -shipe | 2 | 1 |
| -shipp | 1 | - |
| -shipp- | 1 | - |
| -shippe | 1 | - |

## 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.
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) $\quad$ [D]
[folio 78 r ] Here bene the xij
Coles Chapitres whyche Richard Hampole
the Eremyte made . howe that a man shulde lyue in contemplacion . and in meditacion . and in other vertuos
lyuyng. And after lyfe to come to the lyfe euerlastyng and dwelle with god in the blys of heuene.
ffurst that A man turne hym to god
ffurst that A man turne hym to god
by good werkes and loue hym.
by good werkes and loue hym.
Capitulum primum.
Howe that a man shuld dispyse the
world. Capitulum ij m
Howe that a man shuld lyue in wyl-
full pouerte. Capitulum $\mathrm{iij}^{\mathrm{m}}$.
Howe that a man shuld ordeyne and Of tribulacions and disceytes of the
fende. Capitulum v ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$.
Of pacyence ayenst tribulacions and
temptacions. Capitulum $\mathrm{vj}^{\mathrm{m}}$.
Of prayer in temptacion or in tribula-
Of prayer in temptacion or in tribula-
cion. Capitulum vij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$.
Of meditacions. Capitulum viij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$.
Of redyng. Capitulum ix ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$. Of purete and clennesse. Capitulum
Of the loue of god. Capitulum $\mathrm{xi}^{\mathrm{m}}$.
Of contemplacion. Capitulum xij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$.
[co. bit libellus Ricardi heremite de
 qui obijt anno domini millesimo xlix ${ }^{\circ}$. apud Sanctimoniales de Hampole .
Et habet ist libellus $\mathrm{xij}^{\mathrm{m}}$ Capitula .
De conuersione peccatoris. Capitu-
lum primum.
De contemptu mundi. Capitulum

C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C]

| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) $\quad[\mathrm{T}]$ |
| :--- | :--- |


| Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) | $[B]$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

[f.24v] Incipit libellus Ricardi Heremite de Hampole de emendacione peccatoris qui obiit Anno domini millesimo $\mathrm{CCC}^{\circ} \mathrm{xlix}^{\circ}$ apud Sancti-
moniales de Hampole. Et habet iste libellus xii Capitula videlicet.

De conuersione peccatoris. CapituDe contemptu mundi . Capitulum ij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$ De paupertate. Capitulum iij ${ }^{\text {mim }}$
Douce 322 (ff. 78 r -94r)
[D]
De institucione vite. Capitulum quar-
tum.
De tribulacione. Capitulum quintum.
De paciencia. Capitulum sextum.
De oracione. Capitulum septimum.
De meditacione. Capitulum octavum.
De leccione. Capitulum nonum.
De puritate mentis. Capitulum
decimum.
De Amore dei. Capitulum un-
decimum.
De contemplacione. Capitulum duo-
decimum.
Furst that a man turne hym to god
by good werkes. Capitulum pri-
mum.
Tary thow nat to turne to god neyther
drawe nat alonge fro day to day. ffor
sodenly he taketh wreches in sharp-
nesse of dethe. And or they wene
shall deuoure hem bytternesse and
hidiousnesse of peyne. And sothely
hit may nat be nombred of vs. how
many worldly wreches that wycked
presumpcion hathe disceued.
ffor hit ys grete synne for to trust [f.
78 v] in the mercy of god / And nat
sease from synne supposyng that the
mercy of god ys so moche that he
wyll yeue nat ryghtwys peyn to syn-
ners. for hyr synne. I Also som
foolys wenen that there shall neuer
crysten man be dampned do he neuer
so euyll the whyche ys a foule er-
rour $/$
And therfore whyle the day lasteth of
thys present lyfe be we besy and do
good vnto all.

## C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C]

[folio 141r] Heere biginneth pe xii chapitres of Richard heremite of hampool.

## \Capitulum primum./

Tarye not for to turne pee to god ne drawe not onlonge fro day to day ! for sodeynly he taketh wrecches in
sharpnesse of deth . and er bei werne / shal deuowre hem bitternesse and hidousnesse of peyne. And soothly it may not be nombred of us / how many wordly wrecches pat wikked presumpcion hath desceyued. © Ffor it is a gret sinne for to triste in pe merci of god. and not cese from sime . Supposinge pat pe merci of
god is so michel / bat he wil not yive to sinners rightwys peyne for her sinne. As summe fooles weene pat pere shal neuere cristene man be dampned / do he neuere so euele . pe
which is a foul errour.

And perfore whiles be day lasteth of pis present lyf / be we bisy and do
good vnto alle.
T.C.D. 432 (ff. $90 \mathrm{r}-121 \mathrm{v}$ ) [T]
[folio ${ }^{90}{ }^{\circ}$ ] Capitulum primum. / Tary not for to turne the to god. ne
drawe not a leyte fro day to day for sodenly he takes wrecches in sharpnesse of deeth . and ere thy wene shal deuour hem bitternesse and hi-
dousnesse of peyne . and sothely it may not be noumbrede of vs how mony worldely wrecches that wicked presumpcion has deceyued.
ffor it is a gret synne forto truste in the mercy of god and not cesse fro synne . supposynge that the mercy of god is sers rybe for thaire to synners ryhtwise peyne for thaire
synne als some foles wene that ther shal neuere cristen man be dampned 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.

Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] Line \#

Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum et ne differas de die in diem . nam subito rapit miseros inclemencia mortis inopinate deuorat acerbitas penarum. nee nobis numerari possunt quot mundanos presumpcio decipit .

Magnum enim peccatum est in dei misericordia confidere et a peccato non cessare estimando tantam esse dei misericordiam quod nec iustam vult peccatoribus inferre penam.

| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) |
| :---: |
| for thys day shuld we neuer cese of good werkes worchyng so that the deuyll fynde vs neuer vnoccupyed for we wote nat how long hit shall laste. © ffor why the nyght of bodyly dethe cometh as a theef in the whych nyght oure lymes are boundyn oure wyttes ar refte fro vs. And than mowe we no good werke worke but euery man shall resceue after hys dedys eyther ioy or torment for we lyuen here but in a poynt . that ys the leste thyng that may be. yee and lesse then a poynt for yef all thys present lyfe be lykened to that lyfe that neuer shall haue ende hit ys ryght nought. © <br> how may we than withoute greuous dampnacion waste and distroy thys short tyme that ys lent vs here to loue god in . thorow vanyte and loue of the worlde. And all day stonde ydell. - And to leve good werkes thorowgh the whych we shuld come to the blysse of heuen. <br> but lord god turne vs. [col. b] And we shullen torne to the . hele thow vs . And we shullen be hoole <br> as who seyeth withouten the we mow neuer be turnyd fro synne ne helyd of oure sykenesse. 『 But many ther ben that ben nat helyd . but her woundes ben corrupte and roten for today they turne hem to god. And to morow they ben turned fro god. Today they do penaunce for her syn. And to morow they goon ayene to the same syn lyke vntyll an hounde that torneth ayene to hys castyng. - |

C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

In pis day shulde we neuere cese of good werkinge so pat pe deuel fynde us neuere vnocupyed. ffor we witen not how longe it shal laste .
ffor <why> be night of bodily deth cometh as a theef. in pe whiche
 wittes are reft from us. and panne
mown we no good werk werken. But mown we no good werk werken. But
eche man shal resseyue after here dedes heere . ioye or torment. We lyuen heere but in a poynt . pat is pe leste thing pat may be. ye . and
lesse pan a poynt ffor if al pis present lyf be likned to pat lyf pat neuere shal haue ende / it is riht nouht. ${ }^{1}$

How may we panne with oute greuows dampnacion. waste and
distroye pis shorte tyme pat is lent us heere to loue god inwardly and to do goode werkes. thoruh which we shulden come to pe blisse [f. 141v] of heuene / in vanitee and loue of be But lord god turne us a and we shul be turned to pee . hele pou us / and we shul be hoole.
 mown neuere be turned fro sinne / ne
be heled of oure syknesse. © But manye per ben. pat ben not heled. but here woundes ben corrupte and roten. ffor today pei turne hem to god/ and tomorwe pei gon fro god. Today pei doon penaunce for here sinne/ same sinne. lyk to an hound pat turneth ayen vnto his vomyte. -

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

In this day shulde we neuer cese of goode werkyng . so pat pe deuel 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 are refte from vs. And ben mow we no иеш әभा! 109 әуюм әжюм әроов shal receyue after his dedys oper ioy or turment.

We lyuen here but on a poynt pat is pe leste pinge pat may be. yee and lesse pan a poynte for yf alle pis pre-
sent life be likkened to pat life pat neuer shal haue ende it is ryht nouht.

How may we pan with outen greuous [f. $90^{\circ}$ ] dampnacion waste and de$n$
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 vanyte and loue of pe worlde and alle day stonde ydel.
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 be hole
as who say with outen be we mow neuere be turned fro synne, ne be helede of oure seknesse / © But many per are pat are nouht heled. but paire woundes are corupte and roten for today pay turne paim to god. and tomorow pai are fro god. Today pai
do penaunce for paire synn . and omorowe pei goo agayne to pe same synne like vntile an hounde pat turneth ayeyn tile his vomete /

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
| 11 | Lucem vel presentem diem vocat vitam in qua a bonis operibus cessare non debemus scientes quod nobis incerta est . <br> Noctem mortem appellat in qua ligantur membra . priuantur sensus et iam aliquid salutiferum operari non possumus. Set secundum opera nostra gaudium vel tormentum recepturi sumus . |
| 16 | In puncto viuimus . immo minus puncto . quia si totum tempus nostrum eternitati comparetur nichil est - |
|  | Quomodo non sine grauissima dampnacione vitam nostram in amore vanitatum consumimus et tota die ociosi stamus . |
| 22 | Conuerte nos domine et conuertemur ad te. Sana nos domine et sanabimur . |
|  | multi autem sanantur . set corrumpuntur vulnera eius et putrescunt . quia hodie ad deum sunt conuersi . et cras a deo sunt aduersi . hodie penitentes . cras ad mala pristina redeuntes . |




## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

$\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$
Conversio itaque fit ad deum . dum aciem mentis ad ipsum dirigimus et cius consilia atque mandata cogita-
 que fuerimus perexerimus vel sederimus . timor $[\mathrm{f} .25 \mathrm{v}]$ dei a corde nostro non recedat ${ }^{\text {q }}$
n

| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
| :--- |
| $\begin{array}{l}\text { To be turned awey fro the world ys } \\ \text { nat elles but forto caste behynde and } \\ \text { forto foryete all the delectacions and } \\ \text { delytes of hit and to suffer gladly and } \\ \text { mekely for crystes loue all tribula- } \\ \text { cions and anguysshes of hit . and put } \\ \text { awey all vnprofitable occupacions } \\ \text { and worldly nedys. so that oure hert } \\ \text { all holy and perfytely turned to god } \\ \text { that hit may gladly and meryly dye }\end{array}$ |

and that thow euermore haue god before the eyen of the soule. As though hit sawe god withoute cesyng. $\mathbb{A}$ As the prophete seyth I shall sette oure lorde euermore in
my syght nat for short tyme as doon all these that settyn all erthely thyng that ys fayre and louely before the
[col. b] eyen of her soule. Whyche [col. b] eyen of her soule. Whyche
they beholdyn and conuerten and han here ioye and her delyte in. $\boldsymbol{q}$

And also the prophete seyth eftsones myn eyen ben euermore to oure
 these wordys that we may nat fle the snares and the trappes of temptacions. but yef we myghtyly and withouten styntyng reyse vp the eyen
of oure soule vnto god. $\backslash / \Phi$ Many lettynges ther ben that drawen a man doune that he may nat par-
fytely turne hym to god. ne fasten O
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0 shall shewe sume / Abondaunce of

## C.U. F.5.30 (IT. 141r-164v) [C]

To be turned awey fro pe world / is nouht ellis but for to caste bihynde and to foryete alle pe delectacions and delices of it and to suffre gladliche and meekely for crystes loue

 Soo pat oure al holly and parfytly turned to god / may gladly and mer ily dye to alle thinge pat may be

And whan it is pus spred out and maad brod thoruh heuenly desires/ pat it panne eueremore haue god seye god withouten cessinge . as pe prophete seith .
sette oure lord eueremore in my

doon alle pese pat setten al eerpely
thing bat is fair and louely. bifore be eye of here soule . whiche pei biholde and coueyte and haue here ioye and here delite inne. soones. Myne eyen ben eueremore oo oure lord. $\uparrow$
 woordes . pat we may not flee pe tacions / but if we mightily and with oute stintinge reyse up pe eyen of Many lettinges per ben pat drawen a man doun bat he may not parfytly 0
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0 upon him. Of whiche I shal shewe
summe. $\uparrow$ Habun- [f. 142v] daunce of
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

To <be>turn<ede> away fro pe worlde . is not ellys but for to caste be hynde and forto for yette all pe delectacions and delyces of it . and to
 lufe alle tribulacions and anguysshes of it . and putte away alle vnprofit-

 fitely turnede to god. may gladly
 pat may be lufede or geten in pe
worlde /

And when it is pus spered and made brode purh heuenly desires pat is pen euermore haue god before be eyen of pe soule as pof it sawe god with oute
cesynge as pe prophete says $₹$

I sette oure lorde euermore in my
 al pose pat settene al erpely pinge pat soule whilke pai beholde and coueite and haue paire ioy and paire delyte

And also pe prophete says eft
sonys . / Myne eyen are euere more to oure lorde.
Sothely it is openly shewede be pese wordes pat we . may nouht fle pe nares and if tacions. bot if we myhtyly and with outen stynttyng reyse vp pe eyen of
oure soule vnto god.

Mony lettynges pere are pat drawen 든 turne hym to god ne festen his eye vpon hym of whilke I shale shewe
Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$

Et iterum psalmista: Oculi mei semper ad dominum. quoniam ipse euellet de laqueo pedes meos . nisi oculos ad Christum infatigabiliter erexerimus laqueum temptacionis non auademus ${ }^{\text {© }}$

| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
| :---: |
| erthely rychesse . blaundysshyng and fagyng of wemen . shap and fantenesse of yongthhede. <br> Thys ys a threfold corde that ys full harde to breke. $\uparrow$ Neuertheles hit behoueth nedys to be brokyn and sette at nought. yef cryste shall be loued. for who so desyreth trewly for to loue Ihesu cryste . nat only withouten heuynesse . but with full grete ioye and gladnesse . he forsaketh and casteth awey all thyng that may let hym. \& Yee and in thys case who spareth neyther father ne moder ne yet hym owne self ne taketh no comfort of any erthely thyng , he doth violence to all . he breketh all obstacles and lettynges . hym thynketh hit but lytyll all that he may do. so that he myght loue Ihesu cryste . |
| he fleeth fro synne as a drunken man . he hath noon eyen / ne non [f. 79v] beholdyng to no maner comfort of the world ne of flesshly solace . but he yeueth hymself so hooly and inwardly to god . that well nygh he hath loste all outeward wyttes he ys gadered all withyn hymself . and all reysed vp in to Thesu cryst that who so sye hym he shulde wene that he were heuy or sory . but sykerly he hath full grete ioy. ${ }^{\text {f }}$ <br> There ys many that seyen they wolde fayne forsake the world and turne hem holy to god . but they seyen they mow nat yet for they ben letted thorow certeyn occupacions. Whos colde sowles ben sorowyng with repreef. for withouten dowte yef they were onys towchyd with the |

C.U. Ff.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]

eerbely richesse . blaundisshinge . and faginge of wommen . shap and
fairnesse of yonghede. pis a $^{\text {is a threfold corde pat is ful hard }}$ to breke. Neuerpeles it bihooueth needes to be broken and set at nouht if crist shal be loued.
ffor who so desireth trewly for to loue ihesu crist / nouht only with
oute hevinesse . but with ful gre and ioye and gladnesse . he forsaketh and
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0 јо ноуипоэ ои чрэур әи ' Нәя иәмо
 to alle . he breketh alle obstacles and
 pat he may do. So pat he mihte loue
ihesu crist.
to no manere counfort of be world ne I
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 who so seye him / he shulde weene he were hevi or sori but sikirly he
 fayn forsake pe world . and turne hem holly $\backslash \mathrm{vn} /$ to god . but pei seyn
pei may not yit ffor bei ben letted with certeyn occupacions. 『 Whose colde sorwes / sorwinge we reprove


## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

blaundisshynge and fagynge of wommen / shappe and fairenesse of youngehede /

This is a pre folde corde pat is ful harde to breke / Neuerpeles it behoues nedes to be broken and setc at


 ioy and gladnes he forsakes and cases away ale ping pat may lete
 self . ne takes no comfort of ony


 he may do . so pat he myht loue
ihesu crist / he flees fro synne as a drunken man
 no maner comforte of be worlde . ne of flesshly solace . bot he gifes him self so holy inwarde to god . pat wel neye he has loste ale outwarde wittis / he is ale gederd with yne hym selfe and ale reysed vp into thesu crist . pat who so sey him he shulde wen pat he were heuy or sori bot
sekerly he has ful gret ioy.
per are mony pat seyn pai wolde fayn forsake pe worlde and turne hem holy vnto god . but pei sayn pei may not yette. for bei are letted purh certeyne occupacions. Whos colde oute doute if pei were onys touched with pe lest sparcle of pe loue of god
Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]
mulierum . forma [f.26r] siue pulcri-
Hic est triplex funiculus qui difficile rumpitur. Rumpendus tamen est et pro nichilo habendus vt Christus ametur ${ }^{\text {I }}$
Qui enim Christum amare vere desiderat non solum sine tristicia. verum et cum omni gaudio omnia que impedire poterunt abicit .et nec patri nec matri nec sibi ipsi in hac causa parcit . Non accipit vultum licuius violencia $[\mathrm{m}]$ omnibus infert . obstacula cuncta confringit parum sibi videtur quicquid facere
potest vt deum amet
'6

凡

Set sunt plerique qui dicunt se velle | 0 |
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|  | implere se posse . asserunt quia per has vel alias ocupaciones detinentur quorum frigidam mentem dolendo reprehendimus . qui sine dubio si minima sintilla Christi amoris tacti

essent . statim omnimoda solicitu-
Douce 322 （ff．78r－94r）
leste sparke of the loue of god they
shuld seke also swythe with all
maner besynesse．what wey they
myght com to goddys seruyce．ne
they shuld nat leeue sekyng tyll they
had founde hit．I But they feynyn
ofte tymes a maner of excusacion．
the whyche rather accuseth hem ．
Rychesse draweth many men abacke
and many men disseueth thorough
wemen．And somtyme many that
longe tyme han lyued well thorow
hem ben caste doune into the dep－
nesse of synne．for fayre hede ys
sone loued．And whan hit feleth that
hit ys loued／Anon hit cleueth to by
affeccion and so hit ys caste doune in
to synne．I And suche oon ys worse
after hys conuersion．than he was
before for than ys hys fame and hys
loos defouled．And where he was
before worshipfull and preysable
［col．b］now ys he holdyn of all wlat－
som and dispysable．$\quad$
I sawe onys a man the whyche as
men sayd had xv yere tamed hys
body with grete and wonderfull pen－
ance and afterward he felle with hys
seruauntes wyfe．And myght he
neuer after be departed fro her in all
hys lyfe．And in hys dying they
seyde when prestes come to hym／he
cursed and waryed hem and forsoke
to take the worshipfull sacrament of
holy churche．
Yong men therfore newly torned fro
the worlde shullen fle besyly all
maner occasions that drawen hem to
synne．And eschew hem thorowgh a
waker entencion all maner wordys
and dedys steryng to yuell ．for the
more vnlefull that a thyng ys in hit

\section*{| C．U．Ff． 5.30 （ff．141r－164v）［C］ |
| :--- |
| of pe loue of god／pei shulden seeke |} as swybe with alle manere bisynesse what wey bei mighten come to god－ des seruice．II Ne pei shulden not leue seekinge til bei hadde founden it．『l But bei feynen ofte times a man－ ere of excusacion．be which rapere

accuseth hem．$\ddagger$ Richesse draweth many men abak．and many ben de－

 han lyued wel／thoruh hem ben cast doun into pe depnesse of sinne and wikkednesse．ffor fairhede is soone loued．and whan it feeleth pat it is loued／anoon it cleueth too．bi affec－
cion．and so it is cast doun into cion．and so it is cast doun into sinne．And suich oon is wers after his conuersacion／pan he was bifore． ffor panne is his fame and his lose defowled．And ber he was bifore holden of alle wlatsum and despis－ able．II

I seigh oones a man ．pe whiche as men seyden hadde yyttene yeer tamed with his seruauntes wyf ．and mighte neuere after be departed fro hire in al his lyf．In his deyinge pei seiden whan preestes cam to hym he cursede and waryede hem．and for－ sook to take pe wurshipful sacra－
mentes or holi cherche．q
fro pe world／shulden flee bisily alle manere occasions pat draweth to sinne．and eschewe thoruh a waker entencion／alle manere woordes and dedes stirynge to euel．ffor euere pe more vnleefful pat a thing is in it
T．C．D． 432 （ff． $90 \mathrm{r}-121 \mathrm{v}$ ）$\quad[\mathrm{T}]$
pei shulde seke alswibe wip al maner

 sekynge vntile pei hade founden it／\｜ Bot pei feyne oft tymes a［f． 92 ］
 accusis paim／Ryches drawes mony
men obake and mony are deceyuede purh wymmen and sumtyme mony pat longe tyme han lyued wele ．purh
家 hed is sone lufede．and when it feles pat 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 conuersacion pan he was
before／ffor pen is his fame and his －әq Sем әч әгам рие • рәппоғәр әsol



I \sawe／ones a man ．be whilke as men sayde had fyftene yere tamed his body with gret and wounderful penance．and efterwarde he fel with
his seruantis wif．and myht neuer after be departid fro hir in al his lyf／ In his dyinge bei sayde when prestes come to him／he cursyd and waryede paim and forsoke to take pe wirship－
ful sacramentis of holy kyrke／
yunge men berfore newly turned fro pe wor $\mathrm{L} / \mathrm{d}$ ．shulde fle besily al synne．and eschewe purh a waker entencion al maner wordes and dedes steryng to yuel．ffor ay pe more quod per quindecim annos mirabili rigore corpus summ perdomuit ．et postea lapsus cum coniuge sui se－
ruientis separari non potuit vsque ad mortem．In morte vero eius dixerunt quod sacerdotibus ad se venientibus maledixit et sacramenta recipere Debent ergo neophiti id est nouiter conuersi occasiones peccandi
fuggere verba facta aspectusque ad malum excitancia intencione vigili deuitare．Quo enim est res magis siderata．Insurgit diabolus vehe－
$ふ$

| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C] | Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
| :---: | :---: |
| self / so michel pe more sumtime it is coueyted and desired. $\uparrow$ Pe feend reysed gretly ayen swiche men as he seeth ben turned fro him . kindelinge desires of pe world and of pe flesh . and delectacions pat pei hadden bifore time in sinne / he bringeth ayen to here thouht. $\uparrow$ He sheweth forth gret hardnesse and bitternesse of penaunce / for to make us irke with it. He reiseth up fantasyes with oute nombre and neewe thouhtes and affeccions pat profiten nouht . pe whiche weren bifore stille and aslepe. [f. 143v] | self / somoche the more somtyme hit ys coueted and desyred. © The fende reyseth gretly ageyne all suche men as he seeth hem turned fro hym . kyndlyng desyres of the world and of the flesshe. And delectacions that they had before tyme in synne . he bryngeth ayene to her thought . he sheweth forth greet hardnesse and bytternesse of penaunce for to make vs wery with hit. He reyseth vp fantasyes withouten nombre newe thoughtes and affecciouns that profyten nat the whyche were before styll and aslepe . |
| Among pese and alle oopere pat fallen we shulen mihtily and manly vse oure self , and as cristes knyghtes taken gostly armures of feith hope and charitee . ffightinge stalwurbily ayens pe feend and alle hise suggestions and yuele entisinges . distroyinge and quenchinge alle fleshly and wordly desires . eueremore desiringe and seekinge pe loue of god . thoruh despisinge and forsakynge of pe world. | Amonge these and all other that fallen . we shall myghtyly and manly vse oure sylf and as crystes knyghtes take gostly [f. 80r] armures of feythe . hope and charyte fyghtyng stalworthly ayenste the fende and hys suggestions and euyll entysynges destroying and quenchyng all flesshly and worldly desyres . euer more desyryng and sekyng the loue of god thorow despysyng and forsakyng of the worlde. |
| \Capitulum secundum./ How a man shal despise pe world. | Howe a man shulde despyse the worlde. Capitulum secundum. |
| Despisinge of be world is nouht elles but an ouerpassinge of alle eerbely and failinge thinges with outen loue of hem thoruh feruent loue and desire of god and heuenly thinges. In pis lyf no thing to <seeke> but god. and to acounte and sette at nouht alle veyn ioyes and fleshly counfortes of pe world and of pe flesh . vnnepes takinge hise needfulnesses. And if it | Dispysyng of the world ys nat elles . but an ouerpassyng of all erthely and faylyng thynges . withouten loue of hem . thorow feruent loue and desyre of god and heuynly thynges in thys lyfe . nothyng to seke but god. And to accounte and sette at nought all veyne ioyes and flesshly comfortes of the world and of the flessh . vnnethes takyng hys nedefulnes |

T.C.D. $432($ ff. $90 \mathrm{r}-121 \mathrm{v}) \quad[\mathrm{T}]$
mykel [f. $\left.93^{t}\right]$ more sumtyme it is
coueited and desirede / be fende ry-
ses gretly agayne ale swilke men as
he sees are turnede fro hym . kynde-
lynge desires of pe worlde and of pe
flessh and delectacions pat pei hade
before tyme in synne he brynges
agayne to paire pouht. he shewes
forpe gret hardenesse and bitternesse
of penaunce for to make vs yrke with
hit / he rayses vp fantasyes with
outen noumbere and new pouhtys
and affeccions pat profiten nouht pe
whylke were before stille and oslepe

- Amonge pese and al oper bat fallen we shalle myhtely and manle vse oure selue . and as cristes knyhtys take gostly armures of feyth hop . and charite ffeyhtynge stalworthly
ayeyns pe fende and al his suggesayeyns pe fende and al his sugges-
tions . and yuel entisynges . destroynge and qwenchynge al flesshly and worldly desires . euermore de-
 thurh despisynge and forsakynge of pe worlde/


## How a man shal despise pe worlde. Capitulum 2 .

ıبnou s!̣ pןrom əd јо әธิuisidsə
 and failynge pinges. with outen luf of paim. pruh feruent lufe and desire of god and heuenly binges. In pis lyf no pinge to seke bot $\left[f .93^{v}\right]$ god . and to acounte and sette at nouht al vayne oyes and flesshly comfortes of pe worlde and of be flessh. vnnepes

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

menter contra illos quos videt a se auerti et mundi ac carnis desideria ccendere non desinit . ante actas 1
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0 cionem penitencie proponit. et innumerabilia fantasmata cogitacionum se excitant que prius erant sopita. <br> \section*{-} <br> \section*{-}

Inter hec penitens viriliter se ex-
cerceat et arma spiritualia assumat
 stanter resistat . carnalia desideria extinguat . Semper suspiret ad amorem dei contemptus mundi a se non recedat de quo nunc est agen-
dum.


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| :---: | :---: |
| any time wante or faile / gladly and paciently for to suffre. $\quad$ pis is pe despisinge of pe world. Haue pou pis pat pou be not slayn thoruh loue of it. $\uparrow$ On pis manere is pe world despised and not loued. Alle thinges pat we louen / we wurshipen. And sikerly a foul thing it is for to wurshipe mukke / and pat dooth he pat loueth eerpely thing oonly for it self. © And perfore eerpely lordes and riche men of worldly good / maken hem self seruauntes and thralles to most vile filthe and stink . and han ioye and likinge to be called lordes of men / per pei ben hem self seruauntes of sinne. Soothly bat man hath lordshipe of man . it is not of kynde / but oonly of hap and fortune. But pat a man is subiect vnto sinne / it cometh [f. 144r] oonly of a wikkede wil. ब Do awey perfore pis euele wil . and pou shalt be maad free fro pe feend and fro sinne. Make pe seruaunt of rihtwysnesse . pe whiche techeth pee nouht for to loue eerpely thinges. ब pe loue of god and pe loue of pe world / ben euene contrarye . and perfore pei mai not dwelle to gidere in a soule. ${ }^{-1}$ <br> pe bedstede is so narwh / pat it bihoueth needes pat oon to falle out. And perfore pei may not dwelle to gidere. $\uparrow$ be clennere and be more fully pou castest out coueityse and eerpely loue / pe more feruently and brennyngely shalt pou taste and feele pe loue of god. $\mathbb{1}$ And pe more pi coueitise is / pe lasse is pi charitee. $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ A pou wrecchede soule what seekest pou in pe word. wher pou seest wel |  |
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T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
ony tyme wante or faile / gladly and ony tyme wante or faile / gladly and
paciently forto sufre / pis is be despisynge of pe worlde . haue bow pis pat pow be not slayne worlde despised and not lufede / Alle pinges pat we lufen . we wirchippen/


 selfe / And perfore erpely lordes and



 antis of synne / Sopely pat man has lordeshipe of man it is not of kynde
 bat a man is sugget vnto synne it

Do away berfore pis yuele wille and pow shalt be made fre fro pe fende and fro synne made pe seruant of O nouht for to lufe erpely pinges / The lufe of god. and pe lufe of pe [1.94] pei may not dwele togydere in a soule
be bedstede is so narowe / pat it
oute / And perfor ay pe clenner and pe more fully pow castis oute couetysse . and erbely lufe pe more feruently and brennyngly shalt pow tast and fele pe lufe of god. and ay pe more pi coueityse is / pe lesse is pi

A pow wrecched soule what sekes pow in pe worlde. where pow sees

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

옥

> Aufer ergo malam voluntatem et iber eris a diabolo effectus seruus rusticie que te docet mundana non mundi et amor dei . nec in eodem requiescunt simul:
coangustatum est stratum . ita vt alter alterum decidat. Quanto ergo
profundius cupiditatem expuleris tanto magis diuinum amorem gustabis. et quanto maior cupiditas


[^111]| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
| :---: |
| seest well that all thynges ben passyng and disseuyng the that most fagen the and plese the . sunnest gon awey and disseyuen the . wherto art thow so besy for dedly thynges. And wherto couetest thow with so grete affeccion suche thynges as thow knowest well shall perysshe and weere awey. © Seest thow nat that sonner they passen [f. 80v] awey than they may be goten. But I wote where thow dwellest theere as ys the seete of the fende . for he hath so blyndyd the and thorow hys queyntyse disseued the . Thow couetest and desyrest faylyng and passyng thynges / And so thow louest that . that thow shuldest hate. And thow dispysest lastyng thynges. And cleuest to that thyng that ys vanysshyng awey. And thow art set and grounded apon a weyke and a disceuable grounde. 『 And therfore when thow wenest thyself forto stande thow shalt fall in to euerlastyng fyre. - <br> They that dwellen in abundaunce of worldly rychesse ben disseued by fyue thynges. The furst ys . <br> Rychesse. © The secunde ys worldly dignyte. ๆ The thryd ys worldly power. © The iiij ${ }^{\text {fi }}$ ys loue of the flessh. And the $\mathrm{v}{ }^{\text {ti }} \mathrm{ys}$ veyne worshyppys and honoures. These constreynen hem in synne and byndeth [in] wykkednesse . with these lustes and delectacions they ben so faste that many may nat be losed fro hem tyll dethe come . but than ys ouerlate losyng. Whan there foloweth nought after . but endeles dampnacion. 9 |




| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) | [B] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |


Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
These v letten a man fro dispysyng
of the worlde. fro the loue of god.
fro knowyng of hymself. And fro
apetyte and fro couetyse of the kyng-
dom of heuen. for sykerly ther may
no man be sauyd but he fle the
worlde . and leue [col. b] to love all
that ys synne. Late vs therfore be-
gynne whyles we been hoole and the
heete of oure yonghthede ys with vs.
leste that we be taken with dethe or
we weten. And seke space of
penaunce and mow noon fynde . for
he that abydeth of amendyng in to
the tyme he may no more synne /
synne leueth hym and he nat synne.
And therfore he ys nat worthy no
mede of god. $\downarrow$ But what may lyke or
plese hym that disposeth hym fully
for to loue Ihesu cryste . he shall nat
defoule hys yongthede . he shall kepe
all hys streyngth vn to god. all
rychesse and honoures of the world
shal be accounted and set at nought.
he shall thynke that all bodyly fayre-
nesse ys but false and veyne ioye and
nought worthe.
What shall I sey more? He despyseth
parfytely all thynges of thys world
that passeth away as a shadow.
thow flesshly loue what fyndest thow
in thy flessh. that thow hast so grete
delyte in hit. yef thow haue ioye and
delyte in shappe and fayrenesse of
body. Why beholdest thow nat what
ys hyd withyn in thy skyn. knowest
thow nat well what fayrenesse of
flessh ys but an helyng of foulenesse
enclynyng and norysshyng of corrup-
cion. And ofte sythe cause of perdi-
cion and endeles dampnacion.
C.U. F. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]
bese fyue letten a man from despisinge of pe word. from pe loue of god. from knowinge of hem self.
 per may no man be saaf / but if he flee pe world . and leue to loue al pat is per inne. $\mathbb{T}$ Lete us perfore biginne whyle we ben hoole. and pe hete of
oure yonghede is with us / lest pat we be taken with deth er wee wite it and seeke space of penaunce and mown noon fynde. ffor he pat abideth of amendinge til he may no
 he not sinne. And perfore he is wurpi
no meede of god. But what may like or plese him pat disposeth hym fulli for to loue ihesu crist / he shal defoule his yonghede . he shal keepe al
 and honoures of pe world shal he counte and sette at nouht. . Him shal
thinke bat al bodily fairnesse it is but fals and veyn ioye . and nouht woorth.

