An Edition of the Latin and Four Middle English Versions of William Flete’s *De remediis contra temptaciones* (*Remedies against Temptations*)

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Abstract

This thesis provides a critical edition of four Middle English versions of *De remediis contra temptaciones* by William Flete, along with an edition and modern English translation of the Latin *De remediis*.

*De remediis* is a treatise of religious direction concerned with the spiritual temptations of doubt and despair. Despite its wide circulation and influence in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, this work has received little scholarly attention. The Latin source text and the Middle English versions ME1a, ME1b, and ME2, each an independent full translation of the Latin, are edited here for the first time. The version ME3, an expanded adaptation of ME2, is presented for the first time in a critical edition with variants from all of the witnesses. Two translations that have previously been classified together as ‘ME1’ are here identified as distinct.

The texts are edited from the following base manuscripts: ME1a from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131; ME1b from *olum* Foyle MS, Beeleigh Abbey, Essex (sold at Christie’s 11 July 2000); and both ME2 and ME3 from Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.1.11. Comprehensive variants from all of the manuscripts and printed witnesses are recorded in the apparatus to each edition. The Latin *De remediis* is edited from Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.44, with selected variants. The introduction to the editions provides an overview of *De remediis* and the four Middle English versions, discusses the treatise’s treatment of religious doubt and despair, describes the fourteen manuscripts and two early printed editions of the Middle English versions, and analyses the textual relationships between the witnesses.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declaration</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigla and Abbreviations</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stemma of Textual Relationships</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 General Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Scope of the Edition</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Introduction to <em>De remediis</em></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Previous Scholarship</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The Latin <em>De remediis</em></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Authorship and Date</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Manuscripts and Textual History</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 The Middle English Versions</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 ME1a</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 ME1b</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 ME2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 ME3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Origins and Audiences</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Dates</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Other Adaptations and Influence</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Other Adaptations</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Influence</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Religious Doubt and Despair in <em>De remediis</em></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Descriptions of the Manuscripts and Printed Editions</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 London, British Library, MS Harley 2409</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 <em>Olim Foyle MS</em></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 London, British Library, MS Harley 6615</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 <em>The prouffytable boke . . .</em>, Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1492–93</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.1.11</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7 Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS 501</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.9  Bristol, Bristol Public Library, MS 6
6.10 Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 520
6.11 Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, MS 29
6.12 London, British Library, MS Harley 1706
6.13 Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F. 172
6.14 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Holkham Miscellany 41
6.15 Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 154
6.16  *The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons*, Wynkyn de Worde, 1508; repr. 1519, 1525

7  Textual Relationships and Choice of Base Copies
7.1  ME1a
7.2  ME1b
7.3  ME2
7.4  ME3

8  Editorial Principles

EDITIONS

LATIN, with translation
ME1a
ME1b
ME2
ME3

Notes to the Editions
Bibliography
Acknowledgements

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. All sources are acknowledged as references.
Sigla and Abbreviations

(i) Sigla of the Manuscripts and Printed Editions

ME1a

B  Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131
H1  London, British Library, MS Harley 2409

ME1b

F  *Olim* Foyle MS, owned by William Foyle of Beeleigh Abbey, Essex; now privately owned (sold at Christie’s 11 July 2000)
H2a  London, British Library, MS Harley 6615 (H2, ff. 109v–23r)
W1  *The prouffytable boke . . . called The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern*, Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1492–93, STC 5065.

ME2

Ca  Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Hh.1.11 (C, ff. 61r–68r)
Le  Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS 501
A  London, British Library, MS Additional 37049
H2b  London, British Library, MS Harley 6615 (H2, ff. 142v–52r)
Br  Bristol, Bristol Public Library (PL), MS 6
G  Glasgow, Glasgow University Library (UL), MS Hunter 520 [V.8.23]
Lo  Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, MS 29

ME3

Cb  Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Hh.1.11 (C, ff. 100r–16r)
H3  London, British Library, MS Harley 1706
Wo  Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library (CL), MS F. 172
Ho  Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Holkham Miscellany 41
D  Dublin, Trinity College Library (TCL), MS 154
The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons, Wynkyn de Worde, 1508, STC 20875.5 (W2b: 1519 ed., STC 20876; W2c: 1525 ed., STC 20876.5)