What shal I sey more? He despiseth parfitely alle thinge of pis world pat passeth awey as a shadwe. ¢ A pou fleshly loue. what fyndest pou in pe flesh . pat pou hast so gret delite in it / If pou haue [f. 145r] ioye and delite in shap and fairhede of bodi / with inne in pe skyn . knowest pou not wel pat fairnesse of flesh is but an helinge of foulnesse . enclinynge and norishinge of corrupcion . and
ofte sibes cause of perdicion and eendeles dampnacion / $\mathbb{\pi}$
pese fyue lettyn . a man fro despi0
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0 fro appetit and coueitise of pe kyngdome of heuen ffor sykirly ber may no man be saufe bot if he fle pe worlde and leue to lufe ale pat is per in / Late vs perfore begyne whils we are hole and pe hete of oure younghede is with vs . lest bat we be taken with deth or we witte. And seeke space of pennaunce and may noon fynde for he pat abydes of amendinge whils he may no more synne :  And perfor he is worthi no mede of $\operatorname{god} /\left[\mathrm{f} .9^{7}\right]$ Bot what may lyke or
 youthehede he shal kepe ale his strenthe vnto god / Alle rychesse and帾 binke bat alle bodily fairnesse / is bot fals and veyne ioy and nouht worth. What shal I sey more / he dispises parfitly ale pinges of pis worlde . pat passen away als a shadowe / A pow
flesshly lufe what fyndes bow in pe flessh pat pow hast so gret delyte in it $/$ § If pow haue ioy and delyte in shappe and fairhede of body / why beholdes pow not what is hydde with inne in be skynne / knowes pow not wele pat fairenesse of flessh is bot an hillynge of foulnesse . enclynynge and norischynge of corrupcion and
oft sithes cause of perdicion and endeles dampnacion /

| Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) | [B] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |


| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
| :---: |
| Late hit therfore suffice [f. 81r] to the . all other thynges dyspyse and sette at nought to loue god and to lofe god. and to be with god to ioye in god. And nat forto go fro god. but forto cleue to hym thorow contynuell and brennyng desyre. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ Ffor to dispyse the world the world hit sylf stereth vs the whyche ys full of so many wrechydnesses. for in hit ys malyce persecucion doune threstyng . envye . diffamynge bacbytyng false imposicions of crimes and bitternesse of sclaundres . Where all thynges been confused . all thynges inordynate Where neyther ryghtwysnes ys loued . neyther sothfastnes ys apreued. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ <br> Also other thynges ther ben that shuld stere vs forto dispyse the world that ys the chaungyng of tyme . shortnes of thys lyfe . deeth that ys vncertayn. The comyng of dethe that ys so vncerteyn stabyInesse of euerlastyng vanyte of thynges that ben now. And sothfastnesse of thynges that ben to come. $\mathbb{q}$ Chese therfore what thow wolt. yef thow loue the world . thow shalt peryssh with the world. © And yef thow loue Ihesu Cryste thow shalt reygne and be kyng with hym in endeles blysse. |
| Of wylfull pouerte. Capitulum iij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$. [col. b] |
| Yef thow wolt be parfyte. Go and syll all that thow haste . and yeue to pore folk . and come and folow me. $\boldsymbol{q}$ In these two that ys in forsakyng of worldly thynges and in folowyng Cryste . for som ben worse after they |

C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C]

## Lete it perfore suffice vnto pee alle

 oopere thinges despised and sette at nouht / to loue god to be with god. to ioye in god. Not for to go fro god / but for to cleue to him thoruh
 many wrecchednesses . ffor in it is malice lastinge . persecusion doun thristinge envye defailinge bacbit-


 fused . alle thinges inordimat is loued / Where neiper rihtwysnesse is loued
ne soothfastnesse is approued.

Also oopere thinges per ben pat shul0
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 vanitee of thinges pat ben now . and soothfastnesse of thinges pat ben to come. © Cheese perfore what pou

 be king with him in eendeles blisse.

Of Wilful pouerte. \Capitulum tercium./

Iff pou wolt be parfyte / go and selle all pat pou hast and yive to poore folk, and come and folwe me. \& In ooldly thinges and in folwinge of [crist] / is hiyeste perfeccion. ๆ But

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

Lat it perfore suffice vnto pe . ale oper pingis dispisede and set at nouht / to lufe god . to lovue god to be with god. to ioy in god. not for to go fro god. bot for to cleue to hym

 is ful of so mony wrechednesse ${ }^{\|}$



 sวءิu! d गV posnjuoo ax sว8u! inordinate / where neiber ryhtwisnesse is lufuede . ne sopefastnes is approued /

Also oper pinges ber are pat shulde n
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Of wilful pouerte. Capitulum ter-
cium.

If pow wilt be parfite / goo and selle ale pat pow has and yeue to pore folke. and come and folowe me. In worldly pinges . and in folowynge of crist / is heyest parfeccion / Bot

## Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

 Line \#$\pm$
182

Capitulum tercium . de paupertate
Si vis perfectus esse vade et vende omnia que habes et sequere me in deserendo que mundi sunt et imiperfeccionem. Non enim omnes qui bona sua derelinquerunt Christum
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
haue forsakyn her goodes . than they
were before.
Then yeue they hem to bacbytyng of
her euyn crysten . they drede nat to
do awey and lese the good fame and
loos of her euen crysten. Then ben
they full of enuy. they fretyn in ma-
lyce . they setten hem self before all
other in her ouene syght. They prey-
sen theyre owne astate and degre .
And blamen and dampnen other
mennys lyuyng. ब
How trowest thow the fende hath
disseued suche maner of men. the
whyche haue neyther the world
neyther god. Whom by diuerse
wrong weyes of errour and wycked-
nesse . he ledeth to euerlastyng
peyne and dampnacion.
Therfore vnderstande well these wor-
dys that been sayde and take pouerte
by another wey. When he seyth ther-
fore go and sylle all that thow hast
thow shalt vnderstande changyng of
thyne affeccions. and of thy
thoughtes . that where thow were
before prowde . angry enuyous . and
couetouse . be now [f. 81v] meke.
softe . pacient. full of charyte large
and fre .
And yef thow haue kepte the thor-
ough grace fro grete synnes here
before . thow shalt nowe absteyne
the . nat only fro all euyll / but also
fro all the spycys of euyll. 1 And yef
thow haue any tyme before synned
thorow outerage of mete and drynke .
thow shalt now amende hit thorow
fastyng and discrete abstinence . yef

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-12lv) [T]
sopely al men pat forsaken worldly
pinges foluen not crist / ffor sume are
worse aftere pey haue forsaken peire
gudes pen pei were before
pen [f.96] yeue pei paim to bac-
bitynge of paire euencristen . peli/
drede not to do away and lesen pe
gude faame and lose of peire euen-
cristen . pen ar pei ful of envie . pei
freten in malice / pei sette paim selfe
before al oper in paire owne syht /
pei lovue and preyse . paire owne
state and degre / and blames and
dampnes oper mennys lyvinge /
How trowes pow pe fende has dece-
yuede swilk maner of men . pe
whilke haue neiper pe worlde ne
god, whom be diuerse wrongeways
of errours and wickednesse / he ledes
to euerlastynge peyne and dampna-
cion /
perfor vndirstonde wele pese wordes
pat ar sayde and take pouert be
anoper way / when he says perfore
goo and selle ale pat pow has / pow
shalt vndirstonde changynge of pin
affeccions . and of pi thouhtys . pat
where pow was before proude . an-
gry . enviouse . and coueitous / be
now meke softe pacient . ful of
charite . large and fre /
And if pow haue keppede pe pruh
grace clene fro grete synnes here
before / bow shalt now abstene pe .
not oonly fro ale yuel . bot also fro
ale pe spices of yuel . And yif pow
haue ony tyme before synned pruh
outrage of mete and drynke pow
shalt now amende it pruh fastynge
and discret abstinens / yif pow haue

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | sequantur . nam non nulli post desercionem bonorum suorum peiores sunt quam ante fuerunt. |
| 194 | Tunc enim deseruiunt detraccioni proximorum suorum bonam famam auferre non pertumescunt tunc inuidia tabescunt malicia frendent. aliis se preponunt . statum suum laudant . alios quoslibet vituperant et condempnant . |
|  | Quomodo putas talibus illusit diabolus . qui nec deum [f. 28v] habent nec mundum . quod per diuersa deliramenta ducit ad eterna tormenta . |
| 202 | Tu vero que dicta sunt intelligens . per aliam viam accipias paupertatem. Cum ergo dicit vade et vende et cetera notat mutacionem affectuum et cogitacionum . vt qui prius superbus fuerat . iam humilis eueniat . Iracundus . mitis . inuidus . caritatiuus. Cupidus . largus . |
| 206 | et si inmundus exstiterat . non solum ab omni malo . set ab omni specie mali abstinere se contendat. Et si in aliquo per cibum et potum ante excesserit deinceps per ieiunium emendet . qui vero mundum nimis amauerat . iam ad amorem dei se totum colligat. omnes dispersiones cordis in vno desiderio eternorum |



bifore ouer michel loued pe world /
pou shalt now gadere pi self al holli to pe loue of god. and festen alle pe skateringes abrood . and pe waveringes of pin herte in al only oon desire of ihesu crist and heuenly And soothly if pou [f. 146r] do pus / panne shal bi wilful pouerte be meedeful to pee. And al pe angwish
 to pee a glorious corowne. Ffor oure lord seith .

Blissed ben pei pat ben poore in spirite . pat is pat ben meeke in here is be owen feelinge. ffor why / heres is pe
kyngdom of heuene. $\checkmark$ What is pouerte but meekenesse . thoruh pe whiche a man seeth his owen freeltee. And whan he seeth pat he of soule but oonly thoruh grace of god /
alle manere of thing pat mihte lette him to resceyue pis grace he forsaketh fully . and setteth his loue and his desire only in ioyinge of his creatour. And riht as from oon roote comen and springen many
pouerte taken on pis manere / springen many wunderful vertues. Nouht as summe doon pat chaungen here clopes but not here soule. $\mathbb{\|}$ Pei seemen for to forsake worldly richesse /
but pei cesen not vnder pe clopes of holinesse for to gadere to gidere vnnowmbrable sinnes and wikked-
nesse.
What is wers pan a proud poore man? What is foulere pan an en-
vyows beggere? Perfore if pou leue

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

before [f. $96^{7}$ ] ouer mykel lufede pe worlde / pow shalt now gedere pi self alholy to be loufe of god. and festen
 wauerynges of [bin] hert . in allonely oon desire of ihesu and heuenly
pinges . pat are ay lastande/ thi wilful pouert be medeful to be / and ale pe anguysche and disese pat pow suffres . shal be to pe a glori-
blessede are pei pat are pore in


 bot mekenesse pruh pe whilke a man
 sees bat he may not come to parfite stabilnesse of soule . bot oonly pruh grace of god /
al manere of pinge pat myhte let/ hym to receyue pis grace. he forsa-
 desire in ioynge of his creatour And ryht als fro oon rote comyn and spryngen mony braunches / ryht so fro wilful pouert taken on pis mantues / Nouht as sume done pat chaun-
 pei semen forto forsake worldely
 clopes of holynesse forto [f.97] gedere in numerable synnes and wickednes /
what is wers ben a proude pore man what is foulere pan an enviouse beggere / perfore if pow leue alpinge for

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

213 Sic nimirum fructuosa erit illi volun-
aria paupertas et angustia quam propter deum patitur corona glori풍

Beati pauperes spiritu .quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum. Quid est enim paupertas . nisi humilitas noscit homo et videns se ad perfectam stabilitatem non posse
pertingere . nisi per graciam dei


## 产

vitam que impedire poterit a gracia percipienda. deserit et in solo Conditoris sui gaudio desiderium suum ponit. Et sic ex vna radice multi rami oriuntur. Sic ex voluntaria paupertate
taliter sumpta virtutes inestimabiles procedunt. Non sicut quidam qui tunicam mutant non animam immo diuicias videntur deserere et innumerabilia vicia non ces[f. 29r]sant congregare .

Quid peius paupere superbo . quid
execrabilius mendico inuido. Tu
vero si omnia propter deum deseru-
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
all thyng for god. beholde more
what thow despysyst than what thow
forsakest. loke besyly howe thow
mayst folow cryste in vertues . lerne
of me he seyth. ffor I am mylde and
meke of hert. \&
Sothely pouerte by hit sylf ys no
vertew neyther preysable. but rather
wrechednes but for as moche as hit
ys an instrument of vertew. and hit
helpeth to gete endeles blysse. Ther-
fore hit ys desyrable. hit maketh a
man nat to be worshippyd . but to be
dyspysed. though he be vertuos.
namely amonge myghty and ryche
worldy men. Whyche despite and
reprefe to suffre mekely and gladly
for Ihesu Cryste was pore in thys
worlde. for he knew well that hit ys
full harde to ryche men. and to hem
that habounden in delyces for to
come to the kyngdom of heuyn .
And for we shuld more feruently
couere and take thys pouerte he be-
hyght souuereyn worshyp to hem
that forsaken all thynges for hym that
ys to sey power of dome. [f. 82r]
Where he seyth in the gospelle. ye
that haue forsaken all thyng . and
folowen me. ye shall sytte demyng
the [twelve] kynredys of Israell.



| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | eris. vide magis quid contempnis quam quid relinquis . vide diligenter quomodo Christum imiteris in moribus. Discite inquit a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde . |
| 230 | non enim per se paupertas virtus est sed magis miseria. nec per se laudabilis est set quia est instrumentum virtutis . et adquirandam beatitudinem adiuuat quia vitare multas occasiones peccandi facit. Ideo laudabilis est et optabilis . Ffacit enim hominem non honorari . sed despici quamuis virtuosus sit inter seculi potentes et amatores que omnia sustinere pro Christo summum meritum est . propterea Christus ad exemplum nostrum. pauper in via fuit quia sciuit eos qui in diuicijs et deliciis habundant difficile intraturos in regnum celorum . |
| 238 | Vnde vt auidius paupertatem amplecterentur . summum honorem hiis qui propter ipsum omnia reliquerunt promisit . scilicet iudicariam potestatem . dicens. Vos qui reliquistis omnia . et secuti estis me . sedebitis super sedes duodecim. iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel . |
| 243 | Qui vero paupertatem habent et carent humilitate miserabiliores sunt omnibus qui diuicijs habundant . nec accipient in iudicio sedem apostolice dignitatis set induemur diploide confusionis que est duplex dampnacio videlicet anime et corporis [f. $29 \mathrm{v}]$ - |

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
mantell of confusion . that ys double
dampnacion of body and soule.
But they that shyne in mekenesse
thowgh they haue rychesse . neuer-
theles they shullen be seet at the ry-
ghthand of cryste when he demeth.
Som seyn . we may nat forsake all
thynges . we ben syke and feble . and
therfore vs behoueth to holde som
thyng where with we may lyue . thys
ys lefull . but they ben the lesse
worthe / for they dar nat for crystes
sake suffre the streytnesse ne the
hardnes of pouerte. a
Neuertheles they may thorow goddys
grace come to parfeccion and heygth
of vertewes . and be reysed vp to
contemplacion yef they forsake all
occupacions and worldly nedys.
And yeue hem besyly and mekely to
prayer and meditacion and suche
thyng as they haue of worldly
goodys loue hit nat . but forsake the
loue of hit . for Ihesu criste.
And wete they ryght well that for to
gete more than barely nedeth hit ys
of couetyse . but for to | forsake all
for cryste . hit ys of perfecion . And
therfore . whyles they seen hygher
thynges aboue hem the whyche they
mowen nat come to . they shuld nat
be prowde ney ther presumptuos of
that lytyll that they han. so that they
myght come to the rewle and the
forme of good lyuyng . treuthe meke-
nesse and feruent loue of Ihesu
cryste.

| confusion . pat is double dampnacion of bodi and soule. $\boldsymbol{T}$ <br> But pei pat shine in meekenesse . alpouh pei abounde in richesse / neuerbeles bei shulen be sette at be riht hand of cryst whan he deemeth. - Summe men seyn. We may not forsake . alle we ben syke and feble. And perfore us bihooueth holde sum thing wher with we may lyve. © Pis is leefful. But pei ben pe lesse wurpi / for pei dar not for cristes sake suffre pe streytnesse ne pe hardnesse of pouerte. $\uparrow$ <br> Neuerpeles pei may thoruh goddes grace come to pe perfeccion and heighte of vertues . and be reised up to contemplacion . if bei forsaken alle occupa[f. 147r]cions and worldly needes . and yive hem bisily and meekely to preyere and meditacion. And swich thing as pei haue of worldly good / loue it not but forsake pe loue of it for ihesu crist. ब And wite pei riht wel . pat for to gete more pan barely needeth / it is of coueytise. But for to forsake al for cryst / it is of perfeccion. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ And perfore whil pei seen highere thinges abouen hem pe whiche pei mowe not atteyne to / pei shulden not be proude ne presumptuows of pat litel pat pei haue. So pat pei mihte come to pe rewle and pe forme of good lyvinge . thoruh meekenesse and feruent louef |
| :---: |
|  |  |

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90 r-121v)
ble dampnacion of body and soule /
Bot pei pat shyne in mekenes pof al
bei abounde in ryches / Neuerpeles
pay shal be sete at pe ryhthonde of
crist when he demes / Sume men
seyne we may not forsake alle we ar
seke and feble and perfore vs be-
houes holde sume pinge wher with
we may lyf / pis is leful bot pei are
pe lesser worth / for pai dar not for
cristes sake. sufffe pe streylt/nesse
ne pe hardenesse of pouerte /
Neuerbeles pei may pruh goddis
grace come to pe parfeccion and
heyht of vertues . and be raysed vp to
contempplacion . if bai forsak al oc-
cupacions and worldly nedes and
gif paim bisyli and mekly to prayere
and meditacion. And swilke pinge as
pei haue of worldly goodes lufe it not
bot forsake pe lufe of it for ihesu
crist /
And wete pai ryht wele . pat for to
get more pan barely nedes . it is of
coueitise / bot forto forsake al for
crist it is of parfeccion / And perfor
whils pei see heyere pinges abouen
hem pe whilke pei mow not ateyne
to / pei shulde not be proude ne pre-
sumpteous [f.98'] of pat lytel pat pei
haue / so pat pei myht come to pe
reule and forme of goode lyuynge .
pruh meknesse and feruent loue of
ihesu crist.

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
| 247 | Qui autem mansuetudine pollent. licet diuicias habeant tamen ad dexteram Christi cum iudicat statuentur . Dicunt enim quidam . omnia relinquere non possumus . infirmi sumus necessaria nobis retinere oportet vnde viuamus . licitum est hoc . set minus valent . quia angustias paupertatis pro Christo sustinere non audent. |
|  | tamen possunt per dei graciam ad culmen virtutum pertingere . et ad contemplacionem se leuare si ocupaciones et negocia secularia deserant et ad orandum et meditandum indefesse assurgant et ea que habent non amando possideant . et possidendo relinquant $\boldsymbol{~}$ - |
| 256 | Attendant et quod superfluum vilis cupiditas est . sed omnia relinquere perfeccionis dum ergo considerant alciora que non attingunt de minoribus non presumant . vt ad institucionem vite ascendere mereantur . de qua nunc agendum est. |



| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) $\quad[C]$ |
| :--- |
| How a man shal ordeyne his ly- |

How a man shal ordeyne his ly-
That a man may rightwysly be 0
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0
0 evencristene / foure thinges rennen to
my mynde to be seid. 1 maketh定
 mouth . and of werk. $\boldsymbol{\top}$ In thouht sinneth a man ayens god . if he occupie not his herte in praysinge of god if he suffre it to obstracte in diuerse thou-
htes . and to be rennynge aboute in htes. and to be rennynge aboute in
pe world. $\uparrow$ With mouth sinneth a man ayens god . whan he lyeth. whan he swereth . whan he curseth . whan he bacbiteth. whan he defendeth errour .
bouh it be him self vnwitinge . whan he speketh foly woordes or veyn woordes. $\uparrow$

In werk sinneth a man in many man-


 many oopere maneres. $\ddagger$
be secunde is to wite what thinges clensen a man. $\mathbb{A}$ And pei ben thre . ayens pe thre simnes bifore seid. Contricion of herte . ayens pe sinne of thought. - Confession of mouth . whiche se be nol and whiche ouhte to be naked. hool and
hasty.

And satisfaccion ayens be sinnes of dede . pe whiche hath thre partyes .

How a man shal ordeyne. and disHow a man shal ordeyne. and
pose his lyuyng. Capitulum quar-

That a man may ryhtwisly be dressed
to be worship of god to profite of to be worship of god. to profite of
him self and helpe of his euencristen / foure pinges rynne to mynde to be saide /
ffirst is to knowe what pinges make a man foule / and pai are pre kynde of synnes / pat is of pouht of mouthe. and of werke. In pouht synnes a
 his herte in louyngis and lufynge . if he suffre it to be abstracte in diuerse pouhtes and to be rennende abowte in pe worlde/
with mouthe synnes a man ayeyns god when he lyes. when he sweres. when he curses . when he bacbites . when he defendes errour bof it be him selfe vnwitynge . when he spekes foly wordes foule wordes . or wayne wordes /

In werke synnes a man ayeyns god in many maneres / In doyng lechry . in白
 oute gret nede to stel and in mony oper maneres /
pe secunde is to wete . what pinges clensen a man . and pei are pre / ayeyns be [f. $\left.98^{\prime \prime}\right]$ bre synnes befor sayde / Contricion of hert / ayeyns be mouthe ayeyns be synne of mouthe / pe whilke ouhte to be naked hole and hasty /

And satisfaccion ayeyns pe synnes of
dede / pe whilke has pre parties / pe

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v - 45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
| 262 | Capitulum quartum . De institucione vite |
|  | Ut homo ad honorem dei et comodi sui ac vtilitatem proximorum recte dirigatur quatuor occurrunt dicenda. |
|  | Primo que sunt que ipsum inquinant et sunt tria genera peccatorum . scilicet . cogitacionis . oris . et operis 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 . |
| 269 | Ore peccat . quando mentitur . quando periurat . quando maledicit . quando [f.30r] detrahit . quando errorem licet ignorans defendit . quando stultiloquia . vel turpiloquia . vel vana profert . $\uparrow$ |
|  | Opere peccat multis modis . luxuriando. lubrice tangendo osculando . voluntate se polluendo . vel sine maxima necessitate furando . percuciendo . et aliis modis . |
|  | Secundo que mundificant 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 . 1 |
| 278 | Satisfaccio que habet tres partes . scilicet. Ieiunium . quia peccauit |


|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| [col. b] © The furst ys fastyng , for he synned ayenst hymself. © The $\mathrm{ii}^{\mathrm{de}}$ ys prayer for he synned ayenst god. ब The $\mathrm{iij}^{\text {de }}$ ys almysdede . for he synned ayenst hys neyghbor. © Neuertheles I sey nat that he shall yeue almes of other mennes good / but he shall restore hit for the synne ys nat foryeuen . but yef hit be restored that . that ys so taken . yef hit in anywyse may be doon. $\boldsymbol{\text { a }}$ <br> The iij ${ }^{\text {de }}$ ys to wete what thynges kepyn clennesse of hert. And they ben thre. The furst ys waker thynkyng on god. so that there be no tyme . but that thow thenke on god / outake slepe that ys comon to all. ब The $\mathrm{ij}^{\mathrm{de}} \mathrm{ys}$ besynesse of kepyng of the owtward wyttes that ys . that thy tastyng and smellyng . heryng and seyng and towchyng be wysely restreyned vnder the brydyll of heuynly disciplyne. © The $\mathrm{iij}^{\mathrm{de}}$ ys honest occupacion as redyng of holy wryt . spekyng of god . wrytyng . or som other good dede doyng . <br> Also iij thynges kepen clennes [col. b] of mouth. Oon ys avysyng before or we speke. Another ys forto fle moche speche. The iij ${ }^{\text {de }}$ ys hatyng of lesynges. ब <br> Also thre thynges kepen clennesse of werk. Oon ys meseryng and temperaunce of mete and drynke and slepe. $\lceil$ Another ys departyng from euyll company. The iij ${ }^{\text {de }}$ ys besy thynkyng on thy deth. for the wyseman seyth . Thynke euer on thy last ende. And thow shalt neuer do syn. - |  |
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| C. |
| :---: |
| pe firste is fastinge for he sinnede ayens him self. pe secunde is preyere for he sinnede ayens god. $\boldsymbol{\uparrow}$ Pe thridde is almesse dede . for he sinnede ayens his neigheboure. $\quad$ a Neuerbeles I sey not pat he shal do almesse dede of oopere mennes good / but he shal restore it. ffor be sinne is nouht foryoven / but if it be restored pat is taken. if it in any wise may be doon. ${ }^{-1}$ <br> pe thridde is . to witen what thinges keepen clennes of herte. $\uparrow$ And pei ben thre. $\uparrow$ be firste is waker thinkinge on god. So pat per be no time but pat pou thinke on god out take slep pat is commune to alle. $\boldsymbol{\\|} \mathrm{Pe}$ secunde is bisinesse of be keepinge of pe outward wittes . pat pi tastinge and smellinge heeringe seeinge . and touchinge / be wysly restreyned . vnder pe bridel of heuenly discipline. Pe thridde is honest occupacion . as redinge of holi writ . spekinge of god . writinge or sum ooper good dede dooinge. 9 <br> Also thre thinges keepen clennes of mouth. ¢ Oon is avisinge bifore er we speke. An ooper is to flee michel speche . pe thridde is hatinge of lesinges. ${ }^{\boldsymbol{\sigma}}$ <br> Also thre thinges keepen clennes of werk. © Oon is mesuringe and temperaunce of mete and drink and slep. An ooper is departinge from euel cumpanye . pe thridde is bisy [f. 148r] thinkinge on pe deth. ffor be wise man seith. $\uparrow$ Thinke euere on pi laste eende / and pou shalt neuere sinne. ${ }^{\top}$ <br> pe feerbe is what byndeth and confermeth oure wil to gooddes wil. $\uparrow$ |


| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) $\quad[T]$ |
| :--- |

first is fastynge / for he synnede ay-
ens hym selfe / pe secunde is pray-
ere / for he synnede ayens god / be
predde is almesdede for he synnede
ayeyns his neyhbore / Neuerbeles I
say not pat he shal gif almesdede of
oper menys gude / bot he shal restore
it / for pe synne is not foryeuen bot if
it be restorede pat is taken / if it in
any wyse may be done /
pe pridde is to wete what pinges ke-
pen clennes of herte / and pei are pre / pe first is wakere pinkynge on god. so pat per be no tyme bot pat
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0 wittes . pat pi tastynge and smellynge
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 honeste occupacion as redinge of -!им • pos јо викуәds • әиبм кјоч tynge or sume oper gude dede
 mouth. On is / avisinge befor or we
 speche / pe predde is hatynge of le-

Also pre pingis kepen clenes of werke / Oon is mesuryng and temperaunce of mete and drinke and
 cumpanye . pe pridde is besy pinkynge on pe deth. ffor pe wise man
says. Thinke ay on pi last ende / and says. Thinke ay on ni laere synne.

[^112]| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | contra seipsum. Oracionem quia peccauit contra deum. Elemosinam quia peccauit contra proximum . non tamen dico quod de bonis alienis . faciat elemosinam set restituat . quia nisi restituatur ablatum . non dimittetur peccatum. . |
| 284 | Tercio que mundiciam conseruant sunt tria . scilicet . vigil meditacio dei .vt nullum sit tempus quo non cogites de deo . excepto sompno qui omnibus est communis. Solicitudo custodie exteriorum sensuum vt gustus . olfactus . auditus . visio . tactus sub superna disciplina sapienter arceantur . honesta ocupacio sicut legendo . vel aliquid de deo loquendo . aut scribendo . vel aliquid vtile faciendo. ${ }^{-1}$ |
| 290 | Similiter tria sunt que custodiunt mundiciam oris . loquendi premeditacio . cauere a multiloquio . mendacij detestacio . |
|  | Item mundiciam operis tria conseruant . Alimentorum moderacio . praue societatis [ f .30 v ] declinacio . et iugis mortis meditacio . |
| 296 | Quarto que ad conformitatem dominice voluntatis nos alliciunt sunt |


| D |
| :---: |
| And they ben thre. One ys the ensample of creaturys / the whyche ys geten thorow consideracion. Another ys homelynesse of god. the whyche ys geten by prayer and heuynly meditacion. ${ }^{\boldsymbol{\sigma}}$ The iij ${ }^{\text {de }}$ ys myght and ioying in god the whyche ys geten thorow loue and contemplacion. $\uparrow$ <br> So the seruaunt of god that ys on thys wyse ordeyned to lyfe / ys as a tree that ys set besydys the rennynges out of wateres that ys to say besydes the flowynges of grace that he may euermore wex grene in vertew the whyche shall yeue hys frute that ys good werkes and ensample and good yeftys vnto helpe of hys euen crysten / in tyme he shall yeue all thys to the honoure and the worshyp of god . nat selle hit for veyne ioye of the world. © Therfore prayde the prophete whan he seyde [f. 83r] goodnesse . disciplyne and kunnyng teche me lord . for I haue trowed in thy Comaundmentes. $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ What ys disciplyne / but correccion and reformyng of maneres and of lyuyng . nought elles. $\uparrow$ <br> Ffurst therfore ben we enformed and taught thorough disciplyne and ryghtwysnesse and amended fro euyll . And therafter knowen we what we shullen do. And what we shullen fle. And at the laste oure desyre and oure couetyse ys taken fro erthly thynges. Whan any man with all hys besynesse and myght hath dressed and conformed hym to the wyll of god. And hath encresyd in vertevs. And perauenture ouer- |


| C.U. Ff.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) | [C] |
| :---: | :---: |

And pei ben thre. $\uparrow$ Oon is pe ensampler of creatures. pe which is geten homelynesse of god . pe whiche is geten bi preyere. and heuenly meditacion. ๆ Pe thridde is miht and ioyinge in god . pe whiche is geten tho-
ruh loue and contemplacion.

And soo pe seruant of god . pat is on
 is sette bisides pe rennynges out of wateres . pat is to seye biside pe

flowinges of grace . pat he may | $\circ$ |
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| 0 | whiche shal yive his frute . pat is goode werkes in example . and al pis

 Not selle it for veyn ioye of be world. $\|$ Perfore preyede pe prophete whan he seide. 『 Goodnesse . disci-
 maundementes. $\uparrow$ What is discipline / but correccion and refoormynge of maneeres and of lyvinge. Nouht

Ffirst berfore ben we enfoormed and tauht thoruh discipline . and rihtwysnesse and amended fro euel. $\uparrow$ And 0
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0 do . and what we shule flee. And at pe laste / oure desire and oure coueytise is taken fro eerpely thinges. ๆ Whan any man with al his bisynesse and miht hath dressed . and confoormed him to pe wil of god. and hath encreses in ver[f.148v]tues

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

pai are pre. On is pe ensamplere of creaturis / pe whilke is getyn purh consideracion. An oper is homly- be nesse of god / pe whilke is geten be praire and heuenly meditacion / pe
pridde is myhte and ioyinge ing conpe whilke is goten purh lufe and con-
templacion/

And so pe seruant of god pat is on 0
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0 pat is sette besyde pe rynnynges oute of waters. pat is to sey beside pe flowynges of grace pat he may euermore wax grene in vertue / be whilke shal yeue his fruyte . pat is gude werkes in exsample . and gude E
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0 In tyme / he shal yeue al pis to pe honour and pe worshippe of god/ selle it for vayne ioy of be worlde / perfor prayde pe prophete when he荡 cunnynge teche [f. $\left.99^{\vee}\right]$ me lorde. I 믇 ers and of lyuynge / Nouht ellis /
ffirste perfore ar we enformede and tauht purh discipline and ryhtwisnesse / and amendede fro yuel / And ber after knowe we what we shulde do and what we shuld fle / And at pe last oure ddesire and oure/ coueityse is taken fro erpely pingis . and raysede vp vnto heuenly pingis / When any man with al his besynesse and myht has dressede and confourmede hym to pe will of god. and has encresced in vertues. and parauenture

| Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) | $[B]$ |
| :--- | :--- |

Line \#
et tria . scilicet . creaturarum exemplaritas que accenditur per consideracionem . dei . ffamiliaritas . que adquiritur per meditacionem ditas. que adquiritur per contemplacionem

## - Itaque vir dei in hunc modum ad

 - Itaque vir dei in hunc modum adviuendum institutus est tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus fluenta graciarum vt semper virescat in virtute . quod fructum suum dabit id est . bona opera in exemplum et bona data in subsidium . dabit in-
quam ad honorem dei. non vendet quam ad honorem dei . non vendet
pro inani gloria mundi . Proinde orauit qui dixit . Bonitatem et disciplinam. et scienciam doce me. Quid est disciplena. nisi . morum insti-
tucio vel correccio .