Latin (A1)
CA1 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Ii.6.30

Latin (A3)
CA3 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Ff.6.44
HA3 London, British Library, MS Harley 4887

Latin (A4)
BA4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 43
CA4 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL), MS Ff.1.14

(ii) Abbreviations
BL British Library
Chastising The Chastising of God's Children
CUL Cambridge University Library
DR De remediis contra temptaciones
EETS Early English Text Society
IMEP Index of Middle English Prose, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984–)
Jolliffe P. S. Jolliffe, A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974)


ME  Middle English

MED  *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. by Frances McSparran <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med>

MWME  *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. by J. B. Severs et al., 11 vols (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967–)


SA  *Stimulus amoris*


Quotations from the Bible follow the Vulgate version. References to the Psalms supply the Vulgate numbering first with the common modern numbering following in parenthesis.
Stemma of Textual Relationships
1 General Introduction

1.1 Scope of the Edition

_De remediis contra temptaciones_ (hereafter _De remediis_, or _DR_) is a treatise of religious direction concerned with the spiritual temptations of doubt, scrupulosity, and despair. It was likely written in the 1350s by the English Augustinian friar William Flete, and was adapted around the turn of the fifteenth century into four Middle English versions.\(^1\) The four versions are here designated ME1a, ME1b, ME2, and ME3, following the foundational classification of Benedict Hackett, O.S.A. ME1a, ME1b, and ME2 are each independent full translations of _DR_, while ME3 is an expanded adaptation of ME2.

This thesis presents an edition of all four English versions and the Latin _DR_ together. None of these texts have yet been edited except for ME3, but this edition, published in 1968, does not include variants from the numerous witnesses of ME3.\(^2\) This thesis also identifies two independent translations that have previously been classified together as ‘ME1’. Each of the Middle English editions include comprehensive variants from all of the witnesses. The Latin text is presented with selected variants, chosen for their bearing on the Middle English texts, and with a modern English facing translation.

1.2 Introduction to _De remediis_

This short treatise offers consolation and practical remedies for spiritual temptations. Its central message is that blasphemous or wicked thoughts, or feelings of fear or separation from God, are not sinful in themselves. Sin occurs only in deliberate actions of the will, and such thoughts and feelings are not willed unless they are deliberately indulged in. They should not be engaged with but rather put aside gently: ‘non curare, et quasi leuiter dissimulare et non reluctantdo resistere’ (8–9). Thoughts and feelings of doubt and despair are suggested by the devil, and like other kinds of tribulation they are permitted by God to test and strengthen

\(^1\) For the ME versions, see Jolliffe K.8; MWME XXIII [75]; IPMEP 230 and 528.
\(^2\) See ‘Previous Scholarship’ below.
faith. People with a melancholic constitution are especially prone to spiritual temptations, because of a black humoral smoke which clouds judgement in the brain and gives rise to fear and sorrow. The devil takes advantage of this disposition to incite despair, which in its theological sense is doubt of personal salvation. Other spiritual trials related to doubt and despair are described, including a lack of feelings of consolation during prayer; scrupulosity, or the over-exaggeration of sins; and intrusive thoughts of past sins and a desire to confess repeatedly, which the devil may suggest during inappropriate times of divine service. These trials are meritorious when they are endured patiently because they test the will, increase the desire for God, and render prayer and religious duties more selfless. The practical advice offered to sufferers is not to trust to or involve themselves in their own thoughts but to follow the direction of advisers. They should continue to pray and read the scriptures, try not to spend much time alone, and allow themselves recreation to restore their health. In most of the Latin texts and in ME1a and ME1b the work ends with a devotional chapter taken directly from the treatise Stimulus amoris, which compares God to a mother and affirms his love and mercy. DR is otherwise original besides a number of mainly acknowledged quotations. Scriptural verses on the themes of temptation and God's mercy are cited throughout. There are long quotations from Isidore of Seville’s Sententiae, Leo the Great’s In nativitate Domini, Gregory the Great’s Moralía in Job, and writings by or attributed to St Augustine. Other passages are quoted or derive from the Somme le roi, the medical treatise De melancholia by Constantinus Africanus, and Bernard of Clairvaux.