Primo ergo per disciplinam in rectitudinem instruimur vel a malis corrigimur. Deinde cognoscimus et scimus . quid agere et quid vitare debeamus tandem sapimus non isu ad volutatem Conditoris se direverit atque in virtutibus succeruerit . aliosque qui forte eum precesserint constancia viuendi et desiderio ere aut gloriari vel sibi quicquid tribuere aut
se eciam hijs que praui videntur su-
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
in desyre of Thesu cryste . than other that ben of lenger tyme than he / he shuld nat therfore haue veyne ioye. neyther yeue any thyng to hymsylf or者
 he shuld holde hymself vylest and most wreche of all . And deme no-





be lest in place and lest in opynyan .
for euer the gretter that thow art / so moche the more [col. b] make thyself lowe in all thynges. And than thow
 -лом Sí әч иәи әуәи јо риу pos јо shypped and honoured. Therfore of prowde men that seken her owne ioye and nat goddys worshyp / he ys despysed.
yef hit befall that god forbede that
thow hast ioye in fauoure of the peple. And resceyuest gladly the fauour and the honour that ys doon to thee of men / for thy good fame and holynesse. Wete thow ryght well here. And thowgh thow seme chast and in penaunce. $\uparrow$ Neuertheles whyle thow hast more delyte in fauour of men . than in ioye of angelother world but payn and turmentys of endeles dampnacion. $\uparrow$
lyuynge . and desire of Thesu crist .
oper pat are of longer tyme pan he / he shulde not perfore haue vayne ioy
 selfe . or holde hym selfe heyere or better pan paim pat semen synners or yuel men / bot he shulde holde hym vilest and most wreche of alle and deme no man bot hym self. and sette al oper men abouen hym self. and
 and reprouede of alle. And when he comes amonge men . loke in as mykel as in hym is. pat he be last in place and lest in opinyoun /

ffor ay . pe gretter bat bow arte so [f. | 0 |
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 grace before god to be maade hye / ffor gret is pe powere of god. and of $\square$
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 seke paire oune ioy and not goddis wirschippe / he is despised /

If it befall pat god forbede / pat pou hast ioy in pe fauoure of be peple . and resceyueste gladly pe fauoure and honoure pat is done to pe of men
for pi gude fame. and holynesse / wete pou ryht welle pat pou hast resceyuede pi mede here / And pof alle pow seme chast and in pennaunce / neuerpeles whils pow hast more delite in fauor of men . pan in roy of angelles / pow shalt nouht haue in pe toper [worlde] . bot payne 흥
Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]
quia quanto maior es. humilia te in
 magna est potencia domini dei . et ab humilibus honoratur . ergo a superbis contempnitur . qui suam gloriam
querunt non dei.

Si autem quod absit in fauore proprio gloriaris et honorem tibi pro fama oblatum a plebe assumpseris cum gaudio . scito te hic recepisse mercedem tuam. Et quamuis penitens vel continens videaris. dum magis gelorum nichil in futuro restat nisi tormentum. ©
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
Thow shalt therfore at the begynnyng
parfytely dispyse thy self. And fle
and put awey and set at nought all
worldly ioy. And sette all thyne en-
tent. And the loue of thyne hert so
fully and hooly in god / that thow do
nothyng ne thenke but only for loue
and worshyp of god . so that all thy
lyuyng inward crye and shewyng be
in the preysyng of god.
In mete and drynke thow shalt be
scarse in dyscrete maner thow shalt
nothyng forsake ne put awey for the
tyme [f. 83v] And place that crysten
men vsen with thankyng of god .
whyle thow etest and drynkest . loke
that the mynde be of thy god that
fedeth the / passe nat awey fro thyn
hert so that thyne hert be more besy
aboute the loouyng and worshippyng
of god / than aboute thy mete .
And yef thow do thus / thow shalt
ascape and dryve awey temptacions
of the fende that most besyly away-
teth vs in mete and drynke to disceue
vs. \& Ffor vnwyse men eyther by
vnmesurable takyng of mete and
drynke / ben cast doune fro the
hyghnesse of vertue . other thorough
ouermoche abstinence / breken hem-
sylf in the self vertew . so that they
may nat for weykenes and febylnesse
fulfyll ne brynge to ende . that they
haue begun and bothe ben despysyng
to god And ayenst hys wyll. \& Many
ben euermore so vnstable and so
vncerteyn in etyng and drynkyng /
that they taken alweyes eyther ouer-
moche eyther ouerlytyll . And so
they holdyn no tyme / neyther forme
of lyuyng . the whyle they hold now

| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) | [C] |
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| ore at be big |  |

Pou shalt perfore at pe biginnynge
parfytli despise pi self . and flee . putte awey . and sette at nount al worldly ioye and sette al pin entente and be loue of pin herte so fully and holly in god / pat pou doo no thing loue and wurshipe of god. so bat al pi livinge inward and outward / crye and shewe pe loovinge land preis-

In mete and drink and sleep . pou shalt lbe/ scarce and discrete . pou shalt no thing forsake ne putte awey fro pe time and place pat cristene Whiles bou ctest and drinkest/ looke
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 preysinge of god pan aboute pi mete.

And if bou do pus / bou shalt escape 0
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 vnwise men eiper bi vnmesurable哥

 not for weiknesse and feebilnesse
 haue bigune and bope ben disple응 Manye ben eueremore so vnstable inge / pat pei taken alwey eiper ouermichel. or ouerlitel. And so pei holvinge. Whiles pei holden now oon bettere . now an ooper.
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

pute away and sette at nouht al
worldly ioy. and sette al pin entente and be luf of pin herte so fully and
holly in god / pat pow do no pinge no pinke . bot oonly for luf and wirschippe of god / So pat al pi lyuinge inwarde and outwarde crie and

In mete and drynke and slepe pow shalt lbe/ scarce and discrete. pow shalt no pinge forsake ne putte away. for pe tyme and place. [f. nge of god / whils bow etes and
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0 aboute pe lovuynge of god / panne aboute pi mete /

And if pow do pus . pow shalt eschape and dryue away temptacions
 vs in mete and drynke to desceyue

 are casten downe fro heynes of verue / or purh ouermykel absing breken hem in pe selfe vertue / so pat pei may not for wayknesse and reble. pai haue begunne . and bope are dis-
plesaunce to god and ayeyns his wille / Mony are euermore so vnstable and vncerteyne in etynge and drynkynge / pat pai taken al ways . epir ouermykel or ouerlitel . and so pei holde no tyme ne no fourme of liuynge / whils bei holde now on

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

Debes ergo te ipsum despicere . et omnem mundi gloriam penitus declinare et nichil nisi domini amoris intuitu cogitare. vel agere . vt tota vita intus et extra laudem clamet dei

In cibo et potu sis parcus et discretus . nichil enim reiciendum est pro tempore quod cum graciarum a bibis . memoria dei tui qui te pascit a mente tua non recedat. vt magis cor tuum in laudem dei quam in cibo attendat.

344 Sic enim faciens temptaciones demonum que maxime in cibo et potu insidiantur effugabis . aut enim incautos per inmoderatam assumpcionem alimentorum $a b$ arce virtutum deiciunt . aut per nimiam abstinenciam in ipsa virtute frangunt. multi sunt qui comedendo semper fluctuant . vt aut minus aut magis continue sumant et formam viuend nunquam tenent dum nunc . nunc melius illud putant

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| They that ben vnwyse and assayed neuer yet ne felyd the swetnes of the loue of god / supposen and wenen that vndiscrete abstinence be souerayn holynesse. And they wenen that they may nat be made hooly but thorowgh an vncustumable and an vnryghtwys abstinence so that they may appere singuler and knowen of men . but yef [col. b] hit be discrete . but helpeth a man to be hooly / yef hit be vndiscrete / hit letteth a man to be vertuous. Who so therfore wold take a singler abstinence / he shuld fle the syght and preysyng of men. for men demyn hem most holy oft tymes / Whom they seen most abstinent. Whan hit ys ofte sythys otherwyse / in sothfastnesse . for he that hath sothfastly tasted and feled the swetnes of the loue of god / he shall nat deme any man more passyng or more holy . for abstinence of mete or drynke . but so moche shal he deme hym of the lasse pryse . that he ys holde more wonderfull in abstinence ayenst other man. $\uparrow$ <br> Hit ys best therfore as Itrowe and most plesyng to god that a man conforme hym in mete for the place and the tyme that he ys conuersant with . so that he seme nat a feyner of Relygion. 〔 Wete they well there ben suche men / that though oon or two fele well of hym / all other shall deme ypocrysy of hem and feynyng But ther ben som that on no wyse wollen nat be seyn comyng amonges men that they etyn so lytell . that |  |
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| pei pat ben vnwise and assayeden neuere yit ne felten be swetnesse of pe loue of god / supposen and weenen pat in discreete abstinence / be souereyn holiness. And pei weenen pat pei may not be maad holy / but thoruh an vncustomable and vnrihtwise abstinence. So pat pei may appeere singuleer and be knowen of men. But sikerly abstinence bi it self is not holinesse . [f. 149v] but it be discreet / It helpeth a man to be holy. 『I If it be vndiscreet/ it letteth a man to be vertuows. Who so perfore wolde take a singuler abstinence / he shulde flee sighte and preysinge of men. ffor men deemen hem most holi ofte times / whom pei seen most abstinent. Whan it is ofte sipes ooperweys in soothfastnesse. Ffor he pat hath soothfastli tasted and feeled pe swetnesse of pe loue of god / he shal not deeme any man . more passinge or more holi for abstinence of mete and drink. ๆ But so michel shal he deeme him of lesse prise / pat he is holden more wunderful in abstinence anemptes oopere men. <br> It is best perfore as I trowe and most plesinge to god . pat a man confoorme him in mete. for be place and time and honeste to hem pat he is conuersaunt withal so pat he seeme not a feynere of religion. ब Wite pei weel pat ben swiche men . pat pouh oon or two feele weel of hem / alle oopere shulen deeme ypocrylsy/e of hem and feynynge. $\uparrow$ But per ben sume pat on no wise wil not lbe/ seyn commune amonges |


| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T |
| :---: |
| pai pat are vnwise . and assaiede neuer yette ne felede pe swetnes of pe lufe of god. supposen and wenen pat undescrete abstinens . be souereyne holynesse / And pei wenen pat pei may not be made holy . but purh an vncustimable and [f. 101 ${ }^{\text {] }}$ vnryhtwise abstinence . so pat bei may appere singuler and be knowen of men. Bot sikirly abstinence be it selfe is not holynesse. Bot if it be discrete / it helpes a man to be holy yefe it be vndiscrete / it lettes a man to be vertuous / Who \so/ perfore wolde take a singulere abstinence / he shulde fle syht and preisynge of men / ffor men demen hem mooste holy oft tymes . whom bei see most abstinent / when it is oft sithes operwise in sopefastnesse / ffor he pat has sopefastly tasted and felde pe swetnesse of pe lufe of god / he shal not deme any man more passande . or more holy / for abstinence of mete and drynke. Bot so mykel shal he deme him of lesse pris / pat he is holden more wonderful in abstinence anentys oper men / <br> It is best perfore as I trowe and mooste plesyng to god / pat a man confourme hym in mete for pe place and tyme . and honeste / til paim . pat he is conuersant wit all / so pat he seme not a feynere of religioun / wete pei wele pat are swilke men. pat pof oon or two fel wele of paim / al oper shal deme ypocricy of paim and feinynge / Bot per are sume pat on no wise wil not be seyne comune amonges men pat pei eiper ete so |

Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r)
[B]
Estimant enim . [f. 31v] indocti qui
dulcedinem domini amoris nunquam
sunt experti quod abstinencia indis-
creta sit summa sanctitas . nec aliter
sanctos se fieri posse putant nisi per
insolitam et iniustam abstinenciam.
vt singulares homnibus innotescant.
Sed vere abstinencia per se non est
sanctitas . set si discreta sit adiuuat vt
quis sanctus fiat. Si quis autem ab-
stinenciam singularem velit assumere
visus hominum et laudes debet vi-
tare. Iudicant enim homines fre-
quenter illos sanctiores quos vident
abstinenciores . cum sepe sunt inferi-
ores in veritate . Qui vero suauitatem
superni amoris veraciter gustauerit
nuncquam in abstinencia quemquam
precellere iudicabit . immo apud se
tanto inferius iudicabitur quanto
apud homines in abstinencia mirabi-
lis habetur .


men for bei eyper leten/ so litel. pat
pei make algates men speke of hem . or elles pei seeken ooper kynde of metes. So pat pei may be vnlike in sum thing to alle oopere men. whos abstinesse be ferre awey fro me. Soothly it is \heleful/ counseil and
siker bat bei bat ben of lesse abstinence / holden hem bettere . pat been of more abstinence . and haue conpuccion of herte / for pei may not do so michel abstinence as oopere men

And on pat ooper side pei pat ben of wunderful abstinence / pat pei holde oopere men abouen hem pat doon not so michel [f. 150r] abstinence in
 is hid fro men in pe whiche pei passen. $\mathbb{\|}$ Soothly whiles here abstinence is so loued and preysed of many men . but if it be born up . and kept thoruh gret meeknesse bifore god / it is nouht. \& But ooper mennes vertu is so michel pe more / pat it is not seyn ne knowen of men outward. © Who may wite how michel a man brenneth lin loue/ ayens god . or how michel he shineth in compassion ayens his evencristene? And with oute doute pe vertu of charitee passeth with oute comparison al abstinence . and alle oopere werkes pat

And ofte it falleth pat bei bat shewen of lesse abstinence bifore men / ben
 with inne bifore god. ffor it bihooueth hem to be strong / pat shulen of god. And perfore whan a mannes flesh is maad weyk thoruh ouer-

## litell pat pei gare algates men speke

 [f. $101^{\text {¹ }}$ ] of hem . or ellys pei sekyn oper kynde of metys . so pat pai may be vnlike in sume pinge to al oper men whos abstinence be ferre away fro me / Sopely it is helful counceile of more abstinence . and haue com-
 do so mykel abstinence as oper men may/

And on be toper syde pai pat are of wonderful abstinence / pat pei holde oper men abouen hem pat do not so mykel abstinence in syht of men
 whils peire abstinence is so lovued and praisede of mony men / bot if it be borne vp and kept purh grete mek-
 oper mennys vertue is so mykel

 god. or how mykel he shynes in compassioun ayeyns his euencristen/ And with outen doute pe vertue of charite passes with oute comparisoun may be seyne

And oft it falles pat pei pat shewen lesse abstinence befor men / are wibinne before god / ffor it behoues

 of god / And perfore when a manys
flessh is made wayke . purh ouer-

| Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[B]$ <br> verba hominum ad se trahant aut |
| :--- |

verba hominum ad se trahant aut
alterius generis cibos sibi auferri
procurent vt in aliquo ceteris videantur dissimiles. quorum obstinacio longe sit a me. verumtamen salubre refern abstinenciores et quia sic preferant abstinenciores. et quant abstinere . mente compungantur. $\uparrow$

Illi autem qui mirabilis [f. 32r] sunt abstinencie alios se superiores estiment quorum virtus hominibus latet in qua excellunt. dum enim virtus illorum . abstinencia a multis laudatur . nisi magna fulciatur humilitate . coram Christo pro nichilo habetur . Aliorum autem virtus tanto maior tur . Quis enim hominum cognoscere poterit . quanto amore quis erga deum ferueat quanta compassione erga proximum illucescat. Et sine dubio virtus caritatis omnem abstipossunt excedit.

N


| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) | [C] |
| :---: | :---: |

michel abstinence of mete and drink and slep / a man ofte tymes is maad vnmighti to preye. $\uparrow$ And michel more panne he shal not mown lifte
 me were leeuere pat a man failede for mikelnesse of loue . pan for fastinge. As pe spouse seith .

Telleth to my loued / pat I languishe for loue. $\mathbb{q}$ And soothly fastinge of bred and water pleseth not god so
michil / as forsakinge of sinne. $\uparrow$ perfore be pou stable in alle pine weyes . and after pis rewle pat is yoven to pee / ordeyne pi lyf. $\$$ And
albouh bou miht not in be firste biginnynge atteyne ne come to pat fore . ne mis- [f. 150 v ] triste not . but continue forth and perseuere . ffor bi long time and excersise / pou shalt mowen come to parfeccion. 1 reste / lifte up alwey pe eye of pi soule vnto god . and lat neuere pi thouht go fro him. $\uparrow$ Ffor al pat time pat pou thinkest not on god / pou might a conte it thing pat pou hast
lost. $\uparrow$ Loue god in pi soule . and coueyte eueremore his loue . pat slepe fynde be neuere ooperweys ocupyed . pan eiper preyinge or
thinkinge on god. And looke warly
 with veyne thouhtes. $\mathbb{1}$ Ne yive pee not to ouermany bisinesses. But pis stabilnesse of herte studye to gete .
bat pou neiber drede pe annoyes ne diseses of pe world / ne coueyte not inordinatly hise goodes. $\mathbb{\|}$ Ffor he pat
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
mykel abstinence of mete and drynk and slepe / a man oft tymes is made vnmyhty to pray / And mykel more ben he shal not mow lyft vp him 0
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0 ly pinges /pers for were leuere pat a man failed for fastynge as be spouse says $\uparrow$ Telles to my lufede / pat I languyse for lufe. And sopely fastynge of bred and water plesses not god so mykel as forsakynge of synne / perfor be pow stable in all pi ways. and after pis reule pat is yeuen to pe / ordyne pi lif / And pof al bow maist not in pe first begynnynge atteyne ne come to pat pat pou coueitys dispaire not perfore ne mystriste not bot continue forth and perseuere. for by longe tyme and exercise / pou shalte mowe come to parfeccion
 rest / lyfte vp always pe eye of pi soule vnto god. and lat nenere pi pat pou pinkes not on god / pou may acounte it pinge pat pow has loste / Lovue god in pi soule / and coueite euermore his lufe . pat slepe fynde pe neuere operwyse [f. $102^{2}$ ] occupiede . pan eiper prayande or pinkande on god / And loke warly pat pow be not scatred ne distracte with vayne pou3tys. ne yeue pe not to ouer mony besynessys. Bot pis stablenesse of hert studie to gete pat pow neiper drede pe noyes nor dise
ses of pe worlde / ne coueite not
vnordinatly his gudes / ffor he pat

| Bodley 54 (ff. $24 \mathrm{v}-45 \mathrm{r}$ ) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$ |
| :--- |

non leuabit . mallem ergo quod pre amoris magnitudine homo deficeret . quam pre ieiunio sicut sponsa de se dicit in cantico .

Nunciate dilecto quia amore langueo. Tu ergo constans esto in omnibus viis tuis. et secundum regulam modo tibi datam . viam tuam dirige potes quod cupis . non diffidas sed perseuera. quia per longum tempus. et excercicium peruenies ad perfeccionem .
Douce 322 （ff．78r－94r）
inordinatly hys goodys．for he that
dredeth to suffer aduersytees．
knoweth nat yet howe he shuld dis－
pyse the worlde．And he that ioyeth
in erthely thynges ．ys full fer fro
heuynly thynges．
ffor hit longeth to the vertew of
streyngth forto dyspyse all aduer－
sytees and prosperytees ．yee and the
sylf deeth／for endeles lyfe．And
charyte ys／only to desyre the ioyes
of heuen．\＆Sothely a parfyte louer
ioyeth and ys fayne for to dye．And
yet suffreth he thys lyfe with pa－
cience．the whyche parfeccion yef
thow mayst thorow goddys grace
come to／thow shalt nat be withouten
tribulacion of the whyche shall nowe
be spoken．
Of tribulacion．Capitulum v ${ }^{\text {tum．}}$
Whan the deuyll seeth oon amonge a
thowsand that turneth hym parfytely
to god and only seketh and loueth
euerlastyng thynges taketh parfyte
penaunce and clenseth and purgeth
hym of all fylthe of body and soule．
I A thowsand deseytes he ordeyneth
to disceue hym with．And a
thowsand craftes he ordeyneth that
he myght brynge hym doune with．
and caste hym fro the loue of god／to
the loue of the world．And that he
myght make hym foule with fylthe of
synne and wrechednesse．And at the
laste to make hym hatefull and wlat－
som to god／thorow euyll and lecher－
ous thoughtes．
He reyseth vp ayenst hym per－
secucions［col．b］and tribulacions．
reprefes a and false imposicions of

| C．U．Ff．5．30（ff． $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ）$\quad[\mathrm{C}]$ |
| :--- |
| dredeth to suffre aduersitees／ |
| knoweth not yit how he shulde de－ |

knoweth not yit how he shulde de－ spise pe world．And he pat ioyeth in eerbely thinges／is ful ferre fro

It longeth to pe vertu of strengthe． for to despise alle aduersiees and for prosperitees ye and pe selfe deth．1or desire pe ioyes of heuene．－Soothly a parfyte louere ioyeth and is fayn for to dye．And yit suffrelth／he pis lyfe with pacience．『Which parfec－ cion if pou miht thoruh goddes grace
come to／bou shalt not be with oute tribulacion．of which shal now be spoken．
$10 \backslash$
Whan be deeuel seeth oon among a号
 inge thinges．take parfyt penance filthe of bodi and soule／a thousand disceytes he ordeyneth to bigile［f． 151r］him with ．a thousand craftes he ordeyneth pat he mihte bringe him don with ．and caste him fro pe loue of god to be loue of be world．ब And pat he mihte make him foul with And at pe laste to make him hateful and wlatsum to god．thoruh euele and leccherous thouhtes．$\quad$

[^113]| T．C．D． 432 （ff． $90 \mathrm{r}-121 \mathrm{v}) \quad[\mathrm{T}]$ |
| :--- |

dredes to suffre aduersites／knowes
not yitte how he shulde dispise pe worlde／And he bat ioyes in erpely pingis／is ful ferre fro heuenly

It longes to pe vertue of strenthe／for to dispise al aduersitees and pros－ peritees／yee and pe self depe／for endeles lyf／And charite is only to
 parfite louer ioyes and is fayne forto第 pacience／whilk parfeccion if pow may purh gooddes grace come to．



## Of tribulacioun／．Capitulum $5^{\mathrm{m}}$

When pe deuel sees oon amonge a thousande turne hym parfitely to god ．and oonly seke and lufe aylas－ tande pingis ．take parfite penaunce ． and clense and purge hym of al filthe





 pat he myht make hym foule with
 응
 htes．

[^114]
## $\bigoplus$

 Ad virtutem vero fortitudinis perti－ tates．et mortem eciam pro vita eterna contempnere ．et caritas est
sola gaudia celestia desiderare ．Nam perfectus amator mori gaudet et vi－ tam pacienter sustinet．Ad quam perfeccionem si deo dante con－ scenderis ．non sine tribulacione－ eris．ad quam nunc sermo conuer－ tatur．$\cdot$
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
crymes and many other of wreth and
hatered. so that thorow aduersyte he
myght ouercome and breke. whom
prosperyte myght nat dysceue. - He
putteth to hym now softnesse now
sharpnes . now bytter. now swete.
he bryngeth to hys mynde ymagina-
cions and fantasies of olde loue and
wrechednes . the whyche he hath
before be delyted in. And he enflaw-
meth the flesshe with lusty brennyn-
ges of flesshly synne. $\boldsymbol{\text { f }}$

He begynneth with a lytell sparcle.
but he woll nat cese yef he may / tyll
he brynge hit to a greet fyre. And
insomoche the more with al maner of
besynesse . he studyeth nyght and
day to reyse ayenst hym all maner of
anguyshes and turmentes for he
knoweth that he ys thorow the mercy
of god and grace / fer fled and
scapyd fro hys seruage and power.
He seketh nought ellys in all hys
myghtes . but that he myght dis-
seuere and departe vs fro the swettest
and most chaste clyppynges of euer-
lastyng loue . And that he myght on
that other syde defoule vs and caste
vs doun into the slade of wrechyd-
nesse and clay of erthely loue.

| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) |
| :---: |
| crimes and many maneres of wreththe and hatrede. So pat thoruh aduersitee he mihte ouercome and breke / whom prosperitee mihte nouht desceyue. © He putteth vnto him . now softenesse . now sharpnesse . now bittere . and now sweete. He bringeth to his mynde ymages of bodily thinges . and fantasyes of olde sinnes . and kindeleth his herte with delectacion of old loue and wrecchednesse . pe whiche he hath bifore be delited inne. And he enflawmeth pe flesh with lusty brennynges to fleshly sime. $\uparrow$ He biginneth with a litel sparkle . but he wole not cese if he may / til he bringe it to a gret fyre. $\ddagger$ And so michel pe more with alle manere of bisinesse he studieth niht and day to reyse ayens him alle manere of angwisshes and tormentes. ffor he knoweth pat he is thoruh pe mercy of god and grace / ferre fled and escaped fro his seruage and power. $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ He seeketh nouht elles in alle hise mihtes . but pat he mihte disseuere and departe us fro pe swetteste and most chast clippinges of euerelastinge loue. © And pat he mihte on pat ooper side defoule us and caste us doun in to pe slade $\backslash$ i.e. valeye / of wrecchednesse and cley of eerpely loue. <br> But who mihte thinke pe woodnesse of pat man pat wolde forsake [f. <br> 151v] and leue delites and kinges mete / and go feede him with swynes mete / And yit he is more wood pat forsaketh delicate deyntees of eendeles wisdom . pat is to sey . pe loue and desire of ihesu crist pat is oonly |


| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T] |
| :--- |
| and many maners of wrethe and ha- |
| treden. so pat purh aduersite he |
| myht ouercome and breke / whom |
| prosperite myht not deceyue / He |
| puttes vnto hym / now softnesse |
| nowe sharpenesse . nowe bitter nowe |
| swete / he bringes to his mynde |
| ymages of bodily pingis and fanta- |
| sies of olde synnes / and kyndeles his |
| herte / wip delectacion of olde lufe |
| and wrecchednesse / be whilke he |
| has before ben delited ynne / and he |
| enflaumes . pe flesh with lusty bryn- |
| nynges 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
 bysynes . he studies nyht and day to
 guysches and tormentis / for he knowes . pat he is purh [f. $103^{\circ}$ ] pe
 and powere / he sekes nouht ellys in al his myhtes bot pat he myht disजै
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0 and most chaste cleppynges of aylastande lufe / and pat he mylt on pe toper syde defonle vs and caseresse


Bot who myht pinke pe wodnesse of pat man . pat wolde forsake and leue delytes and kynges mete . and go fede hym with swynes mete / And yite is he more wode pat forsakes delicate deyntes of endles wisdome pat is to say pe lufe and desire of
Ihesu crist. bat is only and aylas-

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$

odiorum . vt pene terrent et frangant odiorum. vt pene terrent et frangant
quem prospera decipere [f. 33r] nequierunt . nunc prospera blanda opponit . ymaginaciones reviciorum fantasmata componit . antique venustatis et preterite dileccionis delectacionem reuocat et cor ad carnem lubricis incendiis inflammat.
a minimis persuasionibus incipit . set ad maximam flammam peruenit .et tanto maiori soli solitudine contra nos omnia genera tormentorum sufflare studet . quanto nos iam ab eius faucibus per dei misericordiam euasisse dolet . nichil aliud querit nisi vt et in castissimis eterni amoris auellat et in turpet . quod profecto magis miserabile esset quam explicare sufficio. 1

Quis enim cogitare posset illius insaniam qui a deliciis regum. ad escam porcorum descenderet et adhuc magis insanit qui sapiencie increate . delicatissimas epulas renuit et immundicie carnis se subdit. Nonne gula et luxuria feditates sunt por-
cine . quas qui amant . demones pas-


| C.U. Ff. $5.30(\mathrm{ff} .141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}) \quad[\mathrm{C}]$ |
| :--- | :--- |

and euere lastinge wysdom of pe fader / and maketh him self suggett and seruant to vnclennesse of be flesh. © Wheper glotonye and leccherie ben not swynes felthe / pis
sikerly . and yit mikel wers . pe
 deueles. © But how a man shal fighte and ayenstonde temptacions and tribulacions / pacience shal teche
pee . of which shal now be seyd.
\Capitulum sextum./ Of Pacience.
They pat ben derlinges and chyldren to pe hye king of heuene thoruh le don ben
 ${ }^{-}$P Pei despise alle vnleefful lustes and worldly solace / for pe loue of ihesu crist. Ffor soothly he pat is fed with pat bred of lyfe pat cam fro heuene



 arisen ayens a man / lat him panne armures . manly go to batayle. Ffor temptacions and tribulacions ben ouercomen and venquisshed / thoruh pa-


What is pacience but a glad and a
wilful suffringe of contrariows
thinges? Nouht elles. ब He pat is verry pacient / gruccheth in noon
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
ande wisdome of pe fader / and makes hym selfe sugete and seruante to vnclennesse of pe flessh / whedere glotonye and lecheri ar not swynes filth . yis sikirly . and yite mykel
 fedes pe deueles / Bot how a man shal feyht . and agaynstande temptacions. and tribulacions . pacie shal teche pe of whylke shal now be sayde.

## Of pacience. Capitulum $\mathbf{6}^{\mathbf{m}}$

 pe heye kinge of heuen purh feyth . dedignacion to fal doune and be fede wyth [f. $104^{\text {r }}$ ] vnresonable bestes mete / pei dispise al vnleful lustes and worldly solace. for be lufe of thesu crist /for sopely he pat is fede wip pe brede of lyf pat come fro heuen to fedde mankynde / he suffres
 ne to fal doun to pose pinges pat pe temptacions and tribulacions rysen agayns a man / lat lhym/ panne take his gosty armoures . pat is fynly to go to bataile / ffor temptacions and tribulacions are ouercome <and ven-


[^115]
## Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

cunt. Quomodo ergo contra temp-
taciones et tribulaciones resistendum
est paciencia te docebit. de qua nunc
agendum est.
Line \#

## Captiulum Sextum. De Paciencia

Non dignentur filii regis ad irracionabilium animalium pabula deuolui .
 solacia mundi pro amore christi. Qui vescitur [f. 33 v ] affectum non inclinat ad ea que diabolus suggerit. unt arma -old cedendum. Temptaciones autem constancia fidei et amoris vincuntur. Tribulaciones . paciencia superantur

## Quid est paciencia . nisi rerum aduer-

 sancium libens et voluntaria perpes- murmurat . set magis cum propheta

|  | Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | aduersyte but euer loueth and worshyppeth god in all tyme. And euer the more meke and pacient that a man ys in tribulacion here in thys lyfe / the more glorious and hyer shall he be in the blysse of heuyn. $\uparrow$ Therfore with grete ioye and gladnesse / shuld we suffre tribulacion and anguysshes . bytternesse and peynes. sekenesse and dyseases. for thorow hem oure synnes ben purged and clensed / and oure merytes ben ekyd and encresed . <br> And the Apostele seyth that all the peynes and passions that we suffer in thys lyfe . ben nat euyn worthy to the ioy comyng that shal be shewed and yeue to vs in the blysse of heuyn. ब |
|  | Sekurly other hit behoueth vs here in thys lyfe be brente with the fyre of goddys loue. And of tribulacion. other ellys after thys lyfe be greuously and sore peyned and turmentyd. with the fyre of purgatory other of hell. © Chese therfore what we woll / for that oon we shall nat eschewe. And here we may with lyght penaunce yee and wyth ioye yef we woll cleue fast to god / do awey al peyne that ys to come in purgatory. $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ <br> Therfore [f. 85 v ] ben tribulacions sent to vs / that they shullen call vs ayene fro the loue of the world. And that we be nat more greuosly punysshed in the tother worlde . for the synnes behoueth to be clensed wyth sorow and bytternesse / that we doon here with luste and lykyng. yef synfull men pursewe vs / they noye vs nat / yef we suffre hit paciently / |


| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C] |
| :--- |
| aduersitee . but euere looueth god in |

aduersitee . but euere looueth god in alle times. © And euere pe more man is in tribulacion heere in pis lyfe / pe more glorious and hyghere shal he be in pe blisse of heuene. $\uparrow$ perfore with gret ioye and gladnesse shulden we suffre tribulacions and angwisshes . bitternesses and peynes . syknesse and diseses. ffor thoruh hem / oure sinnes ben poorged and clensed and oure merites ben eeked and encresed. 1 all pe peyAnd pe apostie seith passions bat mown suffe heere in pis lyfe / ben not euene wurpi to be ioye comynge . pat shal be shewed and yoven to us in pe blisse of heuene. \& pis world be brent with pe fyre of goddes loue and of tribulacion / or
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0 shule we not eschewe. And heere we may with light penaunce . ye and $\circ$
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 Perfore ben tribulacions sent unto us . pat pei shulden calle us ayen fro loue orpe world. And pat we ben not more greuowsly punished in pat ouen to be clensed with sorwe and bitternesse / pat we doon heere with
 us / pei noye us nouht if we suffre it paciently . but to hem self. $\mathbb{\|}$ Ffor

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

bot ay lovues god in al tyme. And ay bot ay lovues god in al tyme. And ay
pe more meke and pacient pat a man is in tribulacion here in pis lif / be
more glorious and heyer shal he be in pe blesse of heuen /
perfor with gret ioy and gladnesse shulde we suffre tribulacion and anguysshes . bitternesse and peynes . sekenes and diseses / for thurh hem oure synnes are purged. [f. $104^{7}$ ] and clensed . and oure merites are eked and encresced.