DR circulated widely in late medieval England. At least twenty-nine manuscripts of the Latin text survive or are recorded. Eighteen copies survive of the four ME versions, within fourteen manuscripts—two of which contain two versions each—and two early printed editions. DR was also incorporated in part in the vernacular theological compilations Disce mori and Ignorancia sacerdotum and in a unique text in London, British Library, MS Royal 18.A.X, and its influence can be detected in other religious literature, including Walter Hilton’s Scale of Perfection, The Chastising of God's Children, and Julian of Norwich’s Revelations. While the Latin DR was directed towards male religious professionals, the four ME versions found a broader audience that consisted largely of religious women but also included elite laywomen, regular and secular male clergy, and professional laymen.
1.3 Previous Scholarship

*De remediis* has received little scholarly attention. The standard studies remain three articles published in the 1960s by Benedict Hackett, Edmund Colledge, and Noel Chadwick. Hackett’s article of 1961 ‘William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*’ draws on an earlier biographical account of Flete by Aubrey Gwynn. Hackett examines the authorship and date of *DR*, identifies the surviving Latin and English manuscripts, and classifies both into families. In the article “*De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*” in its Latin and English Recensions: The Growth of a Text’, Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick first summarise *DR* and identify Flete’s sources, to which I am indebted in the notes to the present edition. The article then discusses how the English versions are related to the Latin and to each other, following Hackett’s earlier classification. The authors comment on the broad differences between the versions and note significant additions or changes, but some of the judgments are cursory. Five manuscripts are classified as ME1 (‘English I’) which in fact represent three independent translations: the two I have called ME1a and ME1b, and the unique conflated version in MS Royal 18.A.X. The authors do not recognise that F is the same version as H2a, and also describe W1 as ME2 when in fact it belongs to ME1b.

In 1968 Colledge and Chadwick published an edition of ME3, using Cb as a copy text. ME3 was also printed in 1896 by Carl Horstmann in an edition that reproduced the text of the Wynkyn de Worde edition W2 with some variants from H3 but no other critical material. My new edition of ME3 in this thesis is nevertheless justified for both practical and critical

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5 Hackett, ‘William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*’, p. 340, had identified that ME1 exists in ‘two forms, corresponding to A.III and A.IV of the Latin text’, so it is unclear why Hackett then groups these together as ‘ME1’. Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, 210–30 (pp. 220–24) repeat that ME1 is in ‘two recensions’, but continue to group them together.

reasons. This edition makes ME3 more accessible and brings it together in one volume with the other DR translations. More significantly, Colledge and Chadwick’s edition does not include a full critical apparatus; the notes record only the corrections made by the editors and a very small number of the textual variants from the other manuscripts, mainly in relation to the corrections. The introduction describes the manuscripts and briefly surveys their relationships. As evidence for their conclusions and their choice of base text, the editors refer to an earlier BA dissertation by Chadwick which contains a collation and dialectal analysis of the ME3 manuscripts, including a detailed account of the textual relationships between the manuscripts and a comparison to the Latin A1 text. Chadwick’s analysis is accurate and informative, but not complete, and it is very difficult for readers to find this information. Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick’s article of 1964 had pointed out the major interpolations in ME3, but again only in comparison to the Latin A1 text and not to ME2, its immediate source. There was therefore a need for ME3 both to be examined in the full context of the DR tradition and to be edited with textual variants from all of its six witnesses. The present thesis provides this.

A later collection of Hackett’s essays includes fuller biographical studies of William Flete and of Flete’s relationship with St Catherine of Siena. This collection also includes modern English translations of all of Flete’s extant writings, including DR, with a brief overview, on pp. 119–38. Hackett intended to publish a scholarly edition of the Latin DR along with Flete’s other writings, but this project was not completed before his death.

A more recent article by F. N. M. Diekstra examines DR in relation to a unique partial translation conflated with the treatise De pusillanimitate in MS Royal 18.A.X. Diekstra

8 Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 211.
10 Hackett refers to this intention in, e.g., ‘William Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones’, p. 342 n. 44.
11 F. N. M. Diekstra, A Good Remede Ayens Spirituel Temptations: A Conflated Middle English Version of William
edits this text and shows that it is an independent translation, though possibly influenced in parts by ME3. Diekstra also notes the presence of material from DR in the compilations Speculum spiritualium, Donatus devocionis, and Disc mori.\textsuperscript{12}

\footnotesize


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2 The Latin *De remediis*

2.1 Authorship and Date

The authorship, date, and circulation of the Latin *DR* have been investigated by Benedict Hackett. The scope of this thesis allows only for a brief re-examination of Hackett’s findings, and further research into the Latin *DR* remains necessary.