And pe apostle says . pat alle pe Аеш ам јеб suno!̣ssed pue saúfed
 worthi to pe ioy comande . .pat shal
be shewed and yeuen to vs in be blesse of heuen
Sikirly either behoues vs here in pis lyf be brent with pe fire of goddis lufe and tribulacion / or ellis efter pis lyf be greuously and sore pyned and turmented with be fyre of purgatorie lor/ of helle. Chese perfore what we wyl / for pat one shal we not es-


 pat is to come .
berfore are tribulacions sent vnto vs pat pai shulde cale vs ayeyn fro lufe of pe worlde . and pat we be not more greuousely punysshed in pe houes to be clensid. with sorowe and bitternes / pat we done here with lust and likynge. If synful men pursue vs / bai noye vs nouht if we suffre it
paciently / bot to hem self. ffor bof

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

deum laudat . Quanto namque quis in aduersitate paciencior fuerit tanto in celestibus gloriosior erit.
libenter ergo sustinende sunt tribulaciones et angustie . amaritudines. pene infirmitates et penurie . quia per hec peccata nostra purgantur et
merita augentur.
$\stackrel{\circ}{+}$

Aut enim nos oportet in vita hac igne diuini amoris et tribulacionis exuri aut post hanc vitam igne purgatorio vel inferni crudeliter cruciari . Eligamus quod volumus alterum non cia . immo cum gaudio si deo vero firmiter inheremus . omnem possumus futuram penam abolere . 471

Ideo i[n]mittuntur tribulaciones . vt nos ab amore mundi reuocent et ne grauius alibi puniamur . Doloribus enim oportet purgari quod in voluptate commisimus. Si peccatores supra dorsum nostrum fabricant non nobis nocent dum pacienter toleramus . set sibi . quia si modicam penam inferunt nobis . tamen

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| :---: | :---: |
| brynge into vs a lytell peyne ．neuer－ theles hit ys to vs a crowne．And to hem self endeles turment．${ }^{\text {■ }}$ Euyll men and synners ben suffred to passe oute of thys present lyfe with－ outyn many tribulacions or dysseases to whom in the other worlde ys no ioye ordeyned ．but peyne．And ther－ fore holy men louyn tribulacions and angeres ．for they knowen well that they shullen come thorow hem to endeles reste． $\boldsymbol{q}$ <br> And on the contrary syde synners and wycked men euermore grogyn and inasmoche as they may eschew and fleen hem．© Ffor whyle her hert and her loue ys fully and vnmesura－ bly youyn to erthely thynges／they ben vtterly pryued and departed fro hope of the blysse of heuen oonly in outeward thynges ．they fynden com－ fort and solace for they haue vtterly lost the sauour of heuen．『 There ys no resonable soule in thys lyfe／that other hit cleueth thorowgh loue to hys creatoure or to a creature．$\\|$ <br> Yef he loue more［col．b］a creature／ hit leseth and departeth fro god ．and goth with that that hit loueth to ende－ les peyn．And suche a loue in the begynnyng hit ys trauayle ．in the myddyll hit ys wrechednes ．and langour．And in the ende hit ys haterede and sorow．but yef he loue hys maker／he shall nedes forsake and leeue to loue all that ys the world．And hym shall thynke ioye and swetnesse to speke of hys loued A delicate fedyng more swete than all deyntees hym thynketh／to haue |  |
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C．U．Ff． 5.30 （ff．141r－164v）［C］
alpouh pei bringe in to us a litel
peyne／neurbeles it is to us a
coron．and to hem self endeles tor－
ment．ๆ
Euele men and sinneres ben suffred Euele men and sinneres ben suffred
to passe out of pis present lyfe／with oute many tribulacions or diseses．To
 no ioye ordeyned but peyne．$\uparrow$ And perfore holi men louen tribulacions and angres．ffor pei knowen wel pat pei shule come pourh hem to endeles

And on pe contrarye side ．sinneres and wikkede men euere more gruc－ chen．and in as michel as pei may／ eschewen and fleen hem．ffor whiles
here herte and here loue is fully and vnmesurably yoven to cerpely thinges／pei ben bitterly pryued and
疗 pei fynden confort and solace／for
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0 ueth thoruh loue to his creatour／or to creature．$\uparrow$

If it loue more a creature／it lowseth and departeth fro god ．and lgop／ with pat pat it loueth to eendeles peyne．And swich loue in pe bigin－ nynge is trauaile．In pe middes it is wrecchednesse and langoure ．and in
pe eende it is hatrede and sorwe． $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ If he loue more his makere／he shal
 is of pe world．And him shal thinke ioye and swetnesse to speke of his
loue．A delicate feedinge more sweete pan alle deyntees／him thin－
keth to haue him in mynde．『 He

## T．C．D． 432 （ff．90r－121v）［T］

al pay bryng into vs a lytel payn／ neuerpeles it is to vs a coroune ．and to paim self［f． $105^{\text {r }}$ ］endlesse tur－
ment．
yuel men and synners are suffred to
passe oute of bis present lyf
wipouten mony tribulacions or disse－ ses／to whome in pe tothir world is no ioy ordeyned bot payne．And berfore holy men lufen tribulacions and angers／for pai knowe welle pat pai shal come thurh hem to endeles
rest． And on be contrary syde／Syruchyn． and als mekyl as pai may eschewe and fleen hem．for whils paire herte． and paire lufe is fully and vnmesura－ bly yeuen to erthly pinges／pai are tterly pryued．and departed fro m－ ovttewarde thanges pai fynde com－
forte and solace／for pai haue vtterly loste pe sauour of heuen／ber is no resonable soule here in pis lyf／pat ne eipir it cleues pourh lufe to his creatour or to a creature ．
f it luf more a creature／it loses and departes fro god and gos wip pat it lufes to endeles payne／And swilke loue ．in pe begynnynge is trauayle ． in be myddes it is wrechednesse and langour／and in ende it is hatereden and sorowe．If he lufe more his mak－ ere／he shal nedes forsake and leue to lufe alle pat is of pe worlde ．and
 swetnesse to speke of hys lufed／A
 deyntees ．hym thinkes to haue hym
in mynde／he spares the wyndowes

## Line \＃$\quad$ Bodley 54 （ff．24v－45r）$\quad[B]$

## Mali vero［f．34r］eo presentem vi－

 tam sine multis tribulacionibus tran－ sire permittuntur ．quo eis in futuro nulla gloria paratur ．Ideo sanch viri requiem se peruenire non ignorant

Econtra reprobi semper in tribula－ cionibus murmurant et quantum pos－ sunt declinant quia dum rebus visi－ bilibus immoderate sunt dediti spe eternorum sunt priuati ．In solis exte－ rioribus solacium inueniunt ．quia runt ．Nulla est anima autem racion－ alis hic existens que non creatori aut creature inheret．${ }^{-}$
$\mathscr{\&}$

| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D] |
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| hym in mynde. © He sperreth the wyndows of hys owtward wyttes that deth entre nat in by hem . neyther that he be nat vnprofytably ne veynly occupyed in no worldly vanyte . As for as moche as there ben raysed ayenst hym despytes . reprefes . scornynges. And sclaunders of the fende . and of wycked men / Therfore hit ys nedefull to hym to take the shelde of pacience and that he be more redy for to foryete . than for to foryeue all wronges and disseses that ben doon to hym. And for to pray besyly for her conuersion that hatyn hym and charge he nat though he plese nat all men / but drede he in all thynges to offende god. $\uparrow$ <br> And yef he haue moche temptacion of hys flessh . late hym stryue to ouercom hit. And put hit doune vnder the foote. so that he woll of the spyryt fall nat doune to consent in fulfilling of synne. © But [f. 86r] yef thow fle temptacion and nat consent therto / hit ys to the mater of vertew and of meryte . for noman knoweth of hymself whether he be stronge and weyke / but yef he be assayed thorough wronges tribulacions or diseases / than hit ys seen whether he be pacient other nat. $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ |
| Many men ben meke and suffryng as long as men plesyn hem . but as sone as a lyght blaste of ryghtwys correccion toucheth hem a lytell . though hit be don for charyte . and for her amendement / as sone her hert ys turned into bytternesse or yre or |


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| spereth be wyndowes of hise outwarde wittes / pat deth entre not in at hem . ne pat he be not vnprofitably ne veynly occupyed in no worldly vanitee. $\uparrow$ <br> And for as michel as sumtime per risen ayens him despites and reproves scornynges and sclanderes of pe feend and of wikkede men / perfore it is needeful to him / to [f.153r] take the sheeld of pacience. And pat he be lpe/ more redy to foryete and to foryive wronges and diseses pat ben doon to him. And for to preye bisyly for here conuers<ac>ly/on pat haaten him. © And charge he nouht pouh he plese not alle men / but drede he in alle thinges to offende god. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ <br> If he haue temptacions of pe flesh / lat him strive to ouercome it . and putte it under foote. So pat pe wille of pe spirite falle not don to consentinge and fulfillinge of sinne. 『\| If pou feele temptacion . and nouht consente per too / it is to pe matere of vertu and of meryte. ffor no man knoweth of him self wheper he be strong or weyk / but if he be assayed. And a mannes passiens may not be knowen / whiles he is in quiete and in reste. But whan he is assayed thoruh wronges . tribulacions or diseses / panne it is seene wheper he be pacient or nouht. <br> - Many men ben meeke and suffringe as long as men plesen hem . But also soone as a light blast of rihtwyse correccion toucheth hem a litel. pouh it be doon for charitee and for here amendement / also soone here herte is turned in to bitter- |  |
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## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

of hys outwarde wittes that deth entre not in at thaim / ne that he be not vnprofitablely ne vaynly occupied in no worldly vanite /

And for als mykel as sume tyme . ther ryse agayns hym despites and reproues . scornyngys . and sclaundres of the fende and of wicked men / therfor it is nedeful to hym to take pe shelde of pacience / and pat he be more redy for to forgete, than forto folr/3yfe wronges and diseses
that are done to hym / And for to pray besily for thaire conuersacion /
 plese not alle men / bot drede he in al thynges to offende god.

If he haue temptacion of the flessh / lat hym stryue to ouercome it . and putte it vnderfote / so that the wille of the spirit falle not/ doune / to consente and fulfillynge of synne / If
 consente therto / it is to the mater of vertue and of meryte / ffor no man
 der he be stronge or weyke / bot if he be asaied / And a manes paciens may nouht be knowen whils he is quiete and rest/ bot when he is asayed. thurh wronges tribulacions or disseses / then it is seen wheder he be
pacient or nouht. as suffryng as
 onge as men pleses thaim / Bot also sone as a lyht blaste of ryhtwise it reccion 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

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$

et aliunde suscitantur despecciones et obprobria contra eum irrisiones et tum accipiat paciencie et magis para-
 pro illorum conuersione qui illum odunt nec curet hominibus placere set timeat deum offendere . porro si in carne temptetur ipsam
subiciat ne spiritus succumbat . subiciat ne spiritus succumbat .
temptacio cui non consentitur est materia virtutis exercende . [f. 34v] Nemo quippe sibi innotescit . an for-
tis debilis ve sit nisi temptatus fuerit Sic nec quis in pace . paciens dici
 tunc si pacienciam habeat . videtur . $\stackrel{\infty}{\circ}$

Multi pacientes sunt qui non impugnantur. Sed statim cum leuis flatus non dico iniurie . sed correccionis cos attigerit. mox mens corum in amaritudinem et iram se conuertit et Si vnum verbum contra voluntatem
eorum audierint . duo conantur auste-

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| wreth and malencoly. And yef they heren 00 worde ayenst her wyll / they woll yeue two wordys more felle and more bytter ayen . fro whos counseyl. god kepe my soule. ๆ And therfore all the fyry dartys and the assautes of oure enemy shuld be slokun or queynt and brought to nought thorowgh mekenesse and swetnesse of cristes loue. $\uparrow$ Neyther we shuld nat yeue stede ne consent to no temptacion / be hit neuer so stronge for euere the more the batayle ys / the more glorious ys the victory and the hygher croune ys ordeyned for the ouercomer. ffor as the apostle seyth . - Blessed ys that man that suffreth temptacions. $\uparrow$ Ffor whan he ys preued and examynyd as golde in the fyre of tribulacion / he shall take the croune of endeles lyfe . [col. b] Sothly than thar the nat doute / than art thow in the wey of parfeccion. Yef despyte be to the as leef as longyng or worshippyng. pouerte as rychesse . penaunce and scarsenesse / as delytes . so that thow myght thorough goddys grace with outen chaungyng of hert / suffer all thys . and that thow in nothyng falle fro the hyghnesse of thought. व But thow shalt lothe and hate as moche as thow may / loouyng and preysyng of men. for that ys full comendable yef thow be worthy preysyng / And flee to be praysed of men for tho thynges of fagers and flaterers dysseyuen many men and the lyppes of bacbyteres confoundeth with outen nombre. $¢$ Therfore dyspyse thow boldly and vtterly all fauour and veyn ioye of men and suffre |  |
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| C.U. Ff.5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}) \quad$ [C] |
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| nesse. of ire and malencolye. And if | nesse. of ire and malencolye. And if

pei heere oon woord ayens here pei heere oon woord ayens here
wille / bei wole yive two more felle and more bittere aycin. ffrom whos conseil god keepe my soule. ๆ Perin
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0 sautes of oure enemy. shulden be
sloken and brouht to nouht / thoruh meekenesse and swetnesse of cristes loue. § Ne we shule not yive stede ne consente to no temptacion. be it neuere so strong. ffor be more pat pe is pe victorie and pe hyghere corown is ordeyned for pe ouercomere. Ffor as pe apostle seith. blessed is pat man pat suffreth tempexamyned as gold in pe fyre of tribulacion / he shal take pe corown of eendeles lyf. © Soothly panne thar pe not doute pat pu ne art in pe wey of
perfeccion / if despite be as leef unto pee / as loovinge e pouerte / as richesse . penaunce and scarsnesse /
 miht thoruh goddes grace with oute
chaunginge of herte suffre alle pese. And pat pou for no thing falle fro pin hynesse of thouht /
lope and haate as michel as pou miht / loovinges and preisinges of men. Ffor pat is ful commendable / if pou be wurbi preysinge . and flee to be preysed of men ffor pe tunges of rageres and flatereres desceyuen
many man. And pe lippes of bacbiteres / confonden with oute nombre. $\uparrow$ Perfore despise pou boldely and vterly al favour . honour and
veyn iove of men . and suffe gladly
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
malencolye and if pai here on worde ayens paire wille / pai wil yeue two more felle / and more bitter agayne frome whos counceyle god kepe my soule / Therfor al be fyre dartes and pe assautes of oure enemy / shulde be sloken and swetnesse of cristes loue / Ne we shal not yeue stede ne consente to no temptacion / be it neuer so stronge / ffor ay pe more pe batayle is / pe more gloriouse is pe victorie . and pe heycorone is ordeyned for pel ays:

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\begin{aligned}
& \text { blessed is pat [f. } \left.106^{\top}\right] \text { man pat suf- } \\
& \text { frect }
\end{aligned}
$$ fres temptacion . for when he is $/$ in proued. and examined as gold take pe coroune of endeles lyf / Sopely panne pare pe nouht doute. pen pou arte in pe way of parfeccion / if dispite. be as lefe vnto pe as penaunce and scarsenesse / as dely-年 thurh goddes grace wip outen chaungynge of hert . suffre al pise / and pat

pou in no pinge falle / fro pe heynesse of bouht / Lothe and hate as mykel as pou may / louynges and preisynges of men / ffor pat is full comendable / if pou be worpi preisyng and fle to be praysed of men / ffor be tounges of会
 foundes wip outen noumbre perfore despise pou boldely . and vterly . al


Line \#
riora reddere . in quorum consitio
 sunt ergo iacula inimici humilitate et amoris christi suauitare nec cedensima sit quia quo maior est pugna. eo gloriosior est victoria et sublimior coram deo. ${ }^{-}$ Beatus vir qui suffert temptacionem quoniam cum probatus fuerit . accipiet coronam vite. Tunc autem te in via perfeccionis esse non dubites
si tibi despeccio quasi laus . paupertas vt diuicie . inopia quasi epule animo sustineas et in nullo ab altitudine mentis cadas .
abhominare quantum potes laudes hominum . quia hoc maxime laudabile est si laudabilis es .et ab hominibus non laudaris . lingue adulancium multos decipiunt. et labia ergo fauorem honorem . et vanam gloriam . despice . detracciones et enter sustine. et ciones et blandicias ad regna celestia

\section*{| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) $\quad$ [D] |
| :--- |
| paciently and gladly all bacbytyng |} and haterede of the world. so that thorough yuell loos and good loos thorough flateryng and tribulacions that thow sease nat to haste the to the

But ofte tymes we fallen so that thor-
ough many fallynge we lernen to
stande afterward more strongly . he stande afterward more strongly . he that ys stronge dredeth nat. And he
that yent ys nat angryd for no tribulacion that may fall / as the wyse man seyth
hit shall nat heuy the ryghtwis man . what so euer befalle to hym. $\mathbb{T}$ Yef

 of the flesshe. 1 And thow shalt sloken and brynge to nought all the
 cions and angyrs. thow shalt trede vnder thy foot thorowgh pacience and loue. And thow shalt cleve to Ihesu criste with all thy soule.

## Of prayer. Capitulum vij ${ }^{\mathrm{m}}$.

Yef thow be in temptacion or in ribulacion/ Anon Reme to prayere . for yef thow pray with clene affechaue redy helpe . but somtyme there comyn dysparblynges and weueryncougtes in to dix wyll nat suffre hit to stond hoole . ne to reste / in the loouyng and worshyppyng of god. © Than parauenture hit were good that a man yaue hym

C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]
and paciently alle bacbitinge and hatrede of pe world. so pat thoruh euel loose and good loose . thoruh flateringes and tribulacions / pou cese nouht to haste pee to pe kingOfte tymes we fallen soo . pat thoruh many fallinges / we lerne to stonde afterward more strongly. © He pat is strong / dredeth nouht. And he pat is pacient / is not angred for no tribulacion bat may falle . as pe wise man

It shal not heuye pe rihtwise man /

 shalt lightli ouercome al temptacion of pe deeuel and of pi flesh. And pou shalt slaken and bringe to nouht
 trede vnder foote thoruh pacience and loue. And pou shalt cleue to god ihesu crist with al pi soule.
Of preyere I Capitulum septi-
mum. $/$.
Iff pou be in temptacion or tribula-
cion / anoon renne to preyere. ffor if
pou preye purely with clene affec-
cion and good entente / bou shalt
haue redy helpe. $\mathbb{1}$ But sumtime per
comen dispersions and wauerynges
of herte. and raueshen pe thouht into
diuerse thinges and wolen not suffe
it to stonde hool. ne to reste in pe
loovinge of god. \& Panne perauenture
it were good pat a man yaf him for a
while to meditacion of god and holi
writte. or of pe passion of crist and
swiche oopere . til pat his herte were

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 pou cese nouht to haste pe to pe kyngdome of heuen /

Oft tymes we fallen. so pat purh
为 he pat is stronge dredes nouht . and for no tribulacion pat may falle / As
be wyse man says: what so euer befalle hym / If pou be dispised on pis wyse / pou shalt lyhtly ouercome alle temptacions of be deuel and of pi flessh . and pou shalt


 . and pou shalt cleue to god Ihesu crist wip alle thi soule.

## Of prayere 【Capitulum $7^{\mathrm{m}}$ /

If pou be in temptacion or tribulacion . anoone rymne to prayer / ffor if pow pray purely with clene affeccion and gude entente pou shalt haue redy helpe / Bot sumtime ber comen. dispersions and wauerynges of herte .ind wil not sufre it to stonde pinges . and wil not sufre it to stonde Then parauenture it were goode . pat a man gaf hym for a while to meditacion of god and holy write. or of pe passion of crist. and swilke

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
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|  | non cesses properare . |
| 540 | Sepe cadimus . vt per multos casus [f. 35r] eruditi . forcius stemus . fortis non timet . paciens in aduersis non tristatur sicut scriptum est . |
|  | Non contristabit iustum quicquid accidit ei . Sic dispositus omnem temptacionem superabis omnem maliciam extingues tribulaciones te inferiores cernes et christo tota mente adherebis. ${ }^{\boldsymbol{q}}$ |
| 548 | Capitulum septimum . de oracione |
|  | Si in temptacione vel tribulacione positus fueris mox ad oracionem recurras si enim pure oraueris auxilium habebis. veniunt quandoque dispersiones et euaginaciones cordis et cogitaciones rapiunt ad diuersa . nec cor sinunt in dei laude stare . tunc forte bonum esset per aliquod momentum de diuinis meditari . donec mens magis stabiliatur et sic oraciones complere . $\boldsymbol{} 1$ |

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
cryste. And suche other tyll hys hert
were more stabeled. and so make an
ende and fulfyll hys prayers.
Who so euer forsaketh parfytely for
the loue of Ihesu all worldly occupa-
cions. And setteth hymself stably
and sadly to goostly and heuynly
medy[ta]cions and to holy and deu-
oute prayer / I trowe that [col. b]
within a short tyme . with the grace
of Ihesu Cryste. he shall fynde hys
hert sad and stable to loue and to
prey . so that hys thoughtes shall nat
be dysparblyd into diuerse thynges
ayenst hys wyll . but he shall rather
reste in stylnesse and softnesse of
endeles pese.
Hit helpeth moche to stablyng of a
mannys hert. A man to yeue hym oft
tymes to deuoute prayer and to syng
psalmodi . ffor thorowgh besy
prayers we ouercomen fendes and
maken vnmyghty all her malyce and
deseytes. they ben made weyke and
feble. And as hit were withouten
streyngth / as longe as we ben my-
ghty and deuote in praying.

|  | C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | more stable . and so make an ende and fulfille hise preyeres. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  | Who so euere forsaketh parfitly for pe loue of ihesu alle worldly occupacions . and setteth him self stably and sadly to gostly and heuenly meditacions and to holi and deuout preyere / I trowe pat with inne a short time with pe grace of ihesu crist / he shal fynde his herte sad and stabble . to loove and to preye. So pat hise thouhtes shulen not be disparbled into diuerse thinges . ayens his wil / but he shal rapere reste in stillenesse and softenesse of eendeles pees. |
|  | It helpeth michel to stablinge of pe herte / a man ofte times to yive him to devout preyere . and to singe psalmodie. $\uparrow$ Ffor thoruh bisy preyeres / we ouercome pe feendes . and make vnmihti al here malice and desceytes. Pei ben maad weike [f.154v] and as it were with oute strengthe / as longe as we ben mihti and deuowte in preyinge. $\uparrow$ Soothly pese men pat of long time and use . haven in custome to preye / sumtime pei feelen more swetnesse and grettere fervour of preyinge pan oopere summe. $\uparrow$ Perfore as longe as pat fervour and swetnesse lasteth / it is good pat pei cesen nouht of here preyinge. And whan pei cesen / pat ofte times hapneth for corrupcion of pe bodily kynde / pei may panne go to meditacion of holi writte . or elles go doo sum ooper good dede So pat for no thing pei suffre here mynde ne here loue go waveringe aboute fro god. But whan pei come ayen to |


| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T] <br> more stabled / and so make an ende and fulfille his praiers / <br> Who so euer forsakes parfitly for pe loue of Ihesu . al worldely ocupacions and settis hym self stably and sadly . to gostly and heuenly meditacions. and to holy and deuoute prayr / I trowe pat wipin a shorte tyme wip pe grace of Ihesu crist . he shal fynde his herte sadde and stable . to lufe and to pray . so pat his pouhtis shal not be disparpled into diuerse pingys ayeyns his wille / bot he shal rather rest in stilnesse . and softenesse of endles pees / <br> It helpes mykyl to stablynge of pe herte / a man oftymes to gyf hym to deuote prayer . and to synge psalmodie / ffor thurh besi praiers we ouercome pe fendes and make vnmyhti al paire malyce and deceites / pai are made wayke and as it were with outen strengthe / as longe as we are myhty and deuote in prayinge / <br> Sothly pose men pat of longe tyme . and vse . haue in custum to pray / sumtyme . pei felen more swetnesse and gretter feruour of praynge . pan oper sum / Therfore as longe as pat feruoure and swet[f. 108']nesse lastes / it is gude pat pei cese nouht of paire prayngis / And when pai cesen . pat oft sithes hapynls/ for corupcion of pe bodely kynd / bay may pen go to meditacion of holy write / or ellis go do sume other gude dede . so pat for no thinge pai suffre not paire mynde ne paire lufe / go |
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| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
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| 556 | Si qui vero omnes ocupaciones mundi pro amore dei dimiserint et omnino celesti meditacioni ac sancte oracioni se mancipauerint estimo quod infra tempus per dei graciam inuenient cor stabilitum . ad amandum et orandum. vt non in hanc rem nunc. et in illam nunc transuolent sed magis in tranquillitate et eterna pace repausent. © |
| 563 | Multum confert ad stabilitatem cordis optinendum . crebris oracionibus insistere . psalmodiam deuote canere. Iugi enim oracione demones vincimus et corum infestaciones eneruamus . redduntur enim debiles et quasi sine fortitudine dum nos fortes et inuicti fuerimus ad orandum. 1 |
| 567 | Illi quippe viri qui in longo exercicio ad orandum in consuetudine habent . aliquando suauitatem et feruencius [f. 35 v ] desiderium inueniunt orandi Dum ergo durat illa suauitas . bonum est vt ab oracione non desistat . Quando vero cessauerit . quod propter carnem corruptibilem sepe contingit possunt ad meditandum scripturas sanctas . vel aliquid aliud vtile agendum accedere . ita tamen quod cogitacionem a deo vagari non permittant . vt cum ad oracionem se erexerint ardenciores fiant . |




| T.C.D. 432 (ff. $90 \mathrm{r}-121 \mathrm{v}$ ) [T] |
| :--- |
| pai come agayne to praiere / pat pai |

pai come agayne to praiere / pat pai
may panne be more feruent . and brennande in god pan pai were beSopely pan pray we vereily / when
 al oure herte and oure entencion is lyfted vp til heuen / and oure soule is enflawmed wib be fire of be holy gost . On pis maner / pe wonderful habundance of goddes goodnesse shal be founden in vs . ffor fro be innermoste deuocion of oure herte/ ryses pe loue of god / And pan al oure praiere shal be with feruoure and affeccion / we shal not ban ouerlepe wordes for hastinesse / bot fully
sounande ik a sillable. with a myhty
 shal offre to oure lorde Ihesu crist / 5
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 dл рапо рие әцпои әпо u! ' әssəu into pe syht of god. It is not pan yrksome nor heuysome . bot gret yoy and myrthe forto pray / ffor wh/en in




bis is ageyns hem pat gif baim first to meditacion / ore pai gif paim to praier . Nouht knowynge pat pe worde of god is brennande / purh whilke al pe filthe of oure synnes is

 of god / pei seyn pat first wil yeue hem to meditacion / pat paire herte
myht so be made stable / Bot so

## Tunc enim veraciter oramus cum de <br> \section*{$i n$}

 alio non cogitamus . set tota nostra intencio ad summa dirigitur . et animus igne sanct spiritus inlor diuine bonitatis affluencia inuenitur . quia ex intimis medullis cordis nostri ex00
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0 affectu et effectu erit vt iam verba in oracione non transcurramus. sed omnes pene silabas cum clamore | 은 |
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| 0 | amore feruido . et oracio nostra incenditur et in odorem suauitatis ex ore nostro in conspectu dei adoletur vt magna iocunditas sit orare . quia dum in oracione dulcor ineffabilis infunditur . oracio ista in iubilum commutatur

hic reprehenduntur quidam qui magis meditacioni quam oracioni indulgent nescientes quod elloquium dei ignitum sit quo purgantur sordes peccamentes orancium . dicunt se prius velle meditari . vt sic cor possint stabilire . set eo tardius ad stabilitatem perducuntur . quo ad continue orandum non confortantur
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
be mad stable . but so moche the
later they comen to stabylnesse / that
they ben nat comforted ne made
stronge to contynuell prayer .
Sothly though we may nat as sone as
we wold gader oure hert to geder to
oon thynge / we shuld nat therfore
leeue of . but by lytyll and by lytyll
studye we for to wex and encrese
that Ihesu Cryst wyll vouchesafe sum
tyme for to stable vs and make vs sad
to the whyche meditacion moste
helpeth / yef hit passe nat mesure and
discrecion.
Of meditacion. Capitulum viij"'.
Hyt ys good ofte to thenke on the
precyouse passion and on the peyn-
full deth of oure lord Ihesu cryst.
And to brynge ofte tymes to mynde
howe many peynes and disseases he
hath suffred for vs in goyng in pre-
chyng and in tholyng of hunger and
thurst . heete and colde . in suffryng
and mysseyinges and reprefes / so
that a wreched seruant and an
vnprofitable shuld nat thenke heuy
for to folow hys emperour and hys
lord. \&
Sothly who so weneth and seyth that
[f. 87v] he dwelleth in Ihesu cryst /
as he wente so behoueth hym to
folowe. that ys to sey in mekenesse
in wylfull pouerte . pacience . myld-
nes. chastite and charyte . And in
meke suffryng of all maner disseases
and reprofes for hys sake / as he dyd
for vs . and in fulfyllyng of all other
good vertues. Thys ys the wey in
whyche cryst went for vs yeuyng vs
ensample / that we shuld folow hym.

| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C] |
| :--- |
| lattere pei come to stabilnesse pat pei <br> ne be conforted ne maad strong to <br> continuel preyere. |

Soothly pouh we mown not as soone
as we wolden gadere oure herte to gidere vnto oo thing / we shule not
berfore leve of . bi litel and bi litel studye we for to wexe and encrese. $\|$ pat ihesu crist wole vouchesaaf sum time for to stable us and make us sadde . To pe whiche / meditacion most helpe is . if it passe not mesure and discrecion.

Of meditacion. \Capitulum oc-
tauum./
It is good often to thinke on be preciowse passion and on pe peyneful
 bringe ofte times to mynde / how
 prechinge . in tholinge of hunger and thrist . hoot and cold . in suffringe misseyinges and reproves. so pat a wrecchede seruaunt and an vnprofit-
able shulde not thinke hevi for to folwe his emperour and his lord. $\uparrow$ Soothli who so weeneth and seith pat he dwelleth in ihesu crist / as he wente, so bihooueth him to folwe pat is to seye . in meekenesse . in
wilful pouerte pacience myldenesse chastite . and charite . and in meeke suffringe of alle manere diseses and reproues [ f .155 v ] for his sake. as he dide for us . and in ful-
fillinge of alle oopere goode vertues. $\uparrow$ fillinge of alle oopere goode vertues. wente for us . yivinge us example pat
mykel pe latlyer pai come to stable-
mykel be latlyer . pai come to stable-
nesse . pat pei ar not comforted . ne
made stronge to continuel praier .
 we wolde. geder oure hert to gider vntil one thinge / we shal not perfore eue of . bot be litil and be litel. studie we . forto waxe and encrese pat ihesu crist wil wochesafe [r. 109'] sumtyme forto stable vs and make vs sadde / to pe whilke meditacion most
helpes if it passe nouht mesure helpes. if it passe nouht mesure
anld/ discrecion.

## Of meditacion \Capitulum $8^{\mathrm{m} /}$



 to brynge ofte tymes to mynde / how mony paynes and disseses he has suffred for vs . In goynge . in pre-

 myssaynges and reproues / so pat a able . shulde not thinke heuy . forto folowe his emperour and his lorde /

Sothely who so wenes. and sayes pat he duelles in ihesu crist / as he went so behoues hym to folow / That is to say in meknes in wilful pouert. pa-
ciens myldenesse chastite and charite . and in meke suffrynge of al maner diseses and reproues for his sake / as he did for vs . and in fulfillyng of al other gude vertues pis is pe way in pe whilk crist went for vs / yeuyng vs example . pat we shulde
folowe hym /
Line \# $\quad$ Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[B]$

Quamuis non statim vt volumus cor in vnum colligere valeamus [f. 36r] non propter hoc debemus desinere . set paulatim studeamus crescere. vt tandem dignetur Christus nos solidare ad quod meditacio iuuat. Si
mensuram non excedit. Capitulum octauum. De meditacione

Est autem meditacio bona de pas-
 pro nobis sustulit ambulando . predicando . famam sitim et frigus et caloris estum paciendo . improperia et maledicta sustinendo vt non videatur graue seruo inutili. imperatorem
et dominum sum imitari .

[^116] in
in

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| :---: | :---: |
| 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. thorowgh the whyche I passed oute of thys world to my fader. 『 Sothly oft thynkyng or meditacion of thys gloryous manhede and on the bytter passion and dolfull deth of oure lord Ihesu cryste confoundeth the fende and distroyeth all hys myght / and hys disseytes . hit slaketh flesshly temtacions and kyndeleth or quencheth the soule / to the loue of Ihesu Cryst hyt reyseth vp oure thought aboue all erthely thynges and claryfieth hit and purgeth hit fro all fylthe of syn. ब <br> I trowe that thys meditacion ys most profytable of all other to hem that ben newly turned to cryst. And therfore ys the glorious manhode of oure lord Ihesu cryst sette before vs . for in hit we haue bothe mater of [col. b] ioying and of sorowyng. Of ioying / for certeynte of oure redempcion. $\varnothing$ Of sorowyng / for the fylthe and the gretnesse of oure syn. $\uparrow$ Ffor the whyche syn to be doon awey. Goddys sone oure lord Thesu cryst . toke oure kynde . and clothyd hym with clothes of oure deedlynesse. In the whyche he suffred so hyduous a passion and so cruel a deth . for a boistous and a flesshly soul may nat be rauyshed into contemplacion of the godhede / but yef hit be furst clensyd and made sotyll fro all flesshlynesse and synne . thorow meditacion and contemplacion of the manhede. - But |  |
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| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C] |
| :--- |
| we shulde folwe him. |
| Oure lord seith bi pe prophete Jere- |
| mie pus. $\uparrow$ Haue ofte in mynde of |
| myn ouerpassinge of my pouerte . of |
| my bitternesse . and drink of galle. |
| my sorwe and my peynes thoruh |
| whiche I passed out of pis world to |
| my fader. $\uparrow$ Soothly ofte thinkinge or |
| meditacion of pis glorious manhede. |
| on pe bitter passion. and pe doolful |
| deth of oure lord ihesu crist / con- |
| foundeth pe feend . and destroyeth al |
| his miht. and hise disceites. It |
| slaketh fleshly temptacions. and |
| kindeleth pe soule to pe loue of ihesu |
| crist. It reiseth up oure thouht aboue |
| alle eerpely thinges. and clarifyeth it |
| and poorgeth it from al filthe of |
| sinne. $\$$ |

I trowe pat pis meditacion is most profitable of alle oopere. to hem pat ben newely turned to crist. And perfore is pe gloriowse manhede of oure
lord ihesu crist sett bifore us. ffor in it we haue bope matere of ioyinge . and of sorwinge. Of ioyinge / for certeyntee of oure redempcion. Of sorwinge / for be vilete and pe gretner ores loue sinne to be doon awey / goddes loue kynde . and cloped him with clopes
 suffrede so hidous passion . and so despitous and so cruelle a deth . ffor a boistous and a fleshly soule . may not be ravisshed into contemplacion of be godhede / but if it be first fleshlinesse and sinne . thoruh meditacion and contemplacion of pe man-

Oure lorde says be pe prophete. Jeremi . thus / Haue ofte in mynde of myn ouerpassynge. [f. $109^{109}$ of my of galle . my sorowe and my peynes / thurh whilk I passed oute of pis worlde to my fader / Sothely ofte pinkyng or meditacion of pis gloriouse manhede . on pe bitter passioun . and pe doleful deth of oure fende and destroyes al his myht and hys deceytes . it sleckes flesshly temptacions . and kyndles pe soule to be loue of ihesu criste . it reises vp oure pouht aboue al erthly 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 and we haue bothe matere of ioyng and certeyntee of oure redempcion. Of sorowyng / for pe viletie and pe gretnes of oure synne / ffor be whilke synne to be done away / goddes oure lorde hesu crist ok with oure kynde / and clothed hym with clythes of oure dedelynesse / In pe whilke he suffred so hydous a passioun . and so cruel. [f. $110^{7}$ ] and so dispitouse a deth / ffor a boystous and a flesshly soule may not . be rauysshed into contemplacion of pe godhede / bot if it be first clensed and made sotille from alle flesshly-

Dicit dominus enim per Ieremiam . Recorde inquit transmigracionis mee et paupertatis et absinthii et fellis et doloris et amaritudinis . per quam .
scilicet . de mundo ad patrem transmigraui . hec enim recordacio siue meditacio diabolum confundit et machinas eius destruit . carnales temptaciones extinguit . animam ad Christi amorem incendit . mentem subleuat et clarificat . atque clarifi-
cando purgat .