The attribution of *DR* to the Augustinian friar William Flete is based on one manuscript which attributes the work to him: Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.30. This is an early fifteenth-century theological compilation apparently copied in an Augustinian religious house, possibly in East Anglia. The attribution is significant because Flete would have little reason to be known in England outside his order, and because it is plausible that this copy of *DR*, which appears to be fairly close to the archetype, had been transmitted within his own Augustinian circles. *DR* is consistent in style and content with Flete’s few other known writings.

Some manuscripts attribute *DR* to either Walter Hilton or Richard Rolle. However, many devotional works were attributed to these authors and there is little reason to accept either. ME3 is attributed in Rolle in D and W2, but this is only because ME3 is prefaced with Rolle’s *Form of Living* in this family. Another attribution to Rolle occurs in an unrelated Latin B-text. The Hilton attribution occurs more widely in one English manuscript, the H1 copy of ME1a, and several Latin manuscripts: four from the A4 group (MS Bodley 43 and the three Paris copies), one from the B group, and three or four copies recorded in medieval library catalogues. However, as Hackett shows, the Latin A4 copies are an interpolated group which also includes copies without a Hilton attribution; the single B text is still further removed from the *DR* archetype and has the attribution added in a later hand. ME1a was translated from an A4 text of the type of MS Bodley 43, and so it appears that the attribution to Hilton

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13 Hackett, ‘William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*’, p. 334. The manuscript includes religious instruction for the use of ‘juniores’, and works by St Augustine, who is referred to as ‘sanctissimi patris nostri’. Hackett writes that ‘the later history of the manuscript suggests that it is of East Anglian origin’, probably referring to an ownership inscription on f. 16r, ‘Thomas Thorowgood his booke 1664’.


15 See the overview of Latin manuscripts below.
was simply copied from ME1a’s exemplar. This fact also renders unlikely the possibility that Hilton was responsible, not for the authorship of the original, but for the translation of ME1a. Hackett also points out that there are stylistic differences between DR and Hilton’s writings, such as a lack of the similes that Hilton frequently uses, and the fact that Hilton cites a different version of the scriptures. Although there are some thematic similarities between DR and the Scale of Perfection, this suggests rather that Hilton was influenced by Flete.

William Flete was born c. 1325, likely in the town of Fleet in Lincolnshire. In 1352 he was licensed to preach for the diocese of Ely as a member of the community of Augustinian friars at Cambridge. He studied and lectured in theology at Cambridge, but declined to proceed as expected from a bachelor’s to a master’s degree in 1358. Instead, he left England permanently in 1359 to join the Augustinian hermitage of Selva del Lago, or Lecci, near Siena. From Lecci Flete gained a wide influence as a spiritual adviser. An account of 1374 describes him as follows:

In Selva del Lago four miles from Siena there is a place of the friars hermits of Saint Augustine in which there lives an English friar who is called the bachelor of Selva del Lago, and has been there for more than twelve years. This is a man of great learning, a venerable man, of great sanctity and solitude. He lives mostly in the said wood in his cells which he himself has made in dark and rough places; and there he brings with him his books in order to escape the conversation of people. And to this place he goes, and comes from the church to the wood and from the wood to the church. This is a man of mature counsel, a friend of God, and a man of great example; and he speaks little except when necessity obliges him.

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16 Another problem with the possibility of Hilton as translator of ME1a is that he is generally credited with a translation of Stimulus amoris, the Prickynge of Love, which is different from the Stimulus amoris chapter translated at the end of ME1a (Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 219). See J. P. H. Clark, ‘Walter Hilton and the Stimulus Amoris’, The Downside Review, 102.347 (1984), 79–118, for evidence of Hilton’s translation of the Prickynge. Clark agrees that ‘there is indeed nothing in the style or specific theological presentation of the English version of De Remedios in Harley 2409 to support the ascription of the translation to Hilton’ (p. 105).


Flete is now best known as a follower of St Catherine of Siena (1347–1380). Catherine probably began to visit him by 1368, and Hackett has argued for his influence on the early development of her theology. Flete died at Lecceto around 1390. Besides DR, his surviving writings are a statement of Catherine’s doctrine known as the Documento spirituale which he copied at her dictation in 1377, a long sermon in commemoration of Catherine, and six letters: three to the Augustinians of England, urging reform; two to the rulers of Siena; and one to Catherine’s confessor Raymond of Capua.19

In the Documento spirituale Flete records Catherine’s search for purity through union with God’s will. It circulated in Middle English as ‘Cleanness of Sowle’, both in full and in an excerpted version.20 The full version appears uniquely in the ME1a manuscript H1, while an excerpt apparently derived from it circulated more widely, including in the other ME1a manuscript B and the DR version MS Royal 18.A.X. While these combinations suggest at first that DR and the Documento were transmitted together, Hackett concludes that they were not.21 None of the surviving Latin manuscripts of DR contain the Documento. ‘Cleanness’ is not attributed anywhere to Flete; the full version in H1 refers to the author only as a ‘special familiere’ of Catherine (f. 70r). Even in modern scholarship Flete’s authorship has not generally been recognised, because ‘Cleanness’ has been misidentified as a translation of Catherine’s Dialogue.22 The versions of ‘Cleanness’ in H1 and B are textually distinct, so could not have been copied from a hypothetical exemplar attached to ME1a. The H1 version also contains excerpts from the Legenda of Raymond of Capua which was not completed until 1395, after DR was already circulating. ‘Cleanness’ and DR may have had similar routes of transmission as both originated with the Augustinian friars, or may have simply happened to circulate together due to their similarity of theme on the profits of tribulation.


21 This has recently been pointed out by Jennifer N. Brown in ‘The Many Misattributions of Catherine of Siena: Beyond The Orchard In England’, The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures, 41.1 (2015), 67–84. Further confusion arises from the fact that Jolliffe’s version B of ‘Cleanness’ may indeed derive from the Dialogue (p. 72).
De remediis was very likely written before Flete left England in 1359. All of the surviving manuscripts are of English provenance, except one of the late fifteenth century which was based on an English exemplar. As Hackett points out, the only indication that DR was written in Siena would have been the possibility, rejected above, that DR and the Documento were transmitted from Siena together. The earliest manuscript of DR dates to 1384, and is a revised B-group version, suggesting that transmission was already well established by this time. It seems likely that Flete composed DR during his study and teaching at Cambridge in the 1350s; Hackett suggests the year of 1358–59, when Flete had abandoned his degree and was discerning his vocation.

2.2 Manuscripts and Textual History

Hackett identifies twenty-two surviving manuscripts of the Latin DR, as well as five un traced manuscripts from medieval library catalogues. He classifies the Latin texts into an A-group and B-group. The A-group is the source for the Middle English versions, so will be the focus of this thesis. The B-group is a rearranged and partly summarised adaptation of an A3 or A4 text with several omissions, including section XI, and with additions in sections II and XV; it survives in ten manuscripts.

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25 Hackett, William Flete, O.S.A., and Catherine of Siena, p. 82.
26 See Hackett, ‘William Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones’, pp. 342–45. A twenty-third manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 148, is listed in Sharpe, Handlist of the Latin Writers, p. 769. A further un traced manuscript from the library catalogue of the Rooklooster Augustinian canons near Brussels was identified by A. I. Doyle (Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 218 n. 35), making a total of twenty-nine known surviving or un traced Latin copies.
27 See Hackett, ‘William Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones’, pp. 338–40. I have examined all of the A-group manuscripts except for the three in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and have examined three B-group manuscripts: MS Laud Misc. 497, Oxford, BL MS 630, and MS Lat.th.d.27.
28 See overview in Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 220. The B-group manuscripts are Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.14.1; Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, W 123; Durham, The Prior’s Kitchen, MS
Hackett classifies the A-group into four sub-groups, as follows:

A1  Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.30
A2  Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.3
    Oxford, St John’s College, MS 77
A3  Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.44
    London, British Library, MS Harley 4887
A4  Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.14
    Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 43
    Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 97
    Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 110 (incomplete)
    Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 543
    Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 2049
    Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 3603

Hackett describes A1, which contains the attribution to Flete, as ‘the only manuscript . . . to offer a faithful if rather inaccurate text of the archetype’. It retains two lines in section II that

are omitted in A3 and A4 and therefore the ME versions, as well as the B-texts, as follows: 38

A1 temptacio fidei vel spei, cum si penalis valde et afflictina, grauissima est quo ad penam et leuissima est quo ad culpam