ढ

Estimo quod hec meditacio est omnibus alijs vtilior hiis qui nouiter ad Christum conuertuntur. Ideo que . quia preponitur humanitas Christi in riam habet gaudendi et lugendi. gaudium propter certitudinem redempcionis. luctum propter turpitudinem criminis. pro quo dolendo quia rudis et carnalis [f. 36 v ] anima in contemplacione non rapitur deitatis . nisi carnalibus consumptis impedimentis spiritualis efficiatur .
 perit. et nulla [corporee] rei ymago admittitur vt in amore deitatis vehementer glorietur. $\uparrow$

|  | Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | when a man begynneth to have a clene hert. And noone ymage of bodyly thyng may begyle hym . than he ys taken vntyll hyer thynges . and forto ioye in the loue of the godhede. $\uparrow$ |
|  | Sothly all good thoughtes and meditacions ben of god. And suche he yeueth to all men thorow hys grace / as he knoweth most able therto . And accordyng for her astate and degree and condicion . <br> I myght telle the meditacions but whyche ben most spedefull to the I knowe nat ffor why I haue nat seen thyne inward affeccions. $\mathbb{\\|}$ I trow certeynly that these meditacions plese most god / the whyche he sendeth hymself into a soule . [f. 88r] Neuertheles thow mayst haue the begynnyng of other mennys techyng / And that I haue assayed in mysylf. for yef thow dyspyse thy doctores. supposyng thy sylfe to fynde better thyng than they haue taught the in her wrytynges / wete thow well thow shalt nat taste the loue of god. ffor hit ys no foly to sey god taught hem. ๆ Why shall he nat also well teche me . <br> I answere the . for thow art nat suche as they were. thow art prowde and sterne. And they were meke and mylde. They askydden nothyng of god presumptuosly . but meked hemsylf vader all other. § They gate the cunnyng and grace of techers. Therfore god taught hem that we shuld be lerned by here wrytynges and bookes. Sothly yef thy thoughtes and thy meditacions desyren the loue |

C.U. F.5. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) $\quad[\mathrm{C}]$
hede. © But [f. 156r] whan a man biginneth to haue a clene herte . and noon ymage of bodily thing may bigile him / panne is he taken vnto hyere thinges. and for to ioye in pe loue of pe godhede. $\uparrow$ Soothly alle goode thouhtes and meditacions/ben of god. And his grace / as he knoweth most able and accordinge for here estate . de-

I mihte telle pee meditacions / but whiche ben most speedful to bee I knowe nouht. Ffor why? I haue nouht seen pine inward affeccions. $\uparrow$ tacions plesen most god / pe whiche he sendeth him self into pi soule. $\ddagger$
 nynge / of ooper mennes techinge . es supffor if pou despise pi doctoures . Sup-
 inges / wite pou wel pou shalt not
 seye. God tauhte hem. whi shal he
not as wel teche me?
 as bei were . bou art proud and sterne /and pei weren meeke and
 presumptuowsly , but makinge hemself vnder alle oopere / bei geten pe
kunnynge and grace of techeres.
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0 bookes. © Soothly if pi thouhtes and
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
and contemplacion of the manhede / Bot when a man begynes to haue a lon the is he taken vntil heyere thinges / and forto 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. cion /

I myht telle . pe meditacions . bot whilk are most spedeful to pe I knowe nouht / for why I haue noum seen thin inwarde affeccions / I
trowe certeynly bat bose meditacions plese moste god / pe whilk he sendes himself into bi soule .

Neuerpeles pow may haue pe bygynnynge of oper menys techynge and pat I haue assayde in my / self / ffor if pow dispise pi doctours . Suppo-
synge [f. $110^{7}$ ] bi self to fynde better
 writynges / wete pow wel . pou shalt nouht taste pe loue of god. ffor it is foly to say / god tauht hem / whi shal he nouht als wele teche me /

I answere pe / ffor pow art not swilk as pai were / Thow arte proude and sterne / and bei were meke and mylde / pai asked no pinge of god presompteuously / bot mekeand paim nynge and grace of techers / Therfor god hem tauht / pat we shulde be lered by paire writynges and bokes / Sopely if pi pouhtys and pi medi-
Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $[\mathrm{B}]$

Bone itaque cogitaciones et meditaciones a deo sunt et tales per suam graciam singulis infundit quales illorum statui et condicioni magis congrue videt. ${ }^{\|}$

Possem ergo meditaciones tibi dicere . sed quales tibi magis efficaces erunt ignoro . quia interiorem tuam affeccionem non vidi. Puto deo magis placent et tibi magis proficient quas deus ipse per se in animam suam perfudit . verump tamen inicium poteris ab aliorum dictis
habere quod eciam in memet ipso expertus sum. Si enim contempseris doctores putans te aliquid melius inuenire quam ipsi in scriptis suis te docent scito quod amorem dei non
gustabis. Insipientis est dicere . deus illos docuit . quare eciam me non docebit.

[^117] quales ipsi fuerunt. Superbus enim es et austerus. illi vero humiles et mites extiterunt . et presumendo nichil de deo quesierunt. sed se humilciam sanctorum docuit ergo illos vt in corum libris doceremur . Si vero meditaciones tue amorem Christi
 37 r ] eius sonant . vt michi videtur .
of Cryst Thesu / and couetest hys
loouyng / as me thynketh thow art loouyng / as me thynketh thow art
well disposyd. © But neuerthles tho thynges or medytacions in the whyche thow felest most sauoure and swetnesse to god / ben most profytable to the. ffor meditacions with-
outen swetnesse profyteth lytyll. outen swetnesse profyteth lyyyl.

## Of Redyng. Capitulum ix ${ }^{m}$.

Yef thow couete to come to the loue of god / And for to be kendeled with the desyre [col. b] of heuynly joyes / recheles for to rede holy wrytte. And most in these placys. Where hit techeth for to fle the queyntyse of the fende. And where hit speketh of the loue of god. And of contemplatyf lyfe and hard sentence that thow mayst nat lyghtly vnderstande / leue hem to wyse men of grete wyttys that han in custom of long tyme for to
ouly thys werk of redyng helpeth sarely to profyte and to wex in the loue of god. In hit we knowen oure defautes. in what thynges we
 nat. And what thynges we shuld do / and what forsake. © In holy wrytte sotely appereth to vs / the false
 vs / for to loue god. and reyseth oure hert vp for to loue hym . hit arayeth o vs a delicate boorde. yer we delyte vs in hit as in all deyntees and delyces. $\uparrow$

Neuertheles no coueytyse of preysyng or fauour of men shuld styre vs
to the loue of holy wryt . but oonly
ihesu crist and coveiten his loovinge / as me thinketh pou art wel disposed. But neuerpeles pese
 feelest most savour and swetnesse to meditacion with oute swetnesse / profyteth litel.

## Of redinge. [f.156v] \Capitulum

nonum./
 desire of heuenly ioyes / looke pat


 it speketh of pe loue of god. and of contemplatyf lyf. And harde senviderstonde / leue hem to wise men of grete wittes . pat hauen in custome of long time for to despute in holi writ. $f$

Soothly pis werk of redinge helpeth us gretli/ to profite and to woxe in
pe loue of god. $\uparrow$ In it we knowe oure defautes and in whiche thinges we sinnen / and in whiche nouht . and what thinges we shulden do / and what forsake. $\uparrow$ In holy writ sotilly appeeren to us be false craftes of oure enemyes. $\uparrow$ It stereth us for to loue god and reiseth oure herte up delicate bord if we delite us in it . as in alle deyntes and delices.
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
and coueiten his lovuynge / as me pinke pou art wele disposid / Bot neuer theles . pose pinges or medracions. in whisse to god are moste d!м иою̣е! outen swetnesse profites lytel /

## Of redynge \Capitulum $9^{\text {m/ } / ~}$

If pou coueite to come to pe loue of god . and forto be kyndled wip pe desire of heuenly ioyes / loke pat pou rede holy writte and moste in pose
 fle pe quentise of pe fende and where it spekes of pe loue of god and of pat pou may not lyhtly vnderstonde . leue paym to wisemen of gret wittes / pat haue in custome of longe tyme forto dispute in holy writte /

Sothely pis werke of redynge helpes us gretly to profite . and to waxe in 0
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0 әм / səลิธи! synne in whilke nouht / and what -лод иецм рие ор әрппчя әм эәви!! sake / In holy writte sotelly apperes to us be fals craftes of oure enemys / It steres us forto loue god and reyses oure herte up forto lovue hym / It
 delyte us in it / as in al deyntees and delices.

Neuerpeles no coueityse of praisynge or fauour of men stere us to pe loue
of holy writ. bot only entencion and
Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$

Line \#

Si cupis ad amorem dei peruenire et succendi desiderio celestium gaudiorum. et induci ad contemptum terrenorum . non sis necligens ad
meditandum sacram scripturam et maxime in hiis locis vbi mores instruit et insidia [dia]boli cauere docet vbi loquitur de amore dei de contemplatiua vita . difficiliores vero sentencie disputantibus et ingeniosis viris longo tempore exercitatis in sancta doctrina relinquantur .
multum enim nos adiuuat hec in bono proficere. In hoc cognoscimus defectus nostros et profectus in quibus peccamus et in quibus non. tilissime nobis apperiunt machinas inimicorum accendant ad amandum et ad laudem dei excitant preparant nobis mensam delicatam. Si in illis sicut in omnibus diuiciis fuerimus delectati.

intencion and desyre to please god.
that we may know we shall loue that we may know we shall loue
hym. And that we may teche the same to oure brother. And nat for that we wolde be holdyn wyse and kunnyng anentys men . but we shall rather hyde oure kunnyng. And shewe hit forth for loouyng or preysyng of men as the prophete seyth. $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$
 lord / that I synne nat to the . that ys to sey thorough veyne shewyng
Therfore all the cause of oure spekyng shal be oonly the loouyng of god and edificacion of oure euen





 god.

Of purete and Clennes. Capitulum
Thorow these [neyn] degrees beforeseyde / we comen to clennes of soule . in the whych god ys seen that clennesse. I meane that may be had in thys lyfe . but how many clennesse be had here. Where a man ys
so ofte defouled .at the leste with venyall synnes. for as the prophete seyth . the feet of seyntys nedeth to be wasshen for they han draw pow-

Other who may sey I am clene of
synne. As who seyeth . no man in

| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C] |
| :--- |
| entencion and desire to plese god . | pat we mown knowe how we shule loue him. and pat we mown teche pe same to oure brooper. And nouht for pat we wolden be holden wise or

kunnynge anemptes men / but we shule rapere hide oure kunnynge and
 foorth for loovinge and preysinge of men . as pe prophete seith. $\boldsymbol{f}$
 lord / pat I sinne not to pee . pat is to
seye / thoruh veyn shewinge. - Perfore al pe cause of oure spekinge /

 pat pat may be fulfilled in us /pat pe
prophete seith of him self in [f.157r]
 eueremore in my mouth. And pat is whan we seeken not oure owen loovinge ne speken no thing ayens pe loovinge and wurshipe of god.

Of puritee and clennesse. \CapituThoruh pese . ix . degrees bifore seyd / we comen to clennesse of soule. In pe whiche god is seen. had in pis lyf. But how may clennesse be had heere . where a man is so ofte defouled at pe leste with venial sinnes / ffor as be prophete
seith / be feet of seintes needen to be wasshen. $\uparrow$ Ffor pei haue drawen pouder with hem fro pe eerthe. $\uparrow$ Or who may seye I am clene of
sinne / as who seith / no man in pis
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
desire to plese god. That we may knowe how we shal lofe him . and pat we may teche pe same to oure n
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0 praisynge [f. $111^{*}$ ] of men. As pe prophete says: $\quad$ in worde to say thurh vayne shewynge. Therfor al pe cause of oure spekynge /




 when we seke nouht oure oune lovuynge . ne speke noping ayeyn be lovuyng and worshipp of god.

## Capitulum $10^{\mathrm{m} /}$ Of puryte and

 Thurh pise nyne degrees . before saide we comen to clennesse of soule / in be whilk god is seen . That clennesse I mene . pat may be hadde in this lyfe. Bot how may е әәцм / әәцц әрреч әq әsรәишә with veniale synnes / ffor as pe prophete says . pe fete of seyntes / nedes to be wasshyn. for bei haue drawen pouder wip hem . fro pe er-
the. Or who may say I am clene of synne / as who say . no man in this

Line \#
placendi deo . vt sciamus quoniam ipsum diligamus et illud idem proximum doceamus vt non reputemur scientes ad populum . immo magis debe [f. 37 v ] mus occultare scienciam nostram quam ad laudem ostendere . Sicut dicitur

In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua . vt non peccem tibi . per vanam . scilione Causa ergo nostre locucionis. sola sit laus dei et impleatur. Semper laus eius in ore meo . quod fit quando non nostram laudem querimus . et contra laudem eius non loquimur

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| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) |
| :---: |
| thys lyfe. $\mathbb{\top}$ Ffor as holy Iob seyth yef I be wasshen with water of snowe that ys with sothfast penaunce . and myn handys [col. b] shyne as most clene . that ys of good werkes / neuerthelese in fylthe thow shalt wype me . that ys for venyall synnes. the whyche may nat be fled And my clothes shall lothe me that ys my flessh. and my sensualyte . with the whyche a resonable soule ys clothed / shall make me abhominable the whyche flesshe ys so freel and so buxom for to loue the fayrenesse and the vanyte of the world . that hit oft tymes maketh a man to syn. © Therfore byddeth the Apostell thus. $\uparrow$ <br> Synne regne nat in oure dedely body. As yef he sayd thus. $\mathbb{I}$ Syn may nat vnbe in oure body of deth . that ys in oure flessh and sensualyte but hit may vnregne in vs . that ys the vnlefull sterynges that spryngen owte of yow by corrupcion of youre flessh / may be restreyned and cast doune by reson and myght of the soule thorow the meryte and the desert of the glorious passion of oure lord Ihesu cryste. ${ }^{\text {q }}$ <br> Therfore what clennesse may a man haue in thys lyfe. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ Sothely grete and loouyng yef he ryghtwysly and besyly vse hymself in study of redyng of preying and of meditacion as hit ys before seyd. $\uparrow$ Ffor thowgh a man by freelte syn sumtyme venyally. ब Neuertheles [f. 89r] for hys hool entent that he hath to god / hit ys doon awey for the feruoure and the brennyng of charyte that ys in hys soule / consumeth and wasteth to nought all |

C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]
lyf. $\mathbb{\top}$ Ffor as holy Job seith. $\uparrow$ If I be wasshen with water of snow . pat is with soothfast penaunce . and myne hondes shyne as most clene. pat is for goode werkes / neuerpeles in for filthe pou shalt dippe me. po be fledde. And my clopes shule lope me . pat is my flesh and my sensualytee with which a resonable soule is
 I Pe whiche flesh is so frele and so buxum for to loue pe fairnesse and times maketh a man to sinne. Perfore biddeth pe apostle pus.

- Sinne regne not in youre dedly范 may not vnbe in youre bodi of deth. pat is in youre flesh and sensualitee / but it may vnregne . pat is . pe vnleefful steringes pat springen out of yow bi corrupcion of youre flesh/
mown be restreyned and cast don bi reson and miht of pe soule . thoruh pe merite and pe deserte of be gloriowse passion of oure [f.157v] lord ihesu crist.
Derfore what clennesse may a man haue in pis lyfe / Soothly gret and
louable if he rihtwysly and bisily
 preyinge and of meditacion . as it is bifore seid. $\uparrow$ Ffor bouh a man bi neuerpeles for his hole entente pat he hath vnto god / it is doon awey .ffor pe fervour and brennynge charite pat is in his soule / consumeth and
wasteth to nouht al pe rust and filthe


## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

lyfe. ffor as holy Job seis: If I be
wasshen . wip water of snow . pat is
with sothefast penauce and my
hondis shyne as moste clene. pat is
 for veniale synnes . pe whilke may not be fled. and my clopes shal lothe
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 it ofte tymes makes a man to synne. perfor biddes pe apostle pus.

Synne regne not in youre dedely body. As if he saide pus. Synne may not vnbe in yowre body of deth pat is in your flessh. and sensualite.
 yow . be corrupcion of youre flessh . may be restreyned and casten downe. by reson and myht of be soule . purh be merite and pe deserte of be gloriouse passioun of oure lorde ihesu criste.

Therfor what clennesse may a man haue in pis lif. Sothely grete and lovuable / if he ryhtwisly and besily vse hym selfe in studye of redyng. of praiynge . and of meditacioun . as it is before sayde. ffor pof a man be reltee synne sumtyme venialy neuerpeles for his hole entent pat h has vnto god . it is [f. $112^{\prime}$ ] done away. for pe fo nynge of charite . pat is in his soule /
consumes and wastes to nouht al be

Line \# $\quad$ Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[B]$
hac vita . nam vt ait Iob. si lotus fuero aquis niuis . id est . vera peniencia . et effulserint velut ma porssime manus mee . scilicet . propter me intingues . scilicet . propter venialia que vitari non possunt .et $a b-$ hominabuntur vestimenta mea . id est . abhominabilem me reddit caro mea. et sensualitas . quibus anima rationalis induitur . que caro sensu-
 amandum mundi delectabilem speciem. quod sepe cogit peccare
[f.38r] Ideo dicit apostolus . non regnat peccatum in nostro mortali corpore . quasi diceret . peccaregnare. Sed non potest non esse . $\overline{6}$

Quam ergo potest homo habere puritatem in hac vita . vere magnam et laudabilem si se iuste exercuerit in studio leccionis oracionis et meditacionis. vt prius prenotatum est Quamuis enim peccet . aliquando venialiter . tamen propter integram intencionem suam ad deum directam deleatur . fferuor namque caritatis in ipso existens . omnem rubiginem peccatorum consumit . quasi si gutta aque in caminum ardentem mittere-
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
the ruste and fylthe of synne as yef a
drope of water were caste in a grete
brennyng fyre. $/$
The vertew therfore of a clene soule /
ys for to haue the mynde euermore
contynuelly dirette vnto god . so that
in that state all hys thought ys in
god. And sumtyme when he speketh
with other men in a clene conscience
ys nothyng bytter nothyng sharpe.
neyther nothyng harde but all thyng
swete and softe lykyng and esy for
clennesse of hert reyseth the songe of
ioy and dytee most swete and all
myrthe and gladnes. ffor than ofte
tymes so greet vnspekable gladnesse
ys yeuyn of oure lord to suche a
soule / that heuynly melody ys in
hit . and ioy vnseable ys felyd.

[^118]\Capitulum vndecimum./ Of pe
loue of god.
O pou sweete light and delitable pat art my makere vnspekable. Iightene
pe face and pe sharpnesse of myne eyen / with pin vnmaade cleer brightnesse . so pat my soule mihtily clensed from al vnclennesse . and mad wunderful thoruh hevenly highte of swettest and merieste loue. - A sweete ihesu brenne me with pi loue pat I may sitte and reste in pee wunderfully ioyinge . and pat in neuere delited in binoldinge a
thing / but godly and gostly.

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

rouste and filth of synne / as yif a droppe of water . were caste in a grete . brennand fire .
The vertue therfor of a clensed soule is . forto haue be mynde euermore
contynuelly directe . vnto god so pat in pat state $/$ al his thouht is in
 and sumtyme when he spekes with oper men. Sothely in a clene consciens / is no thinge bitter . no pinge sharpe . ne no thinge harde / bot alle


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0 gladnes is yeuen. of oure lorde to swilk a soule / pat heuenly melodie is in yetted . and ioy vnseable is reled

## \Capitulum

 arte my maker vnspekable. lyhten pe
 with pin vnmade [f. $113^{7}$ ] clere bryhtnesse / so pat my soule . myhtyly clensed . from alle vnclennesse . and made wonderful poruh heuenly giftes / may flee swyftly into
 with pi loue / bat I may sitte and rest in pe wonderfully . ioyande. and pat I be neuer delyted in beholdyng of A pou loue enflaume my herte for to loue god / so pat I brenne nouht bot

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v - 45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | tur |
| 703 | virtus autem purgati animi . est mentem habere ad deum intentam . quia in statu illo . tota cogitacio in deum dirigitur tota memoria in ipsum extenditur . eciam quando aliis loqui videtur. In munda vero consciencia . nichil est amarum . nichil asperum . nichil durum . sed totum dulce . totum suaue. Ex cordis mundicia exurgit cantus glorie . carmen dulcissonum . et gaudium amenum . tunc plerumque tam ineffabilis iocunditas datur a deo quod melos celicum infunditur. 9 |
| 712 | Captiulum vndecimum. De amore dei |
|  | Dvice lumen et delectabile quod es conditor meus incircumscriptus illustra faciem et aciem oculorum meorum claritate [increata] et mentem meam vt medullitus $a b$ inmundiciis mundata ac mirificata muneribus euolet agiliter in altitudinem amenissimi amoris tuo sapore succende quatenus [f. 38v] sedeam et quiescam in te Thesu iubilans superna quoque suauitate quasi raptus incedens inuisibilium quoque speculacione nuncquam nisi diuinitus delecter. ${ }^{-1}$ |
| 719 | O amor eterne inflamma animam meam ad amandum deum vt non |


| D |
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| the swete halsynges of hym. © O good Ihesu who shall yeue to me/ that I may fele the that now mayst nat be seen . neyther felyd bodyly yete thyself into the entrelles of my soule . come into myn hert and fyll hit with thy fullbryght swetnesse. $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$ Make drunke my soule with feruent wyne of thy swettest loue . so that I foryetyng all euylles and all dysseyuyng ymaginacions of bodyly thyngys. And the oonly halsyng or clyppyng . with the armes of loue . that I may be glad in body / and vnspekably enioye in soule in god my Ihesu that ys my sauyour. A my derworth swete lorde Ihesu departe no more fro me . but dwelle contynuelly with me in thy blessed swetnesse. for thy presence ys all my comforte. And oonly thyn absence [f. 89v] maketh me sory. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ <br> O thow holy goste that enspirest where thow wult . rauysshe me to the a creature whyche thow hast made of nought . and make me oon with the / thorough thy swete yeftys . so that my sowle all hooly soupyd vp / in thy delycate ioye . I dyspyse and cast awey. And set at nought all thyng in thys world. And thorough thy yeuyng that hit may take gostly yeftys and thorowgh endeles ioye and gostly songe . hit may beholde the that art lyght vnspekable / and holy be molten in thy loue. $\boldsymbol{q}$ O lord brenne with thyne holy fyre of loue my reynes and myne hert the whyche fyre shall brenne in thyne auter withouten ende. Come I beseche the / soft and verrey ioye . come thow swetnes most desyred. |


| C.U. Ff. $5.30(\mathrm{ff} .141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}) \quad[\mathrm{C}]$ <br> in be sweete halsinges of him. $\quad \mathrm{O}$ |
| :--- |

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) $\quad[\mathrm{T}]$
in the swete halsynges of hym. O goode Thesu who shal yeue to me pat I may fele be / pat now maist nouht be seen. nor feled bodely. yette pi come into my herte .and fille it with pi ful briht swetnesse. Make
drunken my soule / with feruent wynne of pi swetest loue. So pat I foryetyng . alle yuels . and alle deceyuande ymages of bodely pinges and pe oonly halsinge with pe armes of
loue / I may be glad in body and
首 -әр ' пsәчІ әрıо әәмs ' чиомәәрр parte no more fro me. bot dwell continuelly with me in pi blessed swet[f.
 my comforte . and oonly pin absence
makes me sorye. O pou holy gost pat enspires where pou wilte / rauyssh me to the a creature whilk pou made of nouht . and make me oon with pe. thurh pi swete yiftes . So pat my soule . al holy supped up in pi delycate ioy ddispise/ cast away . and set at nouht al pinge in pis worlde and thurh pi yeuynge pat it may take gostly yiftes . and thurh endles ioy . and gostly songe . it may beholde pe . pat art lyht nspelk/able / and alle holy be molten in pi loue

O lorde brenne with pi holy fyre of loue . my nyers . and my herte / pe whilk fire shal brene in pin autere with outen ende. Come I beseke pe softe and verray ioy . come pou
swetnesse most desired come my

| Bodley 54 (ff. $24 \mathrm{v}-45 \mathrm{r}$ ) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$ <br> ardeam nisi ad amplexus eius. O |
| :--- | Line \#

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 spiritu-
alia carismata te largiente accipiat et
per canorum iubilum cendat incir-
cumscriptum 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

| Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) |
| :---: |
| come my wel beloued that art all my comfort . haue pyte on my languysshyng soule . come into myn hert . with thy swetefull brennyng and brenne the entrelles of myn hert and with thyn inward lyght lyghtene vs. $\uparrow$ Ffede my body and my soule with so howge ioy of loue that hit may nat be tolde. $\boldsymbol{\top}$ In suche maner of meditacions haue delyte / so that thow mayst somtyme come to the inwarde felyng of loue . loue suffereth nat a louyng soule for to dwell in hyrsylf . but that hit rauyssheth her oute of her self in her loued . so that she be more veryly where she loueth / than there the body ys that lyueth and feleth by hyr. $\uparrow$ There ben iij degrees of loue. ${ }^{\text {- }}$ <br> The furst ys [col. b] insuperable. © The $\mathrm{ij}^{\mathrm{de}}$ inseperable. And the $\mathrm{ij}^{\mathrm{de}}$ ys called singler. $\uparrow$ <br> Thy loue ys insuperable whan nothyng that ys contrary to goddys wyll may ouercome hit . but hit ys ayenst all temptacions euermore myghty and stronge . whether thow be in ease other in anguyssh . in hele or in sekenesse so that the thenketh that woldest nat for all the world to haue withouten ende / any tyme to greue or wrathe god. And the were leuer yef other shuld be to suffer all the peyn and wo that myght com to any creature / than that thow woldest do any thyng that shuld dysplese hym. © On thys maner shall thy loue be insuperable that nothyng may brynge hit doun to synne . but thow art spryngyng vp thorough vertues . Blessed art thow / yef thow be in thys degre but yet shalt thow be |


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| wel biloued pat art al my confort haue pitee on my languishinge soule. Write into myn herte with pi sweteful brennynge and brenne pe entrailes of myn herte . and with pin inwarde light lightnynge me. ffeede my bodi and my soule with so huge ioye of loue pat it may not be told. $\boldsymbol{\Phi}$ In swich manere of meditacions haue delite . so pat pou miht sum time come to pe inward feelinge of loue. $\boldsymbol{T}$ Loue suffreth not a lovinge soule for to dwelle in hire self . but it rauisheth hire out of hire self. vnto hire louede. So pat she is more verryly where she loueth / [f. 158v] pan per pe bodi is pat liueth and feeleth bi hire. $\uparrow$ Per ben thre degrees of loue. <br> Oon is insuperable . pe secunde is inseparable and pe thridde is called singulere. $\quad$ - <br> pi loue is insuperable . whan no thing pat is contrarye to goddes wille / may ouercome it . but it is ayens alle temptacions eueremore mihty. land/strong. Wheper pou be in ese or in angwishe in hele or in syknesse. So pat pee thinke pou woldest not for al pe world to haue it with oute ende / any time greeue god. And bee were leeuere if eiper shulde be . to suffre al pe peyne and wo pat mihte come to any creature / er pou woldest do any thing pat shulde displese him. $\uparrow$ On pis manere shal pi loue be insuperable . pat no thing may bringe it $\langle$ to $>$ don to doo sinne / but pou art springinge up thoruh vertues. Blissed art pou if pou be in pis degree. But yit shalt pou be more blissed if pou holde pis degree / |


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| welle beloued . pat art alle my comforte / haue pitee on my languysshyng soule. Slyde into myn herte with pi sweteful brennynge . and brenne pe entrelles of myn herte. And with pin inwarde lyht lyhtnande me / fede my body and my soule with so huge ioy of loue pat it may nouht be tolde. In [f. 114] swilk maner of meditacions . have delyte / so pat pou may sumtyme come to be inwarde felyng of loue . Loue suffres nouht a louefyng soule . forto duell in hir self / bot it rauysshes hire oute if hir self vnto hire loued. so pat she is more verely where she loues / pan per be body is bat leues. and feles by hyre. Ther are pre degrees of loue. <br> On is insuperable. The secunde is inseperable / And be thridde is called singuler. <br> Thi loue is insuperable / when no pinge pat is contrarie to goddis wille . may ouercome it. Bot it is ayens alle temptacions euermore myhty and stronge . wheder pou be in ese or in anguyssh. in hele or in seknesse / so pat pe thinke pou wolde nouht for alle pe worlde to have it with outen ende any tyme greue god. And pe were lefere if eiber shulde be . to suffre alle be peyne and woo . pat myht come to any creature / or pou wolde do ony pinge pat shulde displese him. On pis maner shal pi loue be insuperable . pat no pinge may brynge it doune to synne / bot pou arte spryngande vp purh vertues / [f.114 ${ }^{\gamma}$ ] Blest art pou if pou be in pis degre / bot yete shalt pou be more blest . if pou holde pis |

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

ardore illabere calore tuo penetralia cordis mei incende et intima luce tua illuminando melli[f.39r]fluo amoris iubilo cuncta pro captu mentis et lectacionibus delecteris vt quandoque lectacionibus delecteris vt quandoque
ad medullam amoris ascendas. Amor autem amantem animam in se manere non sinit. sed extra se rapit diligit . quam vbi corpus est . quod per illam sentit et viuit. Sunt siquidem tres gradus amoris christi in quibus ab vno in alium proficicitur qui eligitur ad amorem.
Primus vocatur. Insuperabilis .
Secundus Inseperabilis. Tercius singularis. $\frac{1}{6}$
Tunc quippe Insuperabilis est .
quando nulla affeccione alia potest quando nulla affeccione alia potest ipsum omnia impedimenta abicit omnes temptaciones et desideria carnis extinguit . quando propter christum omnes angustias libenter patitur et nulla delectacione vel blandimento
superatur . ffacilis est amanti labor omnis. nec melius vincit quis laborem quam per amorem. $\uparrow$
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
more blessed / yef thow holde thys
degre and myght come to the secund
that ys inseperable. \&
Inseperable ys thy loue when all thyn
hert and thy thought and thy myght
ys so holy and so entyerly. And so
parfytely fastned set stabeled in
Ihesu Cryste / that thy thought
cometh neuer oute of hym . ne neuer
ys departed from hym outake
slepyng tyme. And alsone. as thow
art wakyng. thyn hert ys thynkyng
on hym as yef he were boundyn in
thyne hert. hym thow sechest after .
to hym thow cryest praying / euer to
beholde in hys loue. desyryng bren-
nyngly with [f. 90r] grete affeccion.
that he wolde vouchesafe to lose the
fetteres and boundys of thys dedely
lyfe. And brynge the to hymself.
whom oonly thow desyrest and coue-
tyst. And specially thys name Ihesu
shalt thow honoure and worship
holdyng hit besyly in thy mynde
withoute seasyng. \&
And therfore whan the loue of Ihesu
cryst ys so gretly festenyd in thyn
hert that thow for nothyng in thys
world may be twynnyd neyther de-
parted fro that affeccion. hyt ys
called most hy
ys on hym euer whan thynkyng. no soule
foryetyng . but vndepartibly cleve to
Ihesu cryste / thy loue ys called inse-
perable and euerlastyng. What loue
may be more than thys.

| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) [C] |
| :--- |
| and miht come to pe secunde . pat is |

Inseparable is pi loue / whan al pin herte and $\mathrm{pi} /$ thouht and pi miht is so holly . so enteerly . and so parfytly festned sette and stabled in ihesu him . ne neuere is departed fro him. out taken slepinge time. And als soone as pou art wakinge / pin herte is thinkinge on him. as if he were
bounden in pin herte. $\uparrow$ Him pou sighest after . to him pou cryest preyinge him euere to be holden in his loue desiringe brennyngely with gret affeccion pat he wolde vowche-
saaf to loose be fetres and bondes of pis dedly lyf/ and bringe pee to him self whom oonly pou desirest and coueitest. ๆ And specially pis name ihesu shalt pou honoure . and wurshipe . holdinge it bisily in pi mynde with oute sesinge.