A3 temptacio est quo ad penam et leuissima est quo ad culpam (line 15 in the present edition)

A1 magis per hec commendabilem se estimet esse si dum hec patitur laudet Deum

A3 magis laudet Deum (20)

There are no interpolations in A1, as there are in A2 and A4. However, there are numerous errors, including not only misspellings and other minor scribal errors but also omissions of words and phrases, including the eyeskip omissions ‘sic nutrit . . . suavitatis’ (123–24) and ‘sicut ait Gregorius . . . palliat’ (146–47), and corrupt readings, such as ‘siue maiestis permissum’ for ‘sue maiestatis permissione’ (31), ‘fiuorem’ for ‘venenum’ (199), and ‘verbera’ for ‘ubera’ (222). Overall, with the exception of the two lines quoted above, A1 does not appear to be particularly more faithful to the archetype than A3.

The A2 group lacks the ending from Stimulus amoris and has minor variants throughout, including a number of corrupt readings such as ‘magnam fumum’ for ‘nigrum fumum’ (62) and ‘bene intencione agitur’ (CUL)/‘in intencione agitur’ (St John’s) for ‘bene fit quod bona intencione agitur’ (167). There is a short addition on bearing tribulation patiently at 9, and at 208 the ‘tortuose serpens’ quotation is expanded; omissions include the quotation from Job at 77–78 and the reference to ‘auriga virtutum’ at 186–87.

The CUL, MS II.6.3 manuscript of A2 also uniquely incorporates a number of lengthy quotations from other works. Although A2 is not related to the ME versions, these additions may be briefly described here. At the end of section VIII there is an added passage beginning with an excerpt from Rabanus Maurus, Commentaria in Librum Josue, 39 on the persecution of the godly, followed by Gregory the Great, Homiliae in Ezechielem, 40 on the temptation of those near to heaven. At 109 there is another addition from the Homiliae in Ezechielem 41 on

38 Hackett notes these omissions but does not identify them.

39 PL 108, col. 1044.

40 PL 76, col. 929–30.

41 PL 76, col. 1083–84.
perseverance in prayer. At 136 there is an addition from Alfonso Pecha’s ‘Epistola Solitarii ad Reges’, a defence of St Bridget of Sweden prefacing Book VIII of her *Revelations*, which commends submitting all ‘visions and temptations’ to the judgement of spiritual directors. At the end of section XII is a long addition beginning with a quotation from a letter on spiritual temptations written by the Italian Dominican Venturino da Bergamo in 1332–34, on God permitting the temptations that are most profitable. This is followed by two quotations from Gregory’s *Homiliae in Ezechielem* and *Moria in Job* on temptation experienced by people advanced in contemplation, and then short quotations from Venturino and from Bede’s *Homiliae*, II, 7. There are then two passages from St Bridget’s *Revelations*: book III, ch. 19, 1–6, beginning ‘hec est vera iusticia’, and book II, ch. 27, 10–12, beginning ‘nisi enim interuenirent cogitaciones male’. Both passages deal with the temptation of evil thoughts, which are not sinful unless they are delighted in and are permitted so that sufferers recognise their own weakness. Another quotation from Venturino follows, which compares unwanted blasphemous thoughts to hearing the devil blaspheming. Next there is a comparison of sinful thoughts to the barking of a dog which is paraphrased from St Anselm’s *De humanis moribus per similitudines*, chapter 40: ‘Similitudo inter suggestionem, delectationem, consensum et canem’. A different version of this passage appears in the ME2 copy Br, suggesting that the passage had an ongoing association with the DR tradition. This is followed by an excerpt from Anselm’s *Epistolae*. Finally, there is a quotation from the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* of

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43 Thomas Kaeppeli, ‘Lettera inedita di Venturino da Bergamo a un canonico di S. Frideswide Oxford (1332–4)’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 24 (1954), 189–98 (p. 195). This letter is concerned mainly with spiritual pride, but there are a few similarities to DR: for example, ‘Nec enim in talibus diabolicis immissionibus aliquod peccatum est tibi, cum omnino peccatum sit voluntarium, et talia sint non solum non secundum voluntatem, sed totaliter contra eam, cum de talibus summe dolecas nec in talibus ullam complacentiam habeas et in tua potestate non sit, talium motus nequaquam habere’ (197).