And perfore whan pe loue of ihesu crist is so gretly festned in pin herte pat pou for no thing in pe world may be twinned ne departed fro pat affec-
cion / it is called most hygh loue. Whan [f. 159r] pi soule is on him cuere thinkinge . no time him to ihesu crist / pi loue is called inseparable and euerelastinge. What

Yit is ber pe thridde degree . pat is .



degre and myht come to pe secunde pat is inseperable

Inseperable is pi loue / when alle pi herte . and pi pouht . and pi myht . is so holly . so entierly . and so parfitly festned set and stabled in Ihesu criste . pat pi pouht comes neuer of lof/ hym / ne neuer is departed fro
him . outakyn slepynge tyme. And als sone as pou arte wakande . pi hert is pinkand on hym / as if he were bounden in pi herte . him pou syhhes
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 brynge be to hym self. whome oonly

 our and worchipe / holdyng it besily
in pi mynde with outen cessyng .

And perfore when pe loue of Ihesu criste is so gretely festned in pin
herte pat pou for no pinge in pe worlde may be twynned nor departed . fro pat affeccion / it is callede [f. $115^{7}$ ] most heye loue. when pi soule is on hym euer pin-
kynge tyme hym foryettynge bot vndepartablely cleuues to Thesu criste / thi lufe is called inseperable and euerlastande what loue may be more than pis /
yit is pere the thridde degre . pat is
 is he / pat excludes fro hym . and forsakes alle maner comforte / bot
oon bat is in ihesu criste. when no
Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[B]$ 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 ipsum cogitat ad ipsum suspirat . cuius amore se teneri clamat rt ad compedem mortalitatis soluat . et ad ducat et maxime hoc nomen Ihesu部 in ipsius mente iugiter recumbit . © Cum ergo amor christi in corde dilectoris dei et contemptoris mundi in seperari non potest. [f. 39 v$]$ summus dicitur. Cum ergo illum cogitando nulla occasione ipsum obliuiscendo christo inseperabiliter inheret . inseperabilis et sempiternus nuncupatur . Et quis amor amore isto maior vel
alcior esse potest . si summus et sempiternus est. $\mathbb{f}$ Adhuc restat tercius gradus qui singularis est . ad singularem gradum
amoris ascendit . qui omnem consolacionem preter vnam que est in Christo Ihesu excludit . quando ni-

C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) $\quad[\mathrm{C}]$
thing may suffice to him / but ihesu A soule pat is set in pis degree / loueth crist for himself. Ihesu she thristeth . ihesu she coueyteth . him oonly she desireth . in him she brenneth . and in him she brennyngely $\circ$
$\circ$
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0 menged with ihesu . whos mynde is as a melodye of musike in a feste of

Whan she may haue ihesu / hire thin-
keth she hath alle thinge with him . with oute whom alle thinges ben lothly. alle thinges ben wlatsum and foule. But for as michel as troweth to haue him with outen ende
in be blisse of heuene / she stondeth

 eth lastingely . and suffreth alle thinge gladly. $\mathbb{T}$ And pe more she lyueth in pis degree / pe more is she kindeled in loue. and maad hyere in grace. Soothly to swich a man acor-
deth wel solitarynesse . pe whiche may suffre no felawe. $\uparrow$ Ffor pe lesse pat he is ocupyed with outward thinges . and letted with hevinesse 0
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 what angwishe or what disese falle
outward / his soule is eueremore ioyinge in god. $\boldsymbol{q}$

O pou my soule. faile pou fro pe loue of be world and melte holly in
 it be sweete softe likinge. ioyinge
and plesinge to pee / forto speke of
pinge may suffice to him bot ihesu . A soule pat is set in pis degre. loues crist for him self . ihesu she thristes .
 desires . in him she brenes . and in hym she brennandly restes. Aop is swete to hire. no pinge sauory bot
if it be menged with ihesu . whos mynde . is as a melodie of musike in


When she may haue ihesu. hir pinkes she has al pinge with hym. withouten whome / alle thinges are lothly. al thinges are wlatsome. and
foule. But for als mykel as she trowes to haue him with outen ende in the blys of heuen / she stondes stably . she fayles nought in body . ne is not cast doune in [1. 1 lly and
 suffres al thinge gladly. And ay the more she lyues in this degre . ay the more is she kyndeled in lufe and maade heyere in grace. Sothly to swilk a man acordes weelle solitarynesse / the whilk may suffre no felawe / ffor ay the lasse that he is oc-
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0 and besynesses of this lif / the more

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0 $\therefore$ warde / his soule is euermore ioy-

O thow my soule . fayle thow fro the lufe of the worlde . and melte holly in the lufe of ihesu crist . that euermore it be swete. softe lykinge .
ioyinge and plesinge to the for to
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Bodley } 54 \text { (ff. } 24 \mathrm{v}-45 \mathrm{r} \text { ) } \quad[\mathrm{B}] \\ & \text { chil preter Thesum sibi sufficere po- }\end{aligned}$. Line \# chil preter Ihesum sibi sufficere po-
terit . In gradu illo anima constituta illum vnum diligit . solum christum sitit . christum concupiscit . in solo eius desiderio anelat . ad ipsum suspirat . ex ipso inardescit . in christo feruens requiescit . nichil sui dulcessit . nichil sapit nisi Ihesu in dulcor cuius memoria quasi mirificum

Cum christo poterit frui omnia . pariter se habere credit . sine illo horrent omnia sordescunt vniuersa . constanter consistit corpore non deficit nec corde tabescit . sed amat perseueranter et cuncta patitur letantur. Et quanto amplius sic in illo tur et sublimior efficitur . Tali nimirum solitudo congruit qui conmagis interius gaudio rapitur quanto vel molestiis aut curis huius vite non impeditur. et iam quasi impassibilis in anima efficitur . quia quacumque non obstante angustia in deo iugiter iocundatur .
et suaue . de christo loqui. legere .
scribere . et cogitare . ipsum orare .

[^119]

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| speke of Thesu . for to wryte for to thynke . or to rede of Ihesu . euermore to pray hym . and euermore vnsesably to loue hym. © A swete Ihesu my soule deuoute vnto the desyreth for to see thee . she cryeth for to fare to the . she brenneth in the / and languyssheth in thy loue. $\uparrow$ <br> O . thow endeles loue / thow hast ouercome me / and thow hast woundyd myn hert euerlastyng swetnesse and incomparable fayrenesse [f. 90v] and nowe ouercomen and woundyd . I fayle nerhand I dye / and vinethes I may lyue for ioye , for I may nat suffyse in thys dedely fleyssh / to bere the swetnesse of so grete a mageste. ๆ All myn hert ys fastened in desyre of Ihesu / And hit ys all turned into the fyre of loue. and all chaunged into another fourme and ioye. <br> And therfore good Ihesu haue mercy on a wreche shewe the to the languysshyng. be leche vnto the wounded. I fele me nat syke / but only languysshyng in loue. 『 Sothly he that loueth nat the Ihesu / he leseth all that he ys. And he ys more than wood that foloweth the nat. © But I pray the good Ihesu / that thow in the meane tyme. be to me ioye loue and desyre vntyll I may see the god of goddys in syon. © Sothly Charyte of all vertues ys most noble most hygh . and most sotyll . the whyche cowpeleth togeder the louyng and the loued. And fasteneth Ihesu cryste with a chosen sowle endelesly. © Charyte reformeth in vs the ymage of the souerayn trynyte / and maketh a creature lyke vntyll hys |  |
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| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) $\quad[C]$ |
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[f.159v] ihesu . ffor to write thinke . or rede of ihesu. eueremore to preye him. eueremore vnsesably for to loue him. A sweete ihesu. my soule deuowte vnto bee / desireth for to see
bee she cryeth for to come vnto pee. she cryeth for to come vnto
pee . she brenneth in pee and lang-
. O pou eendeles loue . pou hast ouermyn herte with euerelastinge swetnesse and incomparable fayrnesse. And now ouercomen and wounded / I faile. and neerhande I deye. and vnnepes I may live for ioye. fror I
 bere pe swetnesse of so gret a mages-
tee. 1 All myn herte is festened is desire of ihesu . and it is al turned into pe fyre of loue . and al chaunged into an ooper foorme and ioye. $\boldsymbol{I}$ And perfore goode ihesu haue merci on a wrechche. shewe pee to pe lan-
 ede. $\boldsymbol{\top}$ I feele me not syke / but only languishinge in pi loue. 9 Soothly he pat loueth not pee ihesu / he leeseth I
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 desire . til I may see pee god of god-


 and festneth ihesu crist with a chosen soule endelesly. © Charitee refoor-
 trinitee . and maketh a creature lyk vnto his makere. $\uparrow$
speke of ihesu for to wryte thinke or rede . of ihesu . euermore to pray him / euermore vncesably to love him. A swete ihesu my soule deuoute vnto the / desires for to se the. she cryes for to fare vnto the . she brennes in the . and languysshelth/ in

O thow endeles lufe thow has ouercomen me and thow hast wounded my herte aylastande swetnesse and [f. 116'] incomparable fayrnesse / And now ouercomen and wounded I fayle / Nerhand I dye . and vnnethes I may lyfe for ioy / for I may not 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 therfore gude ihesu haue mercy on a wreche shewe the to the lannot seke but wounded / I feele me not seke but 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 he mene tyme be to me ioy. Ioue
 goddes in syon. Sothely charyte of
 and moost sotylle , the whilke cowples to gidere the lufand and with chosyn soule endelesly / Charite refourmes in vs . the ymage of the souereyne trinite / and makes a crea-
ture . lyke vntil his makere.

## Line \# Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

ipsum incessanter laudare. Anima mea tibi deuota deus te videre desiderat ad te de longinquo clamat.
in te ardet amore tuo languet.
deuicisti me. o. amor indeficiens. vulnerasti cor meum perhennis dulcedo et pulcritudo et iam victus et vulneratus succumbo pene morior et vix viuo pre gaudio quia non sufficio in carne corruptibili tante magestati perferre suauitatem. Totum enim cor
in desiderio Thesu defixum in amoris ardorem conuertitur et in aliam glo-
首 o . bone Ihesu miserere miseri . ostende te languenti . medere sauciato infirmum non sencio . nisi languens
amore tuo . Qui te non diligit . totum quod est perdit qui te non sequitur insanit . Interim autem esto michi in gaudium . amor. et desiderium
donec te videam deum deorum in Syon. Est autem caritas virtutum nobilissima. excellentissima. et subtillissima . qua amatorem cum amato s[c]imus coniungere . et christum cum electa anima propius copulare. Reformat in nobis summe creatori facit similimam
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
maker.
O. the yefte of loue . how worthy hit
ys before all other yeftys . the whych
chalengeth to hit / the hyghest degre
with angeles . euer the more thow
takest of loue in thy lyfe / so moche
the hygher shalt thow be in the
blysse of heuen.
O. the syngler ioye and the endeles
loue that byndeth hys possessours
[col. b] with bondys of vertues / And
rauyssheth hem aboue all erthly
thynges / vntyll heuen.
O. thow derworth charyte who so
hathe the in the erthe / leseth all that
he hathe. And yef he begyn to ioye
in the. Anon he ys reysed vp abouen
all erthely thyng. thow boldly en-
tryst into the priuy bedstede of the
endeles kyng of heuyn. Thow alone
dredyst nat for to rauysshe Thesu
cryst. $\uparrow$ He hit ys whom thow hast
sought and whom only thow hast .
Cryste ys thyn oune / holde hym
faste for he may nat forsake the .
Whom thow onely coueytyst to be
buxom to . for withouten the nothyng
may plese hym . thow makest all
thyng swete. And sauery. Thow art
the seete of heuen / the felyshyp of
angelles . A wonderfull holynesse of
seyntes . the syght of blysse and lyfe
dwellyng withouten ende.

| C.U. Ff.5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C] |
| :---: |
| O pe yifte of loue how wurpi is it bifore alle oopere yiftes . pe which chalengeth to it pe hyeste degree with angeles. Euere pe more pou takest of loue in pis lyf / soo michel pe heyere shal pou be in pe blisse of heuene. ${ }^{-1}$ <br> O pe singulere ioye endeles loue . pat byndeth hise possessoures [f.160r] with bondes of vertues . and rauisheth hem aboue alle eerpely thinges vnto heuene. ${ }^{\text {f }}$ <br> O pou derwurpi charitee . who soo hath nouht pee / in eerpe lyth al pat he hath. And if he biginne to ioye in pee / anoon he is reysed up aboue al eerpely thing. $\uparrow$ Pou boldely entrest into pe priuee bedstede of pe endeles king of heuene . pou alloone dredest not for to ravishe ihesu crist. ब He it is whom pou hast souht and whom oonly pou hast loued. $\uparrow$ Cryst is pin owen hold him faste. ffor he may not forsake pee . whom pou oonly coueitest to be buxum too. $\uparrow$ Ffor with oute bee no thing may plese him . pou makest alle thinge sweet and sauoury pou art pe sete of heuene . pe felashipe of aungeles . a wunder holinesse of seyntes. pe sight of blisse . and lyf with outen ende. $\uparrow$ <br> O pou holi charitee how sweete and how confortable art pou . pe whiche makest hool pat was broken . pe fallinge of aungeles pou restorest . pou makest free him pat was thral. and pou makest man euene to angeles. ब Sittinge and restinge pou reisest up . and liftest up wunderfully . and makest softe . esy . pesyble . plesaunt |

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
O the yifte of lufe . how worthi is it
before al othere yiftes . 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 erthly
thinges vntil heuen.
O derworth charyte. who so has
nou3t the. in the erth. leses al that
he has. And if he begyne to ioy in
the / anoone he is reysed vp aboue al
erthly thinge. Thow boldly entres
into the priuee bedstede of the ende-
les kynge [f. 116'] of 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
swete and sauory . thow art the sete
of heuen . the felowshipe of aungels.
a wonderful 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 re-
stores . thow makes fre him that was
thrale and thow makest man euene
til aungelles . sittande and restande
thow reyses vp and liftes vppe won-
derfully . thow makes softe . esye
$\left.\begin{array}{l|l|}\hline \text { Line \# } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Bodley } 54 \text { (ff. 24v - 45r) } \quad \text { [B] }\end{array} \\ \hline 812 & \begin{array}{l}\text { O donum amoris quantum valet pre } \\ \text { omnibus qui sibi suppremum gradum } \\ \text { vendicat cum angelis. Quanto quis } \\ \text { in via de amore plus accipit tanto in } \\ \text { [patria] [sublimior] est . }\end{array} \\ & \begin{array}{l}\text { O singulare gaudium eterni amoris } \\ \text { [f. 40v] quod suos ligans nexubus }\end{array} \\ & \begin{array}{l}\text { virtutum supra mundialia . ad celes- } \\ \text { tia ipsos rapit . }\end{array} \\ & \begin{array}{l}\text { O cara caritas . qui te non habet in } \\ \text { terra iacet quicquid habet . Qui vero } \\ \text { in te letari nititur . supra terrena sta- } \\ \text { tim eleuatur . tu audacter intras in } \\ \text { cubiculum regis eterni . tu sola chris- } \\ \text { tum rapere non vereris . Ipse est }\end{array} \\ \text { quem tu quesisti . quem amasti . tuus } \\ \text { est christus. tene illum . quia non } \\ \text { potest to non suscipere . cui soli obe- } \\ \text { dire desiderasti . quoniam sine te }\end{array}\right\}$

 neyther he kepeth order . neyther he
coueteth degre in louyng. ffor in thys present lyfe euer the more feru-


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 be . in the loue of Ihesu cryste. ๆ

Ffor god ys of endeles gretnesse of

 fore he may neuer be comprehendyd 잉
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0 But sothly when a soule begynneth
to brenne in desyre of loue of hys maker . she ys than made partyner of lyght vnformed. And than after ys  eftes of the holy gost. And feleth
heuynly ioye. 『Than she ouerpasseth


| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| pesable plesaunt and restfull in |  |
| conscience. In this degree is lufe chaste holy and wilfull / 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 . feruent and gretly |  |
| brennande . he byndes him in him. |  |
| hastie in wonderful manere . al thinges ouer passand. spredla/nde |  |
| himself oonly til his lufede al othere thinges despisande and foryetande . |  |
| in his loue vnspekeably ioyande him thinkande . stiande vp in desire and |  |
| fallande in his lufed. gola/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 |  |
| coueytes degre in lufynge / ffor in this present lif ay the more feruent |  |
| gely / to more loue / and 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 / |  |
| ffor god is of endeles gretnesse . of vnspekable swetnesse / and til al |  |
| hended of vs . als he is in endelesse |  |
| begynnes to brynne in desire and lufe |  |
| of his makere / she is than maade partenere of lyght vnfourmed . and |  |
| than after is she enspired | nd filled |


| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | se figens . nichil extra ipsum querens. de ipso contentus . flagrans . estuans vehemens ipsum in se ligans . impetuosus miro modo . omnem modum excedens . ad solum amatum se extendens cuncta alia contempnens et obliuiscens. in amato iubilans. ipsum cogitans . ipsum incessanter reminiscens . ascendens in desiderio . ruens in dilecto pergens in amplexibus . absortus in osculis . totus . liquefactus in igne amoris . |
| 839 | Itaque verus amator [f.41r] christi . nec ordinem in amando . nec cupit gradum . quia in presenti vita quicumque feruens et iubilans in amore diuino fuerit . adhuc plus et plus ardencius et iocundius deum amare contendit . Eciam si posset semper viuere . non putaret se aliquando stare . et vlterius in amore non posse proficere . sed pocius quanto diutius viueret . tanto in amore amplius arderet. |
| 844 | Deus infinite magnitudinis . et inexcogitabilis bonitatis . inenarrabilis dulcedinis . omni creature nature incomprehensibilis nunquam a nobis comprehendi poterit . quemadmodum in se eternus existit . Set cum iam conditoris desiderio mens inardescere ceperit . capax increate lucis efficitur. Ac deinde inspirata et repleta donis spiritus sancti celesti leticia. vt mortalibus fas est perfruitur cuncta transcendens . ad suaui- |



|  | C. |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | banne she ouerpasseth al eerpely thing. and is lifted up to feele pe swetnesse of endeles lyf. $\uparrow$ And whan she feeleth pus swetnesse of be godhede / she is al brent in to sacrifice offred vnto pe kyng of heuene. $\uparrow$ <br> O loue strong brennynge and wilful . pat may not be quenched pat casteth doun al be heyghte of myn entente into pi servage . and suffre it to thinge on noon ooper thing but on pee / pou chalange to pee al bat we savoure and al pat we ben. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  | Looke perfore pat crist be biginnynge of pi loue . and also pe ende. $\uparrow$ Ffor whom and in whom we loven alle thinge pat we louen ordinatly . and to whom we shule referre al pat we louen. Soothly pis loue is panne parfyte / whan pe entente of be soule is lifted up in to god. so pat pe miht of loue be so gret pat no worldly ioye ne no fleshly lust . shulde like it pouh it were leefful. $\boldsymbol{\square}$ |
|  | O pou loue inseparable. O pou loue singuleer . pouh per were no [f.161r] meede to chosen soules ne no tormentes for sinneres / pou woldest neuere pe soonere departe bee fro pi loued. It were more suffrable and lasse peyne for to be put in euerelastinge tormentes / pan oons to sinne dedly perfore soothly pou louest god for him self . and no thing elles. ye pou louest not pin owen self. but for god. And so folweth it pat no thing is loued of pee but god. ๆ Elles how shulde pat be fulfilled heere pat holy |


|  | T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | passes al erthely thinge / and is lifted vp . to fele the swetnesse of endeles lyf/ <br> And whan she feles thus gates the swetnesse of the godhede she is al brent in to sacrifice. offerd vnto the kynge of heuen . <br> O lufe stronge brennande . and wilfull that may noust be quenched . that castes doun al the heyght of myn entent . into thi seruage . and suffers it to thinke on noone othere thinge . 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 and in whome . we lufen al thinge that we lufen ordinately . and to whome we shal referre al that we luf. Sothely 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 flesshly luste . shulde like thoughe it were leffull / |
|  | O thow lufe inseperable / O thow lufe singulere / though there were no mede to chosen soules ne no tourmentes [f. $117^{\mathrm{v}}$ ] ordeyned for synners / thow woldle/st neuer the sonnere departe the fro thi lufed / It were more suffrable 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 thyn owen self but fore god / And so folowes it that no thinge is lufed of the but god / Elles |


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| tatem vite eterne subleuatur . <br> Dumque dulcore diuinitatis et calore creantis lucis perfunditur in holocaustum eterno regi oblatum et acceptum tota concrematur. 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 sapimus . omne quod sumus. ${ }^{-1}$ <br> Sit ergo christus nostri amoris principium . sit et finis . propter quem diligendum est quicquid ordinate diligimus. et ad quem totum quod diligimus seu diligimur referimus . hic itaque perfectus amor ostenditur . quando tota mentis intencio . tocius corporis occulta operacio . in diuinum amorem eleuatur [f.41v] quatenus sit tanta vis diuini amoris . tantaque iocunditas quod nullum mundi gaudium . nullumque carnale commercium libeat et si liceret. $\uparrow$ <br> O amor Inseperabilis . o amor singularis . qui quamuis nulla premia essent electorum nulla ve tormenta impiorum . non te cicius solueres ab amato tollerabilius igitur videtur incurrere inestimabile supplicium quam semel fore mortaliter peccaturum . ergo vere amas deum propter deum et nichil aliud . nec eciam te ipsum nisi propter deum. Et inde sequitur quod in te nichil aliud nisi deus amatur. Alioquin quomodo est deus omnia in omnibus . si aliquid in homine remaneat humani amoris . |
|  |  |




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 /

O thow derworth charyte . come into me and take me into the. and so present me lbe/fore my makere. Thow art sauorre makand sauoury odoure welle smellande . swetnesse plesaunte . feruour purifiand / and comforte with outen ende duelland. Thow makes men contemplatyfe . thow opens the yat of heuen. thow speres the mouthes of accusers. thow shewes god that is invisible. . nes. the we luen . the we prechen
thorough whom we ouercome the әџ әqшәр әм шочм кя • әрцом引
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0 swetnesse. for the with me and with myne I comende now and euermore with outen ende . Amen /

[^120]
## Line \# $\quad$ Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[\mathrm{B}]$

O cara caritas veni in me et cape me in te et sic presenta me coram conditore. Tu es enim sapor condiens.
dulcor placens. feruor purificans consolacio sine fine manens . tu viros contemplacionis efficis . ianuam celi aperis ora accusantium claudis. deum ostendis . inuisibilem et multitudinem abscondis peccatorum. Te laudamus .te predicamus. per quam mundum vincimus. per quam iubila
mus per quam celi scalam scandimus . Illabere michi in tua dulcedine . te mecum et meis comendo sine fine. Amen.
$\stackrel{-}{\infty}$
Capitulum duodecim . de contemplacione
Contemplacio siue vita contemleccionem . oracionem .et meditacionem. 1
In leccione . loquitur nobiscum deus. In oracione cum deo lo-
quimur. In leccione angeli ad nos quimur. In leccione angeli ad nos
descendunt et erudient ne [f.42r] erremus . In oracione ascendunt . et preces nostras deo offerunt congratulantur nostro proficui. qui sunt nuncij inter deum et nos. Est autem oracio pius in deum mentis affectus.


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| :---: | :---: |
| whiche whan it cometh to him / it hath delite and it cometh not from him but constreyned. <br> Meditacion of god is to be taken after redinge and preyere Where be halsinge of Rachel is. © To redinge pertineth reson and seekinge and inquisicion of soothfastnesse be whiche is free lyht ypreented upon us. © To preyere pertineth loovinge. ympne . biholdinge ouerpassinge . and wundering. $\uparrow$ And pus is contemplacion in preyere. $\mathbb{1}$ To meditacion pertineth inspiracion of god. vnderstondinge . wysdom . and sighinge or moornynge. 1 <br> If pou aske what contemplacion is / it is hard for to telle . or vtterly diffine. - Summe seyn . and wel . pat contemplacion is a knowynge of hidde thinges for to come . or elles a cesinge fro alle worldly occupacions . or studye of holy writte. ब Oopere seyn and bettere pat contemplacion is a wunderful ioyinge of heuenli thinges. ${ }^{\boldsymbol{T}}$ Pe thridde seyn and best . pat contemplacion is <thoruh> a wunderful ioye of an upreysed soule deth of alle fleshly affeccions. $\uparrow$ <br> Soothly me thinketh pat contemplacion is a wunderful ioye of Goddes loue conceyued in pe soule. with swetnesse of aungeles lovinge. $\boldsymbol{\\|}$ Pis wunderful ioyinge / is ende of parfyte preyere and of hyest deuocion. $\quad$ I Pis is a ioyinge of pe soule . had for hire endeles loued . brestinge out bi voys in to song. «And soothli pis werk is a fulfillinge and most parfyte of alle oopere werkes in pis lyf. And |  |
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when it comes to him / it has delyte .
and it comes not fro him but con-
Meditacion of god is to be taken after redynge and prayere where the halsynge of rachel is / To redynge partenes. resoun and sekynge . and inquisicion of sothfastnes / the whilk is
fre lyght prynted vpon vs. To prayere partenes . lovynge . ympne . beholdynge ouerpassynge and wonderynge / And thus is contempla-
cion in pravere. To meditacion part-
 vadirstondynge . wisdome and syghhynge or mornynge /

If thow 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 cessynge fro al worldly occupacions . ore study of holy wryte / Othere seyn and wele that . that contemplacion is a wonderfule ioyinge of heuenly thinges / The thridde seynge and best that contemplacion is thourgh a wonderfur ioy of an vpraysed soule. deth of alle flesshly affeccions /

Sothely me thinkes that contemplacion is a wonderful ioy of goddes lufe conceyued in the soule with swetnesse of aungels lovuynge. This wonderful ioiynge is ende of parfite prayere and of hyest deuocion. This is a ioynge of the soule . had for hire endelesse luffed brestande oute be voyce into songe / And sothely this
 parfite of al othere werkes in this lif /
And therfore says the prophete /

Meditacio in diuinis post leccionem
 racio pertinet et inquisicio veritatis. que lumen est gratum signatum super nos. Ad oracionem pertinet . laus

 net inspiracio diuina . intelligencia . Sapiencia . suspirium .

894 Si queritur quid sit contemplacio

| 900 | michi videtur quod contemplacio est iubilus diuini amoris suscepta in mente suauitate laudis angelice . hec enim iubilacio finis est oracionis perfecte et deuocionis summe hec est exultacio mentis habita pro eterno dilecto in spirituali canor voce prorumpens et est actus iste consummacio et perfectissimus omni actionum vite humane. Psalmista dicit. |
| :---: | :---: |

§



| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] | T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 905 | Beatus populus qui scit iubilacionem . id est . contemplacionem dei . Non enim aliquis alienus a deo potest iubilare in Ihesu . <br> nec [f.42v] illius amoris suauitatem aliquando gustauerit. Sed qui iugiter suspirat igni eterni amoris succendi paciencia et humilitate et mansuetudine cum omni mundicia mentis et corporis decorari et vnguentis spiritualibus imbui in contemplacionem eleuari. | Blessed is that folk that know wonderfull ioynge / that is the/ contemplacion of god. Sothely no man that is straunge land/ ferre fro god thorugh synne / may thus gates enioye [f. $118^{\mathrm{v}}$ ] in ihesu . <br> ne fele the swetnesse of his lufe / And therfore he that desires besily to be kyndeled. 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 / |
| 912 | Querat incessanter virtutes salutiferas quibus in hac vita a miseria culpe liberetur et in alia liber ab omni pena et in vita beata glorietur. Sicque in hoc exilio diuini amoris merebitur iubilum contemplari. Semet ipsum non pigeat mancipare oracionibus atque exerceat in meditacionibus sanctis . que profecto huius laboribus spiritualibus cum gemitibus ac fletibus interne compunccionis . amor christi accenditur pariter que virtutes omnes . ac dona sancti spiritus cordi infunduntur | 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 . ioyand in blisful lyf / And if he do thus / than shal he mow come in this lyf to this wonderful ioynge of contemplacion / And therfore yrke he not for to yeue him to prayers and wakynges / and to vse him self in holy meditacions / for sothely with swilke manere gostly trauayles . with mournynges and wepynges of inwardely compunccion . is the lufe of ihesu crist kyndled / and also al othere vertues . and the yiftes of the holy gost are yette into the soule . |
| 920 | Incipiat ergo per voluntariam paupertatem. vt dum nichil in hoc mundo appetit coram deo et homine sobrie et iuste viuat . Nichil enim habere magne necessitatis est . sed nichil velle habere magne virtutis est . multa possumus habere et tamen | Therfore begyne he thorugh wilful pouert that he coueyte no thinge of this worlde / That he may lyue soberly . mekly . and rightwisly before god and man / ffor to haue nought comes sumtyme of nede . but for to wil nouht haue. comes of grete ver- |

Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
grete vertew. © We mowe haue many grete vertew. © We mowe haue many
thynges and yet wyll to haue ryght

 Ryght as he sumtyme that hath ges. $\mathbb{\|}$ Ryght so he that semeth to范 nought. for that that he hath . he loueth hit nat but oonly for hys houeth the most parfyte man to take . 0
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0 forsake that thyng / the whych hym behoued to lyue by .
And therfore thys maner ys to be kept in parfyte men that they dyspyse for goddys sake / all erthely goodys . her mete her clothes and other necessaryes. $\|$ And yef they ony tyme -о.18 јеи пецчя кәџ / әием ло әКеј
 outrage shall they forsake / in that that in hem ys. $q$, Euerthemore a man ys brente with
 more stronge and pacient shall he be in all aduersytees . he ys also made meke withouten feynyng / that holdeth hym dispysable and nought.
 no harme neyther repreef / that any man may sey or do to hym. wherfore he [f. $92^{\circ}$ ] yeueth hym to continuel meditacion. And therfore hym ys youyn of god to come to heuynly contemplacion. And wonderfully
 inwarde ioying / And with the eye of hys soule puryiyed. As moche as

## C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) $\quad[\mathrm{C}]$

vertu. © We may have many thinges / and yit wilne to haue riht nouht. Whan we holde pat we haue to oure neede . nouht to oure luste. Riht as he sumtime pat hath nouht coueyteth to haue many thinges / riht so he pat seemeth to haue many thinges . hath riht nouht. ffor he pat hath it loueth it nouht . but oonly for his bodily neede. $\uparrow$ Hise necessaries / bihooueth pe most parfyte man to take. ffor elles were he not parfyte / if he forsooke pat thing . pe whiche him bihooued [ $162^{\circ}$ ] to live by.

And perfore pis manere is to be kept in parfite men / pat pei despise for goddes sake alle eerpeli goodes. And yit of be same shal pei take here
 necessaries. And if pei any time faile or wante / he shal not grucche. but thanke god of al. And al outrage shal he forsake . in pat pat in hym is.
pe more a man is brent with pe fyre of endeles light / so michel more strong and pacient shal he be in alle aduersitees. $\boldsymbol{\|}$ He also is maad meeke with outen feynynge / pat holdeth him despisable and nouht . and is not stired to ire or wraththe for noon harme or no reprove bat man may sey or do to him. \& Wherfore he yiveth him to co And perfore him is yoven of god to
come to heuenly contemplacion. And
 nyngly . for to enioye in inward ioyinge. $\uparrow$ And with pe eye of his soule purifyed, as michel as his dedly
freelte may suffre / he seeth and

## T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]

tue / 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 parfite man to take / ffor ellys were he not parfite / if he forsoke that thinge the whilke him behoued
to lyfe by /

And therfore this manere [f.119'] is to be keped 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 fayle ore wante / he shal not grucche but thonge god of alle and alle outrage shal he forsake in that . that in him is /

Ay the more a man is brent with the fire of endelesse light / so mykel more stronge and paciente shal he be in all aduersites / he also is made meke with outen feynynge / that holdes him \self/ despisable and nought . and is not stered til ire ore wrethe. fore no harme ne no reproue that man may say ore do to himinuel Wherfore he yeues him to continuel meditacion / and therfore him is yeuen of god to come til heuenly cowetly andion and wonderfuly in inwarde ioiynge and with the eye of his soule purifyed . als mykel as his dedly frelte may suffre he sees

## Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B]

nichil velle . quando ea que habemus non ad voluptatem. sed ad necessaritatem retinemus sicut quandoque qui nichil habet multa cupit. Necessaria perfectissimum accipere oportet. alioquin perfectus non esset . si ea vnde viuit recusaret. ©

Hic igitur modus habendus est in perfectis . vt omnia mundi despiciant et tamen ex eisdem victum et vestitum sumant. et si quandoque desunt non murmurent sed deum laudent. Superflua quantum in se sic
recusent . recusent.