44 PL 76, col. 950.

45 Bk. IV, ch. 13, pr. 43; PL 75, col. 658.

46 PL 94, col. 163–64.


48 Kaeppeli, p. 197.


50 PL 159, col. 168.
pseudo-John Chrysostom, comparing sinful thoughts to the tares that should be left alone among the wheat of good deeds.\textsuperscript{51} At 181 there is another short untraced addition, warning against revealing sinful ideas to simple worldly people.

The A3 group is the source of ME1b and ME2, and therefore ME3. It is edited from CUL, MS Ff.6.44 in this thesis. A3 and A1 are textually very close: besides the omission in A3 of the two lines noted above, their differences largely consist of errors in A1. A3 does introduce a small number of minor variants, such as ‘temptacionem’ for ‘dampnacionem’ (31) and ‘bona’ for ‘dona’ (112). Both manuscripts also have a few unique variants and errors, MS Harley 4887 more so than CUL, MS Ff.6.44.

A4 is the source of ME1a. It is related to A3, but introduces further variants and interpolations. Among the manuscripts, MS Bodley 43 and MS Tanner 110 share some further variants against CUL, MS Ff.1.14 and MS Hatton 97,\textsuperscript{52} the most significant of which is that the latter two omit the description of the smoke of black choler at 57–58, stating instead that the devil disturbs the intellect directly with his temptation. Several A4 manuscripts, including MS Bodley 43, ascribe DR to Hilton. All substantive variants from A4 are recorded in the apparatus to the present edition. They include additions at 9, 17, 198–200, and 22–24, where A4 quotes more than the other versions from DR’s source Isidore. Similarly, A4 adds to the quotations of scripture at 146–47 and the ‘tortuose serpens’ hymn at 209, and adds identifications of other sources: chapter numbers at 33, St Bernard at 186, and SA at 217.

It is doubtful whether the chapter of \textit{Stimulus amoris} (SA) typically found at the end of DR should be considered as a part of the text. Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick judge that Flete added the SA chapter himself, because it is found in all copies except the A2 group. However, this shows only that SA became attached to DR early in its transmission. Flete does not treat any other source in this way, and the preceding section XVII, with its concluding quotation ‘quia multe tribulaciones iustorum’, reads as a natural ending to the treatise. This chapter is identified as belonging to SA in A4, and perhaps for the same reason it was omitted in ME2. Nevertheless, because the chapter was translated together with DR in ME1a and

\textsuperscript{51} PG 56, col. 706; also found translated in the \textit{Book for a Simple and Devout Woman}, ch. 16.

\textsuperscript{52} I have only seen these four of the surviving seven manuscripts. Hackett writes that CUL, MS Ff.1.14 is a ‘direct copy’ of MS Hatton 97 (‘William Flete and the \textit{De Remedius Contra Temptaciones}’, p. 336 n. 23), but an omission in MS Hatton 97 at l. 254 shows this is not the case. However, they are very similar.
ME1b, it has been included in this edition.
3 The Middle English Versions

3.1 ME1a

ME1a is a close translation of a Latin text of the A4 family. As it remains quite faithful to the source text throughout, it is possible that some of the following apparent changes rather derive from the specific exemplar used by the translator.

ME1a follows the Latin line for line, omitting almost nothing, but frequently expanding in minor ways. This is largely the result of the style of the translation, which is discursive and typified by the duplication of synonyms. For example, ME1a translates the concise Latin ‘complexionem agitando et timorem incuciendo, quod viuere eis credatur supplicium et mori remedium’ (73–74) as ‘what thurgh stirryng of a mans complexioun on þe ta syde, what thurgh smyting in of doutes and dredi on þe toþer syde, þat hym thinkes it a huge turment and vnsufferabylly payne þe bering of his bodily lyfe and couettes to dye, as for a souerayne remedy and a leggyng of þe payn þat he suffers’ (122–25).