Quanto magis quis calore lucis eterne incalefacere ceperit tanto in aduersis forcior erit et paciencior . hic cit . dum semetipsum despicabilem et parum reputans nec dampnis nec obprobriis ad iram prouocatur. vnde se iugi meditacioni subdens ad conscandere internis gaudiis suauiter ac ardenter iubilare videtur et hoc mentis acie purificata quantum patitur infirmitas mortalis . verum cum iam ad aliqua exteriora querenda neququam defluit nec aliunde pede superbo vadit. Set solum in supernis
letatur deliciis protinus diuini amoris
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r)
and knoweth god. \& Sothly whan he
ys sette in thys degre. he fleeth nat .
ne renneth nat aboute for to gete
owtward thyngis. neyther he goth
nat any tyme with prowde foot other
fylyng. but he hath oonly hys ioye
and hys myrthe in heuynly thynges.
And therfore he ys rauysshed in the
swetnesse of goddys loue . and
rauysshed / he ys wonderfully
gladyd.
Sothly suche ys lyfe contemplatyf/
yef hit be taken in dew maner thor-
ough longe exercise of gostly wor-
chyng. Come we to contemplacion
of thynges of heuen . the syght of the
soule ys taken vp. and beholdeth
gostly thynges as hit were in a
shadew. and nat clerely. ffor as
longe as we goon by feythe / we seen
nat. but as hit were thorowgh a myr-
rour and a lyknesse. $\uparrow$ Ffor though
the eye of vnderstanding be besy for
to be holde gostly lyght / Neuertheles
the lyght as hit ys in hit sylf / he may
nat yet se. And yet he feleth well
that he hath ben there / as longe as he
holdeth the sauour and the feruour of
the lyght with hym. And therfore
seyth the prophete.
As hys derknesse / so hys lyght.
Though all derkenesse of syn be
rauysshed awey from an holy sowle
and blake clowdes be withdrawen.
And the mynde that was vnclene be
purged / yet neuerthelater as longe as
hit ys constreyned to dwelle in thys
dedly flessh . hit may nat se that
vnspekable ioy as hit ys in hit sylf.
Holy and contemplatyf men be-
holden the ioye of God / thorough
reuelacion . And that ys eyther

|  | C. |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | knoweth god. © Soothly whan he is sette in pis degree / he fleeth not ne renneth not aboute for to gete outward thinges . ne he goth not any time with prowd foot or feelinge / but he hath oonly his ioye and his merthe in hevenly thinges. And perfore is he ravisshed in pe swetnesse of goddes loue. ๆ And so ravisshed/ he is wunderfully gladed. $\uparrow$ |
|  | Soothly swich is lyf contemplatyf. if it be taken in due manere. Thoruh long exercise of gostli werkinge / come we to contemplacion of thinges of heuene. 『 Pe sight of pe soule is taken up . and biholdeth gostli thinges, as it were in a shadewe and not cleerly. © Ffor as longe as we gon bi feith / we seen not but as it were thoruh a mirrour . and a liknesse ffor pouh be eye of vnderstondinge be bisy for to [f.163 ${ }^{\text { }}$ biholde gostly light / neuerpeles pe light as it is in it self. he may not yit see. - And yit he feeleth wel pat he hath ben pere . as longe as he holdeth pe savour and pe fervour of pe light with him. And perfore seith pe prophete. $\uparrow$ |
|  | As his derknesse . so is his lyght. ${ }^{-1}$ Pouh al derkenesse of sinne be ravisshed awey fro an holi soule and blake clowdes ben withdrawen . and pe mynde pat was vnclene be poorged / yit neuerpelattere as longe as it is constreyned to dwelle in pis dedly flesh / it may not see pat vnspekable ioye as it is in it self. ब Holy and contemplatyf men biholden pe ioye of god thoruh reuelacion. And pat is eiper thoruh openynge of |

T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
and knowes god / Sothely whan he is
sette in this degre . he flees not ne
rennes not aboute for to gete out-
warde 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 ther-
fore he is rauysshed in the swetnesse
of goddes loue. and rauysshed . he is
wonderfully gladded /
Sothely swilke is lyf contemplatif / if
it be taken in due manere . thorugh
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 / ffor as longe as we gone
by faythe we see not but as it were
thorough a mirrour and a liknesse /
ffor though the ey of vnderstondynge
be besy forto behold gostly light /
neuertheles the light as it is in it
selfe / he may [f.119'] not yitte see /
And yitte he feles wele that he has
been there / as longe as he holdes the
sauoure and the feruour of the light
with him / And therfore says the
prophet /
Als his 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
vnspekable ioy as it is in it self /
Holy and contemplatif men beholden
the ioy of god . thorugh reuelacion /
And that is eithere thorugh openynge

| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | suauitate quasi in extasi rapitur et mirabiliter iocundatur. |
| 946 | Talis siquidem est contemplatiua vita. si debito modo sit assumpta. Per longam excercitacionem spiritualium operum ascendimus ad contemplacionem supernorum . mentalis enim visio sursum capitur et celestia contemplatur per visionem enigmaticam et speculacionem non claram . quia dum per fidem currimus per speculum in enigmate videmus. Si enim oculus intellectualis nititur in lucem spiritualem contemplari . lumen illud vt in se est non videt . sentit tamen se ibi fuisse . dum saporem et feruorem luminis secum retinet . vnde in psalmo dictum est . |
| 954 | sicut tenehre eius. ita et lumen eius. Quamuis enim ab anima sancta peccatorum tenebre euanuerunt . obscura recesserunt et impura mens purgetur. Adhuc dum in carne mortali manere cogitur illa ineffabilis gloria non videtur . |
| 959 | Porro sancti et contemplatiui viri reuelata facie gloriam dei speculantur . quod fit aut aperto eis sensu vt |



## C．U．Ff． 5.30 （ff．141r－164v）$\quad[\mathrm{C}]$ <br> here gostly witte for to vnderstonde

 holi writ／or elles pe dore of heuene opened vn to hem．pat is more ．pat as it were alle obstacles bitwixe god and hem doon awey with pe eye of here soule clensed／pei biholden heuenly citizines．© Summe men han taken bope．And perfore riht as whilwe ben in derknesse of sinne ．we mown not see gostly light pe whiche
 cion／riht so in contemplacion


 derknesse his hidinge place and he
 for panne．it is ful sweete pat is feeled．And soothly in pat is
 in ne no thing wine or coueyte but god．or for god．© Heer－

 or ronniynge of herte in teeres or in any outward werkinge／but it ston－ deth specially in swetnesse of parfite
ffor manye haue be molten in teres／ and afterward haue fallen ayen in to sinne．『But per was neuere noon pat euere wolde fowle him eftsoones
 swetnesse of eendeles loue．$\uparrow$ Ffor to
 ben newely turned ．and biginneres and profiteres．〒 But for to wunder－
fully ioye in contemplacion／falleth

## T．C．D． 432 （ff．90r－121v）［T］

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 heuenly cytesynnes／Sume men han taken booth／And therfore right as whils we are in derknesse of synne we may $\operatorname{not}$／se gostly light the whilke a clene soule sees in contemplacion／right so in con－ templacion ．the whilke lightnesse oure soule vnseablye we may not se that light clerly that we shal see in
 hidynge place／and he spekes til vs yit in a cloude／but not forthy ．it is ful swete that is feld／And soothely
 a man lyuande in dedly flessh．can not ioyen but in god．ne no thinge ewed． god $/ \backslash t /$ herfore it is wele shewed．
 teres ore many outwarde wir－ chynge／but it stondes specially in swetnesse of parfite lufe and hye contemplacion／
ffor mony haue ben molten in teres號 0
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0 that euere woolde fyle him eftsones with worldly be［f． $\left.120^{7}\right]$ synesse／after that he had ones sothfastly tasted the swetnesse of endeles lufe／ffor to wepe and sorowe falles to hem ．that are newly turned．bygynners and profiters／but forto wonderfully ioy
in contemplacion falles oonly to

| Bodley 54 （ff． $24 \mathrm{v}-45 \mathrm{r}$ ）$\quad[\mathrm{B}]$ <br> intelligant scripturas ．aut ostio celi |
| :--- |

Line \＃
multi enim sunt lacrimis liquefacti et
postea in malum declinauerunt．Set
nullus vmquam mundanis solicitu－
dinibus ．se iterum polluit postquam
eterno amore veraciter exultauerit ．
fflere et gemere est nouiter conuer－
sorum incipiencium et proficien－
cium．Set iubilare et in contempla－
cionem exire ．non est nisi perfecto－
rum．Igitur qui quamuis longo tem－
pore penituerit adhuc tamen morsum

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| :---: | :---: |
| wonderfully ioye in contemplacion falleth oonly to hem that ben parfyte. - Therfore what man so euer yet feleth bytyng. And remorse of conscience for hys syn . that ys passed / though he haue longe tyme doon penaunce / wete he well that he dede nat yet parfyte penaunce. And therfore in the meane tyme be hys teeres to hym brede by day and by nyght . ffor wete he well that he may nat come to the swetnesse of contemplacion .but yef he furst trauayle hymself with wepynges and syghynges of verrey compunccion. ब The swetnesse of contemplacion may nat be goten but with huge trauayles. but whan hyt ys had / hit ys souuereyn gladnesse and endeles comfort . yee and shortly to seye hit cometh nat thorow meryte eyther deserte eyther deserued of men / but oonly of the free yefte of God. © And sothly there was neuer man fro the begynnyng of the world vnto thys day that euer myght be rauysshed into contemplacion of endeles loue . but yef he before forsoke parfytely all worldly vanyte. § And furthermore hym behoued to yeue hymsylf lastyngly to holy meditacion and deuoute prayer . or he myght come to heuynly contemplacion. Contemplacion ys a traueyl, but hit ys swete soft and desyrable. 『Thys traueyll maketh a man glad. and nat heuy . thys may no man haue but ioying . and nat whan hit cometh / but when hit goth awey . he ys wery. ब O that good trauayle to the whyche men in deedly bodyes ordeyned hem. O that noble besynesse . why- |  |
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C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C]
oonly to hem pat ben parfite perfore
oonly to hem pat ben parfite . perfore
what man so euere feeleth bitinge and remorse of conscience for his sinne pat is passed . pouh he haue long time doon penance / wite he wel pat he dide not yit parfite penance. And perfore in pe mene time / be hise teres to hym breed dai and niht. - Ffor wite he wel bat he may not cion / but if he first trauaile him self with weepinges and sighinges of verry compunccion. ${ }^{\text {a }}$
 not be geten but with huge trauailes. But whan it is had / it is souereyn gladnesse and endeles confort . ye and shortly to sey / it cometh not thoruh merite ne diserte of man. And soothly per was neuere man fro pe biginnynge of pe world vn to pis day pat euere mihte be rauished in to

worldly vanite. And ferpermore hym bihooued to yive him self lastingly to holi meditacion and deuowt preyere / er he mihte come to heuenly contemplacion. Contemplation is a trauaile / 0
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 not hevy. 『 Pis may no man haue /

cometh / but whan it goth awey he is
O goode trauaile . to pe which men
in dedly bodies ordeyne hem. O noin dedly bodies ordeyne hem. O no-

ble bisynesse which sitteres and resteres most parfitely fulfillest .fforhem . that are parfite / Therfore what man so euere yit feles bitynge and remorse lof/ conscience for his synne that is passed . thofe he haue longe yme done pennaunce / and therfore | I |
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 ges and sighynges of verry compunc흥

The swetnesse of contemplacion may not be goten but with huge trauayles / Bot whan it is had / it is souereyne gladnesse. and endeles comforte / yee shortly to say it comes not thoroughe meryte . nor deserte of man / but oonly of the fre gifte or god / And sothely there was neuere man fro the beginnynge of the orde vio this day ua myght be rauesshed into contemplaforsooke parfitly al worldly vanyte / And forthermore, him [f. $120^{7}$ ] behoueth to gif him self lastandly to
 ere / or he myght come to heuenly contemplacion / contemplacion is trauayle but it is swete softe and desirable / 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 wery /

O goode trauayle to the whilke men noble besynesse whilke setters and resters most parfitely fulfillen / ffor

$\underline{\varrho}$


Line \#
Contemplatiua suauitas non nisi laboribus inmensis adquiritur set cum inenarrabili leticia possidetur . Immo non est hominis meritum set dei donum . Tamen a principio mundr. [f.44r] vsque hodie nec vnus in conemplacione eterni amoris rapi potui isi qui prius omnem mand salubri meditacione . deuotaque oracione se ipsum exercere oportuit . priusquam ad perfectam contempla-
 non grauat hoc nullus nisi gaudens perfruitur non quando venit . set quando recedit .


| C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. 141r-164v) [C] |
| :--- |
| him needeth to be in gret reste of |
| bodi and soule / whom pe fyre of pe |
| holi [f. $\left.164^{\mathrm{r}}\right]$ gost verily enflawmeth. |
| If per ben manye pat kunne not holde |
| haliday . ne make saterdai in her |
| soule . ne putte out veyne thouhtes |
| fro here mynde . pei may not fulfille |
| pat pe prophete biddeth. seyinge |
| pese woordes. |

Cese ye and seeth how sweete oure lord is. 〔 Nouht men cesinge in
body / but in soule deserven to taste and to see how sweete oure Lord is . and how sweete pe heyghte of contemplacion is. Eche contemplatyf man loueth oonlynesse . pat he may soo michel more freely and feruently vse hymself in hise affeccions and in his gostly werkinge . pat he is not
letted with no man with oute conforte. $\uparrow$

Perfore sithe it is certeyn contemplatyf lyf to ben more wurbi and
more meritorie ban actyf lyf / alle
 of pe loue of god. lovinge solitude for be swetnesse of contemplacion
 yifte of contemplacion maad high / atteyneth to pe hiyeste and most souereyn degree of perfeccion. $\uparrow$ But degree and state . pat on pe side pei haue cauht thoruh grace pe heighte of contemplatyf lyf. and yit pei fulfille on pat ooper side . pe office of prechinge / pese passen solitarie men . pouh pei be most high in contemplacion and of grettest perfec-
cion. in pat pat pei shule haue al
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
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 Ceese ye and sees how swete oure lorde is / Nought men cesynge in body . but in soule . deseruen to tast n
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0 and how swete the heete of contemplacion is / Ilke a contemplatif man mykel more frely and feruently . vse him self in his affeccions and in his gostly wirkynge / that he is not letted. with no man . withoutenforthe / [f. $121^{\top}$ ] [f. $\left.121^{17}\right]$.

Therfor se ye it is certeyne contemplatif lyf to be more worthi and mor meritorye than actif lyf. and al contemplatif men thorough the sterynge 0
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0 for the swetnesse of contemplacion arne chefly brennynge in lufe / It
 the gift of contemplacion made hye /


 haue caught thorugh grace the
 thai fulfille on the tothir syde the frice of prechynge / Thes passen in放 contemplacion and of gretest parfec-
cion in that / that thai shal haue $<$ al

| Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) | [B] |
| :---: | :---: |

Line \# quos sancti spiritus ignis inflammat . multi enim nescientes in mente sabatizare. nec vanas cogitaciones expellere . quod in psalmo precipitur non possunt implere .

Vacate et videte quoniam ego sum deus. Vacantes enim corpore. sed vacantes corde non merentur gustare et videre quam suauis est dominus . cionis. Omnis enim vir contemplatiuus solitudinem diligit . vt eo frequencius ac feruencius quo a nullo impeditur in suis affectibus poterit exerceri .

Cum ergo constet vitam contemplatiuam digniorem esse ac magis meritoriam quam actiuam et omnes
contemplantes intuitu dei solitudinem amantes .et propter contemplacionis dulcedinem in amore precipue sint feruentes . liquet quod solitarii dono contemplacionis sublimati . ad perfeccionem attingunt maximam . [f.44v] nisi aliqui qui contemplatiue vite 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 quod ceteris paribus aureolam propter predicacionem
merentur .
Douce 322 (ff. 78 r-94r)
contemplacion and of grettest perfec-
cion in that that they shullen haue
ouer all other thynges suche a spe-
ciall mede in heuen that ys clepyd
Aureola for here prechyng.
A verrey contemplatyf man ys ofte
rauysshed in so grete desyre in that
gostly vnsesable lyght that he ys
demed of men as a foole and vnsen-
syble. And that ys for the sowle ys
so fully enflaumed in the loue of
Ihesu cryste / that hit vtterly
changeth the bodyly gesture. And ys
twyned fro all erthely and bodyly
wyrkynges . so that he ys maad as hit
were all another man. Sothly on thys
maner the soule ys gadered togeder
in to oon swetnesse / of endeles loue
holdyng hym withyn besyly no more
goyng aboute . sekyng bodyly nedes
and erthely delytes. And therfore
for she ys delicately fed all with in-
ward delytes / no wonder thow she
be reysed vp in desyre. And sey.
Who shall yeue me the . my brother.
that may I fynde the withouten ende
and kysse the / that is . that I may be
departed fro thys dedely fleysh and
so fynde the and se the face to face.
And to be fastened to the [f.
withouten ende. And than shall no
man dyspyse me.
C.U. Ff. 5.30 (ff. $141 \mathrm{r}-164 \mathrm{v}$ ) $\quad[\mathrm{C}]$
ooper thing liche a special meede in
heuene . pat is called . aureole . for
here prechinge.

A verry contemplatyf man is ofte
rauished in so gret desire in to pat gostli vnseable liht / pat he is deemed
 pat is for be soule is so fully enflawmed in pe loue of ihesu crist / pat it
vtterly changeth be bodily gustur / vtterly changeth pe bodily gustur /
and is twinned and departed from alle eerpely and bodily werkinges . so pat he is maad as it were al an
 swetnesse of cendeles loue . holdinge hym withinne bisily . no more goinge a boute seekinge bodi [f. $\left.164^{4}\right]$ ly and is so delicatly fed al with inward delices / no wunder pouh she be reised up in desire . and seye. © Who
 pee . pat is . pat I mai be departed fro
 seen pee face to face. and be festened to pee with oute ende . and
panne shal no man despise me. $\uparrow$
A devoute soule pat is yoven to contemplatyf lyf. and filled with loue of endelesnesse / despiseth al be veyn ioye of bis world. and in ihesu alcoueiteth to dye and be with crist. $\boldsymbol{q}$ pe which for as miche as she is despised . and nouht set bi of pe world / hugely desireth pat she mihte be sette
T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T]
othere thinges lyche> a speciale
mede in heuen that is called aureole
mede in heuen that is called aureole
for thaire prechynge /
A verrey contemplatif man is ofte
rauysshed in so grete desire in to that
 gostly vnseable lyght, that the/ is demede of men as a foole and
sible / And that is fore the soule is so fully enflaumed in the luf of ihesu crist / that it vtterly chaunges the bodily gusture . and is twynned and
 wirkynges so that he is made as it manere the soule is gaderde to gidere in oon swetnesse of endelesse lufe . holdande him withinne besily . no more goand aboute sekande bodily she is so delicatly fedde. al with 을
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0 she be raysed vp in desire and say / Who shal yeue me the my brothere / 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
 and than shal no man despise me /

A deuoute soule that is yeuen to contemplatif lyf and filled with loue of endiesnesse / 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 languysshes in lufe and hugely de-
sires that she myght be sette with
Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) $\quad[B]$

Line \#

## $\stackrel{\varrho}{9}$

 rapitur . vt sepe quasi stultus . vel pene insensibilis ab hominibus iudicetur . hoc ideo fit . quia mens amore christi funditus inflammata gestum penitus mutat corporalem. et ab omnibus terrenis actubus eciam corpus segregans. velut alienum virum dei reddit. Sit vero dum animus in va eterni amoris amenitate
se totum colligit indesinenter se intus retinens vilterius ad corporalia oblectamenta non fluit querenda. Et quia interius deliciis delicate pascitur . Quis michi det te fratrem meum vt inueniam te foris et deosculer . id est . soluta carne te inuenire merear et facie ad faciem videns tecum in despiciat.
Douce 322 (ff. 78r-94r) [D]
myght be sette with these cores of
angelles in the blysfull ioye. Where
no worldly dyssese shal be in power
to dere hyre.
Therfore sothely there ys nothyng
profytable neyther more mery than
ys grace of contemplacion the why-
che reyseth vs aboue all erthely thyn-
ges and presenteth vs vnto god.
What ys grace of contemplacion. but
a begynnyng of endeles ioy . nought
elles. And what ys parfeccion of
thys ioye but a fulfyllyng of thys
grace . In the whyche ys kept to vs a
glorious gladnesse . A blessed euer-
lastyngnes . and ioye withouten ende
to be with seyntes to dwell with an-
gelles. And that ys aboue all thys . to
know god fully . to loue hym par-
fytely. to se the bryghtnesse of hys
gloriouse maieste . and with
vnspekable . And wonderfull ioying
and melody | to loue hym withouten
ende. To whom be honour. worshyp
and endles blysse in to worldys of
worldys withouten cesying. Amen.
Here enden the xij chapitres of
Rychard, heremyte of Hampole.


| T.C.D. 432 (ff. 90r-121v) [T] |
| :--- |
| thos chores of aungels in blysful ioy / |
| where no worldly dises shall mow |
| dere hir / |
| Therfore 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 parfeccion of this |
| ioy / but fulfillynge of this grace / In |
| the whilk is keped til vs glorious |
| gladsumnesse . a blest aylastand- |
| nesse 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 mai- |
| este and with vnspekable and won- |
| derful ioiyng and melodye to lovue |
| him with outen ende / To whom be |
| honoure wirship. and endles blisse |
| in world of worldes with outen ce- |
| synge . Amen / |
| Here enden the . xij . chapitres . of |
| Richard heremyte of hampole / |


| Line \# | Bodley 54 (ff. 24v-45r) [B] |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | cui dein[ f .45 r ]ceps mundana aduersitas non poterit nocere |
| 1037 | Nichil ergo vtilius . nichil iocundius gracia contemplacionis que nos ab ymis eleuat et deo representat . $\\|$ |
| 1041 | Quid enim est gracia contemplacionis nisi inchoacio glorie et quid est perfeccio glorie nisi gracia consummata . in qua seruatur nobis iocunda 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 splendorem sue magestatis videre . et cum ineffabili gloria et iubilacione et melodia ipsum eternaliter laudare. Cui sit honor et gloria. et graciarum accio in secula seculorum. Amen. बT\% |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ 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.
    ${ }^{3}$ For a list of English colophons see Allen, Writings, pp. 240-242.
    ${ }^{4}$ Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.v.30, reads: 'pe xii chapitres'; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, and similarly London, British Library, MS Harley 1706: 'the xij Chapitres'; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 18: 'duodecim capitula'.

[^1]:    ${ }^{5}$ 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), I, 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), I, p. 19, n. 100. The most recent tally is 108, as listed in Spahl, 'De emendatione', pp. 16-64.

[^2]:    ${ }^{9}$ Described in Allen, Writings, p. 230.
    ${ }^{10}$ See further comment in Nicholas Watson, Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 13 (Cambridge: Cambrige University Press, 1991), p. 301, n. 3.
    ${ }^{11}$ Allen, Writings, pp. 230-245.
    ${ }^{12}$ Richard Rolle, Du Péché à l'amour divin ou l'amendment du pécheur, trans. by Léopold Denis, Editions 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).

[^3]:    ${ }^{14}$ Key studies of 'mysticism' from this period are: William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, a Study in Human Nature: Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion Delivered at Edinburgh in 1901-1902 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902); Friedrich F. von Hügel, The Mystical Element of Religion: As Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends (London: Dent, 1909; repr. New York: Dutton, 1923); Evelyn Underhill, Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man’s Spiritual Consciousness (London: Methuen, 1911). See also Watson, Invention, pp. 34-35.
    ${ }^{15}$ Richard Rolle, The Mending of Life, trans. by Dundas Harford (London: H. R. Allenson, 1913); The Fire of Love or Melody of Love and the Mending of Life or Rule of Living, trans. by Frances M. M. Comper (London: Methuen, 1914; repr. 1920); The Amending of Life, trans. by Harry L. Hubbard (London: John M. Watkins, 1922); The Amending of Life, trans. by A. P. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1927).
    ${ }^{16}$ Eugen Schnell, Die Traktate des Richard Rolle von Hampole Incendium Amoris und Emendatio Vitae und deren Übersetzung durch Richard Misyn (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von R. Noske, 1932).
    ${ }^{17}$ 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.

[^4]:    ${ }^{18}$ See note 1 above. My thanks to Dr Spahl for sending me a copy of his thesis.
    ${ }^{19}$ Denis Renevey, Language, Self and Love: Hermeneutics in the Writings of Richard Rolle and the Commentaries on the Song of Songs (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001); Claire E. McIlroy, The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004).
    ${ }^{20}$ McIlroy, Prose Treatises, p. 8.
    ${ }^{21}$ I borrow this phrase (lightly) from New Testament studies, and in particular the seminal text by Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimairus to Wrede, trans. by W. Montgomery, $3^{\text {rd }}$ edn (London: Adam \& Charles Black, 1954). In the following section I draw especially from the comprehensive overviews of Rolle scholarship in Valerie Lagorio and Ritamary Bradley, The Fourteenth-Century English Mystics: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography (New York: Garland, 1981), pp. 53-80; Moyes, Expositio, I, pp. 1-24; and Watson, Invention, pp. 31-53.

[^5]:    ${ }^{22}$ Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and his Followers, ed. by Carl Horstmann, pref. by Anne Clark Bartlett, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999), I, pp. v-xiv, and II, 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.

[^6]:    ${ }^{25}$ The Officium et miracula of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. by Reginald M. Woolley (London: SPCK, 1919); see also the earlier edition in English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. by George G. Perry, EETS, 20 (London: Oxford University Press, 1866; repr. 1921), pp. xix-xlv; and a translation in Comper, The Fire of Love, pp. xlv-lxii.
    ${ }^{26}$ Geraldine Hodgson, The Sanity of Mysticism: A Study of Richard Rolle (London: Faith Press, 1926); Frances Comper, The Life of Richard Rolle, Together with an Edition of his English Lyrics (London: Dent, 1928).
    ${ }^{27}$ 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).

[^7]:    ${ }^{28}$ Allen, Writings, pp. 7-8.
    ${ }^{29}$ Allen, Writings, p. 2.
    ${ }^{30}$ Maurice Noetinger, ‘The Biography of Richard Rolle,' The Month, 147 (1926), 22-30 (pp. 27-29); Le Feu, pp. xviii-xxii.

[^8]:    ${ }^{31}$ See Emile J. F. Arnould, 'Richard Rolle and the Sorbonne', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 23 (1939), 68-101; and Richard Rolle de Hampole 1300-1349: Vie et oeuvres, et édition critique, traduite et commentée du Tractatus super Apocalypsim, ed. by Nicole Marzac (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1968).

[^9]:    ${ }^{32}$ Michael Sargent, 'Richard Rolle, Sorbonnist?', Medium Aevum, 57 (1988), 284-289 (p. 289).
    ${ }^{33}$ 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 fortem, Super orationem Dominicam, and Super symbolum apostolorum, and two texts that have yet to be firmly attributed to Rolle, Super symbolum S. Athanasii, and Super threnos Jeremiae.
    ${ }^{34}$ English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, ed. by Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon, 1931; repr. 1963), p. xiii. Allen there edits extracts from the English Psalter, two Meditations on the Passion, eight Lyrics, two short prose pieces The Bee and the Stork and Desyre and Delit, and three epistles Ego Dormio, The Commandment, and The Form of Living.
    ${ }^{35}$ Gabriel M. Liegey, 'The Canticum Amoris of Richard Rolle’, Traditio, 12 (1956), 369-91.

[^10]:    ${ }^{36}$ Arnould, The Melos Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957); 'Richard Rolle and a Bishop: a Vindication', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 21 (1937), 55-77; ‘On Richard Rolle's Patrons: a New Reading', Medium Aevum, 6 (1937), 122-124; 'Richard Rolle and the Sorbonne' (1939). The only modern translation of the Melos amoris is in French: Richard Rolle: Le Chant d'Amour (Melos amoris), trans. by François Vandenbroucke, Sources chrétiennes, 168-9 (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1971).
    ${ }^{37}$ Arnold entitles this study, 'Autobiography and personal apology', in Melos amoris, pp. xx-xl.
    ${ }^{38}$ An Edition of the Judica Me Deus of Richard Rolle, ed. by John Philip Daly, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, $92 / 14$ (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984). Daly provides his own English translation on pp. 80-116.
    ${ }^{39}$ The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. by Margaret Deanesly (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915), p. 40. There are a number of modern English translations of this text, for example, Richard Rolle, The Fire of Love, trans. by Clifton Wolters (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1972).

[^11]:    ${ }^{40}$ 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'.
    ${ }^{41}$ The Psalter, or Psalms of David, and Certain Canticles, with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. by Henry R. Bramley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884). The Fordham University doctoral series are: Sandra S. Newton, 'An edition of Richard Rolle's English Psalter, the Prologue through Psalm 15' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1976); Jerry D. Cavallerano, 'Richard Rolle's English Psalter, Psalms 31-45' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1976); Marion E. Callanan, 'An edition of Richard Rolle's English Psalter with Notes and Commentary (Psalms 46-60)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1977); Zane José Rodriguez, 'Richard Rolle's English Commentary on the Psalter, Psalms 61-75: Text and Glossary, with an Introductory Essay on Rolle and the Tradition of Psalm Commentary' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1980); Ellen Alana Carney, 'Richard Rolle's English Psalter, Psalms 91105: an Edition with an Introductory Essay on Rolle's Style' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1980); Francis J. Markert, ‘A Critical Edition of Richard Rolle's "English Psalter": Psalms 106-120 with Glossary, Notes, Appendices, and an Introductory Essay on his Spirituality' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1990). See also Dorothy Everett, ‘The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole', Modern Language Review, 17 and 18 (1922-3), 217-227, 337350, 381-393, whose identification of three MS groupings underpins the Fordham research.
    ${ }^{42}$ Elizabeth M. Murray, 'Richard Rolle's Commentary on the Canticles, Edited from MS. Trinity College, Dublin, 153' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1958). For a modern English translation see Richard Rolle, Biblical Commentaries: Short Exposition of Psalm 20, Treatise on the Twentieth Psalm, Comment on the First Verses of the Canticle of Canticles, Commentary on the Apocalypse, trans. by Robert Boenig, Salzburg Studies in English Literature: Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, 92, 13 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984), pp. 56-141. See also the French translation by Y. Madon, 'Le Commentaire de Richard Rolle sur les premiers versets du Cantique des Cantiques', Mélanges de Sciences Religieuses, 7 (1950), 311-25.
    ${ }^{43}$ The Contra amatores mundi of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. by Paul F. Theiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). For Theiner's own English translation see pp. 147-196.

[^12]:    ${ }^{44}$ Marzac, Super apocalypsim, pp. 13-34. For a modern English translation of Super apocalypsim see Boenig, Biblical Commentaries, pp. 142-193.
    ${ }^{45}$ The Tractatus super psalmum vicesimum of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. by James C. Dolan, Texts and Studies in Religion, 57 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), pp. iii-vii. For Dolan's translation see pp. 49-69; also Boenig, Biblical Commentaries, pp. 26-55.
    ${ }^{46}$ Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse, Edited from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, ed. by Sarah J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS, 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). A useful modernisation with a comprehensive introduction is Richard Rolle: The English Writings, trans. by Rosamund S. Allen, The Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1988).
    ${ }^{47}$ John A. Alford, 'Biblical Imitatio in the Writings of Richard Rolle', Journal of English Literary History, 40 (1973), 1-23; ‘The Biblical Identity of Richard Rolle', Fourteenth-Century English Mystics Newsletter, 2/4 (1976), 21-25.

[^13]:    ${ }^{48}$ Alford, 'Biblical Imitatio', p. 8.
    ${ }^{49}$ Alford, 'Biblical Imitatio', p. 9. See also Theiner, Contra amatores, pp. 94, 179.
    ${ }^{50}$ Vincent Gillespie, ‘Book Review: Claire Elizabeth McIlroy, The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle', in Mystics Quarterly, 31 (2005), 52-57 (p. 52).

[^14]:    ${ }^{51}$ Watson, Invention, pp. 273-294. See also the similar chronology argued in John P. H. Clark, 'Richard Rolle as Biblical Commentator', Downside Review, 104 (1986), 165-213.
    ${ }^{52}$ Watson, Invention, p. 278; cf. his summary of Allen's chronology, p. 334, n. 4.
    ${ }^{53}$ Renevey, Language, pp. 103-4, 124-5.
    ${ }^{54}$ Hanna, Prose and Verse; see note 27 above.

[^15]:    ${ }^{55}$ Watson, Invention, pp. 295-298. See also Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, Volume I, The Saint, ed. by Regis J. Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short (New York: New City, 1999).
    ${ }^{56}$ Watson, Invention, p.xi.
    ${ }^{57}$ See in particular 'Part One: Hermeneutics and Language of Love in the Twelfth Century', pp. 7-59.

[^16]:    ${ }^{58}$ Renevey, Language, pp. 71-2.

[^17]:    ${ }^{59}$ 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.
    ${ }^{60}$ Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. xlv.
    ${ }^{61}$ 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.
    ${ }^{62}$ Renevey, Language, p. 144-5.

[^18]:    ${ }^{63}$ 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.
    ${ }^{65}$ Marleen Cré, Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: A Study of London, British Library, MS Additional 37790, The Medieval Translator/Traduire au moyen âge, vol. 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

[^19]:    ${ }^{66}$ 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.
    ${ }^{69}$ For reference to Anne Hudson's forthcoming edition, see Fiona Somerset, 'Wycliffite Spirituality', in Text and Controversy From Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 375-86 (p. 386).
    ${ }^{70}$ Joseph Goering, 'Pastoralia: The Popular Literature of the Care of Souls', in Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide, ed. by F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 670-676 (p. 670). See also 'The Preaching of

[^20]:    Misyn translation from Harvey's edition. When the discussion turns to the English translation, in the next section, I will draw from my own English edition and my transcription of the related Latin MS.
    ${ }^{74}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, lines 37-38; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 24-26. See also Allen, Writings, p. 245.
    ${ }^{75}$ 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-

[^21]:    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.
    ${ }^{77}$ Anne McGovern-Mouron, 'The Desert of Religion in British Library Cotton Faustina B VI, pars II', Analecta Cartusiana, 130, 9 (1996), 149-162 (p. 156).

[^22]:    ${ }^{78}$ Walter Hübner, ‘The Desert of Religion', Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 126 (1911), 58-74, (p. 70).
    ${ }^{79}$ Noted in Allen, Writings, p. 244.
    ${ }^{80}$ Moyes, Expositio, II, pp. 1-121, lists 64 MSS; Allen, Writings, pp. 213-224 and 171-176, is now old but lists 50 Incendium and 38 English Psalter MSS; Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, pp. xxxvixliv, lists 44 Form MSS. Spahl, 'De Emendatione', pp. 16-64 and 112-3, lists 108 Latin and 16 English MSS.
    ${ }^{81}$ On Rolle's chronology, see notes 52 and 53 above.
    ${ }^{82}$ Allen, Writings, p. 41.
    ${ }^{83}$ Allen, Writings, pp. 518-20.

[^23]:    ${ }^{84}$ Watson, Invention, p. 325, n. 8; Spahl, 'Richard and William: Or, to Whom was Richard Rolle's De Emendatione Vitae Dedicated?', Revue d'histoire des textes, 32 (2002), 301-312.
    ${ }^{85}$ 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).

[^24]:    ${ }^{86}$ Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts, ed. by Bella Millett, EETS, 325 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 63, lines 613-16; Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works, trans. by Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), p. 109.
    ${ }^{87}$ 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.

[^25]:    ${ }^{89}$ For comment on 'De contemptu mundi' as a genre of medieval writing and thought see Lotario Dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), De miseria condicionis humanae, ed. by Robert E. Lewis, The Chaucer Library (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), pp. 26-7, p. 81 n. 118.
    ${ }^{90}$ 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.

[^26]:    ${ }^{92}$ PL 184: 310a; William of St Thierry, The Golden Epistle: A Letter to Brethren at Mont Dieu, trans. by Theodore Berkeley, Cistercian Fathers Series, 12 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980), pp. 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, Writngs, p. 99; Arnould, Melos, p. ix, n. 11).

[^27]:    The scholarly consensus now, however, supports Allen (see, for example, Daly, Judica Me, p. vi; Watson, Invention, p.76).
    ${ }^{95}$ 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.
    ${ }^{96}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 40, lines 60-62; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 111, lines 11-13.
    ${ }^{97}$ Jean Dunbabin, A Hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth-Century Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 153.

[^28]:    ${ }^{98}$ For a comprehensive overview of the key issues see David Burr, The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Francis (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 261-77.
    ${ }^{99}$ Cited with translation in Brian Tierney, Origins of Papal Infallibility 1150-1350: A Study on the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty, and Tradition in the Middle Ages (Leiden: Brill, 1972), p. 181.

[^29]:    ${ }^{100}$ For a comprehensive summary of the 'Occasions of Preaching', in the parishes, from bishops, monks, friars, and in the universities, see Siegfried Wenzel, Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 227-310. See also John C. Dickinson, Monastic Life in Medieval England (London: Black, 1961); David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England: Volume II, The End of the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957); and G. R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period, c. 1350-1450 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926).
    ${ }^{101}$ Wenzel, Latin Sermon, p. 289.
    ${ }^{102}$ On Fitzralph's concerns see J. I. Catto, 'Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford, 1356-1430', in The History of the University of Oxford: Volume II, Late Medieval Oxford, ed. by J. I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 175-261 (pp. 180-83); see also Katherine Walsh, 'Preaching, Pastoral Care, and Sola scriptura in Later Medieval Ireland: Richard Fitzralph and the Use

[^30]:    ${ }^{106}$ Daly, Judica Me, p. 18, lines 14-20; p. 93.
    ${ }^{107}$ There is no modern edition of the Oculus, but Daly has edited the parallel segments from Ohio, State University, Latin MS 1, collated with Oxford, New College, MS 292 (see Daly, Judica Me, pp. 20-76). On dating see L. E. Boyle, 'The Oculus Sacerdotis and Some Other Works of William of Pagula', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5/5 (1955), 81-110 (p. 90, n. 3).

[^31]:    ${ }^{108}$ 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.
    ${ }^{110}$ Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omni, vol. 1: Opera Ascetica, ed. by A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, CCCM, 1 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1971), pp. 635-682; Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum, ed. by John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, EETS, 287 (London: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[^32]:    ${ }^{111}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 41, lines 1-2; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 111, lines 28-29.
    ${ }^{112}$ Hugh of Strasbourg (or Hugo Argentinensis), ‘Compendium theologicae veritatis', lib. 3, cap. 3032, in Opera omnia sancti Bonaventurae, ed. by A. C. Peltier, 15 vols (Paris: Vives, 1864-71), viII, pp. 60-246 (p. 146).
    ${ }^{113}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 41, lines 2-5; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 111, lines 30-31.
    ${ }^{114}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 41, lines 5-7; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 111, lines 31-34. Cf. Hugh of Strasbourg, 'Compendium', p. 146.

[^33]:    ${ }^{115}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 41, lines 8-11; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 111, lines 34-37. Cf. Hugh of Strasbourg, 'Compendium', p. 146.
    ${ }^{116}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 41, lines 11-15; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 111, line 37, to p. 112, line 4. Cf. Hugh of Strasbourg, 'Compendium', p. 146.

[^34]:    ${ }^{117}$ 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.

[^35]:    ${ }^{119}$ Text and translation from Richard Newhauser, ‘The Parson's Tale', in Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales: Volume I, gen. eds Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), pp. 529-613 (pp. 546-7). See also Robert M. Correale, 'The Source of the Quotation from "Crisostom" in "the Parson's Tale"", Notes and Queries, 225 (1980), 101-2; and Siegfried Wenzel, 'Notes on the Parson's Tale', The Chaucer Review, 16 (1981), 237-256 (p. 242).
    ${ }^{120}$ 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, p. 176, lines 11-13, 27-29. See also Millett, Ancrene Wisse, p. 115, lines 65-66.
    ${ }^{122}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 42, lines 20, 21; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, lines 8, 9, 10. Cf. Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 184, lines 1-3.

[^36]:    ${ }^{123}$ 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.
    ${ }^{126}$ PL 184: 487d; translation from the fourteenth-century 'Sermon of Dead Men' in Lollard Sermons, ed. by Gloria Cigman, EETS, 294 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 208, lines 43-5. The

[^37]:    English homily post-dates Rolle, but demonstrates the usage of such teaching prior to the hugely popular fifteenth-century Ars Moriendi tradition. See Amy Appleford, 'Learning to Die: Affectivity, Community, and Death in Late Medieval English Writing' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2004), p. 58.
    ${ }^{127}$ The Rule of Saint Benedict, ed. by Justin McCann (London: Burns Oates, 1952), pp. 28, 29.
    ${ }^{128}$ Biblia sacra: iuxta vulgatam versionem, ed. by Robert Weber, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969; repr. 1983), II, p. 992; The Holy Bible: Translated from the Latin Vulgate, ed. by Richard Challoner, new edn (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books, 2000), p. 686.

[^38]:    ${ }^{129}$ 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.

[^39]:    ${ }^{131}$ Millett, Ancrene Wisse, p. 132, lines 1-4; Savage \& Watson, Ancrene Wisse, p. 176.
    ${ }^{132}$ Newhauser, 'The Parson's Tale', pp. 560-61.

[^40]:    ${ }^{133}$ The Book of Tribulation: Edited from MS Bodley 423, ed. by Alexandra Barratt, Middle English Texts, 15 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1983), p. 38, lines 3-15.
    ${ }^{134}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 46, lines 1-6; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 115, lines 17-22.

[^41]:    ${ }^{135}$ 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.

[^42]:    ${ }^{138}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 47, lines 7-8; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 116, lines 10-11.
    ${ }^{139}$ Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 167, lines 9-13.
    ${ }^{140}$ 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.
    ${ }^{141}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 48, lines 43-44; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 117, lines 4-5.

[^43]:    ${ }^{142}$ Francis, Vices and Virtues, p. 153, lines 21-24.
    ${ }^{143}$ 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).
    ${ }^{144}$ William Askins, 'The Tale of Melibee', in Correale and Hamel, Sources and Analogues I, pp. 321408 (p. 377); The Riverside Chaucer, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 229, lines 1419-21, 1424.

[^44]:    ${ }^{145}$ Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture, trans. by Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), p. 73. See also Cré, Charterhouse, pp. 251-60.
    ${ }^{146}$ McCann, Rule, pp. 48, 49.

[^45]:    ${ }^{147}$ Sancti Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia, ed. by Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1938-61), III, p. 4, lines 1-3, 6-9; The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm, trans. by Benedicta Ward (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 90. See also Watson, Invention, pp. 65.
    ${ }^{148}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 50, lines 7-11; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 118, lines 9-12.

[^46]:    ${ }^{149}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 50, lines 20-24; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 118, lines 21-23.
    ${ }^{150}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 51, lines 40-41; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 118, line 35-36.
    ${ }^{151}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 51, lines 1-3, p. 52, lines 14-15; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 119, lines 7-8, 17-18.

[^47]:    ${ }^{152}$ PL 184: 335c; Berkeley, Golden Epistle, pp. 68.
    ${ }^{153}$ PL 184: 335c; Berkeley, Golden Epistle, pp. 67-68.
    ${ }^{154}$ Daly, Judica Me, p. 17, line 2; p. 92.
    ${ }^{155}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 54, lines 3-4, 15-16; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 121, lines 7-8, 17-18.

[^48]:    ${ }^{156}$ Watson, Emenadtio, p. 55, lines 1-3; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 121, lines 31-32.
    ${ }^{157}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, lines 22-25; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 13-15. Cf. Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 91, lines 285-8; and Hugh of Strasbourg, 'Compendium', p. 133.
    ${ }^{158}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 55, lines 5-7; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 121, lines 33-35.

[^49]:    ${ }^{159}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 56, line 30; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 122, lines 19-20.
    ${ }^{160}$ Deanesly, Incendium, p. 189, line 19, to p. 190, line 1; Wolters, Fire, p. 93.
    ${ }^{161}$ Renevey notes that 'canor translates a spiritual experience which Rolle has shaped when dealing with the Song of Songs' (Language, p. 109). On Rolle's imitation of Biblical metaphor and story, see Alford, 'Biblical Imitatio'.

[^50]:    ${ }^{162}$ Watson, Invention, p. 66.
    ${ }^{163}$ Deanesly, Incendium, p. 202, lines 26-33; Wolters, Fire, p. 107.
    ${ }^{164}$ 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 spead of Thomistic thought in England, see F. J. Roensch, Early Thomistic Schools (Dubuque, Iowa: The Priory Press, 1964).

[^51]:    ${ }^{166}$ 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.

[^52]:    ${ }^{168}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 57, lines 20-21, 25-26, 29-30; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 123, lines 7-9, 13-14, 15-16. Cf. Dolan, Super psalmum, p. 8, lines 14-22.
    ${ }^{169}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 57, line 36, to p. 58, line 39; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 123, lines 23-26.
    ${ }^{170}$ Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 27, lines 65-67.

[^53]:    ${ }^{171}$ Ives: Epître a Séverin sur la charité, Richard de Saint-Victor: Les quatre degrés de la violente charité, ed. by Gervais Dumeige, Textes philosophiques du moyen âge, 3 (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955); Bernard of Clairvaux, De Diligendo Deo, in Sancti Bernardi Opera, ed. by Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and Henri M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 195777), III, pp. 109-154, (p.142). See also Watson, Emendatio, pp. 58-59, where the parallel passages from De quattuor are detailed in the notes.
    ${ }^{172}$ 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. $36,1.8$; p. 49 , lines $2-10$; and p. 50 , line 19 to p. 51 , line 4 .

[^54]:    ${ }^{175}$ Theiner, Contra amatores, p. 109, lines 296-303; p. 196. See also p. 78, lines 17-26. Cf. Watson, Emendatio, p. 62, lines 179-87, and p. 61, lines 151-76.
    ${ }^{176}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 62, lines 1-2; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 127, lines 2-3.

[^55]:    ${ }^{177}$ Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 180, a. 3; cf. PL 175: 805a.
    ${ }^{178}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 63, line 10; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 127, line 10.
    ${ }^{179}$ Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 180, a. 1; cf. PL 75: 764b.
    ${ }^{180}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 63, lines 18-21; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 127, lines 16-18.
    ${ }^{181}$ PL 59: 429a. See also Allen, Writings, p. 341.
    ${ }^{182}$ Richard of St Victor, Benjamin Major (PL 196: 67d); Hugh of St Victor, In Salomonis ecclesiasten homiliae XIX (PL 175: 117a); and De modo dicendi et meditandi libellus (PL 176: 879c). See Allen, Writings, p. 34.

[^56]:    ${ }^{183}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 63, lines 27-29; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 127, lines 24-26.
    ${ }^{184}$ Deanesly, Incendium, p. 237, lines 21-25; Wolters, Fire, p. 146.
    ${ }^{185}$ Watson notes further self-borrowing from Super canticum, Contra amatores, and Super Apocalypsim; the possible influence of Bernard's De Diligendo Deo; and a number of Biblical quotes. See Watson, Emendatio, pp. 64-67.

[^57]:    ${ }^{186}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 63, lines 35-37; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 127, lines 31-33.
    ${ }^{187}$ 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.

[^58]:    ${ }^{189}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 64, lines 66-69; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 128, lines 18-21.
    ${ }^{190}$ Deanesly, Incendium, p. 205, lines 20-21, 28-30, 32 and p. 206, lines 1-3; Wolters, Fire, pp. 110-11.

[^59]:    ${ }^{191}$ 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).

[^60]:    ${ }^{192}$ Watson, Emendatio, p. 67, lines 144-8; Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 130, lines 9-13.
    ${ }^{193}$ Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 188, a. 6.

[^61]:    ${ }^{194}$ Malcom Moyes, 'The Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions of Richard Rolle's Expositio super novem lectiones mortuorum', in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984), pp. 81-103 (p. 95).
    ${ }^{195}$ See, for example, De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England, ed. by Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989); Hugh Kempster, 'A Question of Audience: The Westminster Text and Fifteenth-Century Reception of Julian of Norwich', in Julian of Norwich: A Book of Essays, ed. by Sandra J. McEntire (New York: Garland, 1998), pp. 257-89; also Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

[^62]:    ${ }^{196}$ See Allen, Writings, pp. 242-43; Wells Rev: 3424 (15).

[^63]:    ${ }^{197}$ 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. 99104, 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 $10-11,58-59,190-91,677,711$

[^64]:    ${ }^{201}$ 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.
    ${ }^{202}$ 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.
    ${ }^{203}$ On Misyn's prose style, see Cré, Charterhouse, pp. 78-83. Concerning the characteristics of curial prose, see J. D. Burnley, 'Curial Prose in England', Speculum, 61/3 (1986), 593-614; and also Diane Bornstein, 'French Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Prose as Exemplified by the Translation of Christine de Pisan's Livre du corps de policie', Mediaeval Studies, 39 (1977), 369-86.
    ${ }^{204}$ On the 'Oral Basis of Prose Composition' see, Janel M. Mueller, The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style, 1380-1580 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 85110.

[^65]:    ${ }^{205}$ 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 FifteenthCentury 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.
    ${ }^{207}$ On 'apocatastasis' see, for example, Elizabeth A. Clark, The Origenist Controversy (Princetown: Princetown University Press, 1992), p. 249. Perhaps writing within a few decades of this translation, and possibly even contemporaneously, Julian of Norwich demonstrates an acute awareness of the same issue; see comment in, The Writings of Julian of Norwich: A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman, and A Revelation of Love, ed. by Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 154, n. 16-21; also Joan M. Nuth, Wisdom’s Daughter: The Theology of Julian of Norwich (New York: Crossroad, 1991), pp. 162-169.

[^66]:    ${ }^{208}$ Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 1, lines 9-11.
    ${ }^{209}$ Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 106, lines 20-23.

[^67]:    ${ }^{210}$ Jacob's Well: An English Treatise on the Cleansing of a Man's Conscience, ed. by Arthur Brandeis, EETS, 115 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1900), p. 241.
    ${ }^{211}$ Watson and Jenkins, Writings, pp. 355-57, lines 1, 15-18.
    ${ }^{212}$ See Hugh of Strasbourg, 'Compendium', pp. 192-93; also Aquinas, Summa, II-II, q. 19, a. 2.
    ${ }^{213}$ Alford, 'Biblical Imitatio', p. 23.
    ${ }^{214}$ Mueller traces this style of composition in the writings of John Wyclif, Walter Hilton, Nicholas Love, and in the Cloud of Unknowing. See Mueller, Native Tongue, pp. 40-85.

[^68]:    ${ }^{215}$ 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.

[^69]:    ${ }^{217}$ Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 106, lines 2-3.
    ${ }^{218}$ OLD punctum, n., 'moment, instant'. MED pointe, $n$. (1), 'geometric point'
    ${ }^{219}$ Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. 10, lines 281-83 (emphasis mine).

[^70]:    ${ }^{220}$ Ralph Hanna, 'Problems of 'Best Text' Editing and the Hengwrt Manuscript of the Canterbury Tales', in Manuscripts and Their Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 87-94 (p. 88-89).
    ${ }^{221}$ Watson, Invention, p. 275. See also example in note to lines 748-56 below (p. 78).

[^71]:    ${ }^{222}$ On Misyn and Heslyngton see Cré, Vernacular Mysticism, pp. 63-64. For the suggestion that Heslyngton was the recipient of Misyn's Emendatio translation (as well as the Incendium translation for which there is MS evidence) see Margaret Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism: The Translations by Richard Misyn of Rolle's Incendium amoris and Emendatio vitae', in 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, Fire and Mending, p. 1, lines 1-6, for Misyn's awareness of a wider audience for his work.
    ${ }^{223}$ Harvey, Fire and Mending, p. 112, lines 12-17.
    ${ }^{224}$ The text of Arundel's Consitutions can be found in Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ed. by David Wilkins, 4 vols (London, 1737), III, pp. 314-9. On the impact of this legislation in general see Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', Speculum, 70 (1995), 822-64; and for a specific example of its effect on fifteenth-century translation and authorship see Annie Sutherland, 'The Chastising of God's Children: A Neglected Text', in Text and Controversy From Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 353-73.

[^72]:    ${ }^{225}$ The earliest catalogues of the Ussher collection are found in Dublin, Trinity College, MSS 7/1, 7/2, and $7 / 3$. Manuscript descriptions of the booklet containing the Rolle text are found in: T.K. Abbott, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin: Hodges and Figgis, 1900); and Marvin L. Colker, Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts, 2 vols (Dublin: Trinity College Library, 1991), I, pp. 21-28, and II, pp. 855-866. See also Lisa Shields, French Manuscripts: New Descriptions of some French Manuscripts in Trinity College Library, Dublin (Dublin: Trinity College Library, 1975-6), pp. 30, 35; and Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, ed. by Norman Davis, EETS, s.s. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. xlvii.
    ${ }^{226}$ On the term 'booklet' see Hanna, 'Middle English Books', p. 171, and P. R. Robinson, ‘The "Booklet": A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', Codicologica 3 (1980), 46-69.

[^73]:    ${ }^{227}$ Colker, Trinity, II, p. 864.

[^74]:    ${ }^{228}$ Dublin, Trinity College, MS 7/3, fol. $49^{\mathrm{V}}$. See also William O’Sullivan, 'Binding Memories of Trinity Library', in Decantations: A Tribute to Maurice Craig, ed. by Agnus Bernelle (Dublin: Lilliput, 1992), p. 170.
    ${ }^{229}$ Dublin, Trinity College, MS 7/2, fol. 29 ${ }^{\text {r }}$. 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

[^75]:    ${ }^{231}$ See Cambridge University Library, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1856-1867; repr. 1980), II, pp. 492-3.
    ${ }^{232}$ See Henry, Pilgrimage, I, p. xxxii-xxxiii, for a full description.

[^76]:    ${ }^{233}$ The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode: From the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, ed. by William Aldis Wright (London: Nichols, 1869), p.i.
    ${ }^{234}$ Cambridge, Catalogue, II, pp. 492.
    ${ }^{235}$ Allen, Writings, p. 241; Wells Rev: 3424.
    ${ }^{236}$ Henry, Pilgrimage, I, p. xxii, xxxii, and II, p. 485.
    ${ }^{237}$ Wells Rev: 2552.
    ${ }^{238}$ A. J. Minnis, with V. J. Scattergood and J. J. Smith, The Shorter Poems, Oxford Guides to Chaucer, 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 462.

[^77]:    ${ }^{239}$ 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, Hugh Paulinus (1605-1674)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/6676](http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/6676) [accessed 5 April 2007] (para. 7 of 8).
    ${ }^{241}$ Cited in Henry, Pilgrimage, p. xxxii.

[^78]:    ${ }^{242}$ 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.
    ${ }^{243}$ Noted in Paul Lee, Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality in Late Medieval English Society: The Dominican Priory of Dartford (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), p. 173.
    ${ }^{244}$ A. Ian Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, 25 (1958), 222-243, (p. 223). Cf. LALME, III, p. 123, which judges two of these styles to be 'in a similar language'.
    ${ }^{245}$ For a list of images in Douce 322 see An Index of Images in English Manuscripts, from the Time of Chaucer to Henry VIII, c. 1380 - c. 1509: The Bodleian Library, Oxford, gen. ed. Kathleen L. Scott, 3 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 2000-02), II, p. 39. See also Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), I, p. 75, n. 59, and II, pp. 337, 338.

[^79]:    ${ }^{246}$ 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.

[^80]:    ${ }^{247}$ Bodleian, Catologue, p. 55; Lee, Nunneries, p. 173.

[^81]:    ${ }^{248}$ Doyle, 'Books', p. 228.

[^82]:    ${ }^{249}$ MED nece, $n$., a granddaughter.
    ${ }^{250}$ Most of the family history that follows is drawn from Doyle, 'Books', and Lee, Nunneries, pp. 1734, 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.

[^83]:    ${ }^{252}$ Doyle, 'Books', p. 229.
    ${ }^{253}$ 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.

[^84]:    ${ }^{256}$ See Humphrey Wanley, A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts in Two Volumes (London: Dryden Leach, 1759), I, no. 1706.
    ${ }^{257}$ See LALME, I, p. 110 (LP 4273) which locates the MS and identifies four distinct hands.

[^85]:    ${ }^{258}$ James Tait, 'Scrope, Sir Henry (b. in or before 1268, d. 1336)', rev. by Nigel Ramsay, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
    [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/24957](http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/24957) [accessed 10 April 2007].

[^86]:    ${ }^{259}$ Brigette Vale, 'Scrope, Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton (c.1327-1403)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
    [http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/24963](http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/24963) [accessed 10 April 2007].
    ${ }^{260}$ Lee, Nunneries, p. 147, n. 60.
    ${ }^{261}$ Doyle, 'Books', p. 234.
    ${ }^{262}$ Verily Anderson, The De Veres of Castle Hedingham (Lavenham, Suffolk: Dalton, 1993), p. 128.
    ${ }^{263}$ Doyle, 'Books', p. 236.

[^87]:    ${ }^{264}$ Doyle, 'Books', p. 237.
    ${ }^{265}$ 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.
    ${ }^{267}$ William D. Macray, Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae pars nona codices a viro clarissimo Kenelm Digby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1883; repr. 1999), col. 14. See also Scott, Index of Images, I, p. 85.
    ${ }^{268}$ 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.
    ${ }^{269}$ Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms, Edited from Bodleian MS Rawlinson A 389, ed. by Valerie Edden, Middle English Texts, 22 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1990), p. 17.

[^88]:    ${ }^{270}$ Ogilvie-Thomson, Prose and Verse, p. xxxix.
    ${ }^{271}$ William D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, $2^{\text {nd }}$ edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890), p. 78.
    ${ }^{272}$ Andrew G. Watson, 'Thomas Allen of Oxford and his Manuscripts', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries, ed. by M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar, 1978), pp. 279-314 (p. 279).

[^89]:    ${ }^{273}$ 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.
    ${ }^{274}$ See H. Forshaw, 'New Light on the Speculum ecclesie of St Edmund of Abingdon', Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge, 38 (1971), 7-33.

[^90]:    ${ }^{275}$ Bernard Cerquiglini, In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology, trans. by Betsy Wing (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999). On the reactions to this book see, for example, the January 1990 issue of Speculum.
    ${ }^{276}$ Murray McGillivray, 'Towards a Post-Critical Edition: Theory, Hypertext, and the Presentation of Middle English Works', Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship, 7 (1994), 175-199 (p. 192).
    ${ }^{277}$ On the added difficulty of working with English prose translations, see Ralph Hanna, 'Editing Middle English Prose Translations: How Prior is the Source?' Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship, 4 (1988), 207-216.
    ${ }^{278}$ A. S. G. Edwards, 'Middle English Literature', in Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research, ed. by David C. Greetham (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995), pp. 184-203 (p. 185), notes that when the Early English Text Society was established in 1864 textual criticism was a distinctly secondary activity to the work of transcription.

[^91]:    ${ }^{279}$ For their reflections on 'Editing in Theory' see Watson and Jenkins, Writings, pp. 27-31; see also Piers Plowman: The Three Versions, ed. by George Kane, E. Talbot Donaldson, and George Russell, 3 vols (London: Athlone Press, 1960, 1975, 1997).
    ${ }^{280}$ Watson and Jenkins, Writings, p. 28. For a useful critique, see Ralph Hanna, 'Producing Manuscripts and Editions', in Crux and Controversy in Middle English Criticism, ed. by A. J. Minnis and Charlotte Brewer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 109-130.
    ${ }^{281}$ See 'Editorial Aims and Principles', Millet, Ancrene Wisse, pp. xlv-lxi (p. lx).

[^92]:    ${ }^{282}$ 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'.
    ${ }^{283}$ On 'worst-text' editing, see William Robins, 'Toward a Disjunctive Philology', in The Book Unbound: Editing and Reading Medieval Manuscripts and Texts, ed. by Siân Echard and Stephen Partridge (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 144-158.
    ${ }^{284}$ Cerquiglini, Praise, p. 22.

[^93]:    ${ }^{285}$ Doyle, 'Books', pp. 223-23.

[^94]:    ${ }^{286}$ 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).

[^95]:    ${ }^{287}$ London, British Library, MS Add. 16170; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 54, Hatton 26 and Laud Misc. 528. I have not viewed New Haven, Yale University, MS Marston 243, or any of the other 'Gruppe K' MSS listed in Spahl, 'De Emendatione', pp. 99-104.
    ${ }^{288}$ This fact is evidenced by the parallel English and Latin incipits (fol. $78^{r}$ ). Both appear to be copied from different sources, as the English is not a translation of the Latin.

[^96]:    ${ }^{289}$ For studies of issues surrounding the application of the LALME method see, for example, So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: M. Benskin and M. L. Samuels, 1981); The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries: Essays by M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith, ed. by J. J. Smith (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988); Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Margaret Laing, eds, Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989); Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991).
    ${ }^{290}$ For a useful summary of the debate around LALME methodology see the two articles: T. L. Burton, 'On the Current State of Middle English Dialectology', Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 22 (1991), 167208, and Michael Benskin, 'In reply to Dr Burton', Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 22 (1991), 209-262. See also a statistical critique of the LALME approach in Alex Jones, 'Patterns of Similarity in the Language of Middle English Texts’, Parergon: Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 14/2 (1997), 51-65.
    ${ }^{291}$ Appendix A contains a full linguistic profile for the $\mathrm{T}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ 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.

[^97]:    ${ }^{292}$ The county boundaries used in $L A L M E$ 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. 1012; 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.

[^98]:    ${ }^{295}$ 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.
    ${ }^{296}$ See LALME, vol. 2, pp. 28-29. Other manuscripts exhibiting a similar mixed usage are: LP 311, 314, 317, 434.
    ${ }^{297}$ For discussion on 'relicts', and other anomalous features see LALME, I, pp. 12-23. See also A. Ian Doyle, 'University College, Oxford, MS 97 and its Relationship to the Simeon Manuscript (British Library Add. 22283)', in Benskin and Samuels, So Meny People, pp. 265-82; M. Benskin and M. Laing, 'Translations and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts', in Benskin and Samuels, So Meny People, pp. 55-106; and M. L. Samuels, 'Scribes and Manuscript Traditions', in Riddy, Regionalism, pp. 1-7.

[^99]:    ${ }^{298}$ All the dot maps referred to here are found in LALME I, pp. 305-568.

[^100]:    ${ }^{299}$ 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.
    ${ }^{301}$ Montague R. James, Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge: Volume I, Nos. 1-250 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 64. See also The Pauline Epistles Contained in MS Parker 32, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ed. by Margaret J. Powell, EETS, e.s. 116 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1916); Albert C. Friend, ‘Chaucer's Prioress' Tale: An Early Analogue', PMLA, 51/3 (1936), 621-625; and Laurel Broughton, 'The Prioress' Prologue and Tale', in Correale and Hamel Sources and Analogues II, pp. 583-647 (pp. 616-19).

[^101]:    ${ }^{302}$ As was indicated earlier, the $\mathrm{T}^{2}$ scribe was responsible for copying only $20 \%$ of the text; see above, Introduction, p. lxxxvii.

[^102]:    ${ }^{303}$ 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.
    ${ }^{304}$ See Ralph Hanna, London Literature, 1300-1380 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 16-17.
    ${ }^{305}$ 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).
    ${ }^{306}$ See LP 591 in LALME, III, p. 648; and Allen, Writings, pp. 372-97. For a recent MS description with access to digital images see HM 139 in C. W. Dutschke, Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library (San Marino: Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1989) [http://sunsite3.berkeley.edu/hehweb/HM139.html](http://sunsite3.berkeley.edu/hehweb/HM139.html) [accessed 30 May 2007].

[^103]:    ${ }^{307}$ See LALME, III, p. 130.
    ${ }^{308}$ Allen, Writings, p. 171. On Lessness (Lesnes) Abbey see The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, II. 1216-1377, ed. by David M. Smith and Vera M. London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 409-10; and Margaret Aston, 'English Ruins and English History: The Dissolution and the Sense of the Past', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 36 (1973), 231-55 (p. 249).

[^104]:    ${ }^{309}$ See The Brut, or The Chronicles of England: Edited from MS Rawl. B 171, Bodleian Library, ed. by Friedrich W. D. Brie, EETS, 131 (London: Oxford University Press, 1906; repr. 1960); and Lister M. Matheson, 'The Prose Brut: A Parallel Edition of Glasgow Hunterian MSS T.3.12 and V.5.13, with Introduction and Notes', 3 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, Glasgow University, 1977).
    ${ }^{310}$ 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](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.

[^105]:    ${ }^{313}$ John Shirley wrote numerous annotations in the margins of Cambridge, MS Gonville and Caius 669*/646, a book of English devotional prose containing among other things Rolle's Form of Living, and the Version D translation of Emendatio. There is evidence he also studied Rolle's Expositio super nouem lectiones mortuorum. See Margaret Connolly, John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 111, 164-65.
    ${ }^{314}$ On the London Charterhouse see John Schofield, Medieval London Houses (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 71-73; and Margaret Thomson, The Carthusian Order in England (London: SPCK, 1930), pp. 167-198. See also Smith, Religious Houses, pp. 325-6, 417; and Hanna, London Literature, p. 39, n. 1.
    ${ }^{315}$ LALME, I, p. 13.

[^106]:    ${ }^{316}$ See for example: Brendan Biggs, 'The Language of the Scribes of the First English Translation of the Imitatio Christi', Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 26 (1995): 79-111; M. L. Samuels, ‘Chaucer’s Spelling', in The English of Chaucer and his Contemporaries: Essays by M. L. Samuels and J. J. Smith, ed. by J. J. Smith (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 23-37 (p. 35).

[^107]:    ${ }^{317}$ See above, Introduction, p. cxli.

[^108]:    ${ }^{318}$ LALME, IV, p. 18 .
    ${ }^{319}$ See above, Introduction, p. cxlv.

[^109]:    134 ayl pei may not dwelle to gidere C, euer D 135 lufe] loue C, lust D 139 fagen] fagen 'i.e. flateren' C, fagen D $\mathbf{1 4 4}$ qwentise] <qwentise> 'Sor trichery[e]' T, queyntise C, queyntyse D 149-50 ben ... richesse] om. T, ben ... richesse CD 150 whiche pei louen] om. T, whiche pei louen C, om. D

[^110]:    966 lightnesse] lighteneth C, lyghteneth D soule vnseablye] cesably C, sowle vnsesably D 969 forthy] for panne C, for thy D 972 Herfore] 'T'herfore T, Heerfore C, Herfore D 973 sobbynge ... rumyinge] sobbinge or sighinge or ronniynge C , sobbyng or in syghyng or runyng D many] any CD

[^111]:    O misera anima quid in mundo
    queris vbi omnia transitoria et decep-

[^112]:    pe ferthe is / what byndes and con-
    fourmes oure wile to goddis wil / and

[^113]:    He reiseth up ayens reproues false imposicions of

[^114]:    He reyses vp ．ayens hym per－
    reproues fals inposicions of crimes

[^115]:    what is pacience bot a gladde and vilful suffrynge of contaris ges / nouht ellys. He pat is very pa-
    cyent grucches in noon aduersitee/

[^116]:    Qui enim se dicit in Christo manere . debet quemadmodum ipse ambulauit
    et ipse ambulare .

[^117]:    Respondeo tibi . quia talis non es .

[^118]:    Of the loue of god. Capitulum $\mathrm{xj}^{\mathrm{m}}$.
    O thow swete lyght and delytable
    that art my maker vnspekable lyghtene the face and the sharpness
    of myn eyen with thyne vnmade
     myght be clensed fro all vnclennesse and made wonder[col. b]full. And
    thorough heuynly yeftys may flee swyftly into the heygth of swettest loue. A swete Ihesu . brenne me with thy loue. that I may sette and
     gostly thyng but godly and gostly. II

    O thow loue enflawme myn herte for
    to loue god so that I bren nat / but in

[^119]:[^120]:    Of Contemplacion . Capitulum .
    
     is meditacion .

    In redynge spekes god til vs. In prayere we speke with god. In mediacion anngels comen doune and techen vs that we arre nought/
    In prayere thai styen vp. and offren In prayere thai styen vp . and offren
    oure prayere vnto god [f.118] enioyande of oure profite . the whilke are messangeres now a twix god and vs / Prayere is a meke affeccion of the
    soule directe in to god the whilke