A few of the expansions add original ideas, which are nevertheless natural extensions of the source material. These include the following, with ME1a’s additions shown in italics: ‘ne wondir þat . . . a gastly lyfer es þus hugely and singulerly temped when he sees parauentur oþer men þat er synners or ill lyfers mekill lesse parfite in lyfe in mekill ese and riste, as it semys both inward and outward. Ne a man sal noȝt be to mekill besy for to knaw and discuse þe preuetes of Godes domes’ (158–62); and ‘he begyles men ofte tymes in opyn gude warkes of kynd as fasting, wakyng, praying, and swilk oþer, þat if þai anes tryst in þame þat þai ar gude and haly, þan he ledes þame thurgh undescrecioun or pride or ipocrisie to his werkes, and so ar þai turned into synne’ (329–32). At 361–63 the translator renders the Latin hymn O tortuose serpens into apparently unique verse: ‘ga hyen þi way and melt to noȝt / Criste es with vs þat hase vs boght / þou wicked fend withowten lyght / Cristes crose þe dampneȝ and all þi myght.53 The translator places special emphasis on scriptural references throughout: extra words or details are added to the Vulgate quotations at 149, 214, 226, and 448–49, and two new references are also added: a sentence paraphrasing 2 Corinthians 4: 17, ‘For as þe apostell says, all þe passions, anguysceȝ,'
paynes, tribulaciouns, and all þe temptaciouns þat we may suffer all our lyfe tyme er noȝt worthi to þe endles ioy and blys þat we shall haue hereafter’ (155–58), and a quotation from Luke 14: 1, ‘hauyng reward to þe wordes of þe gospell: Qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur; þat es: “He þat hies hymself, he sall be made law; and he þat laweȝ and mekes hymself, he sall be hied in blys”’ (453–56). At 58 the translator adds, from an unidentified source, ‘Et alibi dicitur: Si in te agitur et non agis, et cetera.’

ME1a’s expansions sometimes gloss or restate the text in order to make the meaning more explicit: an example is ‘Wae es to hym þat is allane lyuand anely in his awne wytt and his awne felyng, for when he falles fra grace thurgh pride he haueȝ no lyfter ne halder vp thurgh gastely comforth and counsaile’ (241–43). A few longer lines summarising or restating the text are also added, such as ‘Bot for to be stabill and lastand in þe luf of God and sothfaste beleue in tyme of temptacioun and withdrawyng of all a ctuell and sensibill deuocioun is mare hard þan it es when a man feles swetnes and deuocioun, and þerfore it is mare medefull’ (210–12). Further minor expansions may be found at 27–28, 31–32, 92–93, 99–100, 112, 114, 132, 163–64, 173, 172–73, 199–201, 236–37, 239, 276, 283–84, 309, 370–71, 384–86, 394–98, 416–19, and 428–30. Minor omissions to simplify repetitive material occur at 147, 217, 259, and 321.

3.2 ME1b

ME1b, like ME1a, is a close and complete translation of the Latin. It is this similarity of approach that led the two to be erroneously grouped in previous scholarship as ‘ME1’.54 Yet ME1b is certainly a unique translation, based in this case on a Latin text of the A3 family. It is more concise than ME1a, with a simpler and somewhat more literal style of translation.

There are no additions in ME1b besides occasional small expansions that gloss or clarify the text: for example, ‘blasphemye, þat is to mene irreuerence or despit azens God and bis seintis’ (12–13); ‘iche gilt is do bi wille, or ellys of vnknowyng, and if a man wil not knowe ne desireþ not to knowe of his froward wille’ (56–58); ‘þe philosophre, þat is to seyn þe louer of wysdom or ellis þe wi se man’ (167–68). ME1b identifies quotations of psalms and the apostle Paul, and at 280–83 both identifies that ‘O tortuose serpens’ is an ‘ympane of þe Lente’ and

54 See above, p. 3.
quotes more from the hymn than the Latin A3 source. At 339 there is a slight change in meaning with the substitution of ‘neuer so yuel or synful’ for ‘quantumcumque sit magnus’.

Further small expansions occur at 9, 15–17, 26, 60–62, 80–81, and 293. Similarly, there are few omissions. The most significant is a section of XVII, ‘O quam pium . . . habere debeat,’ which is loosely paraphrased and shortened (283–87). The lines dealing with greed and fear are omitted, probably accidentally, from the list of susceptibilities to vices in section VI.

Omissions of repetitive lines occur at 125, 205, and 258, and further minor omissions at 167, 264, and 309.

One of the three witnesses of ME1b, W1 (Wynkyn de Worde's printed edition of c. 1492–93), is a reworked version that has been conflated with added retranslations from a Latin source text. For a full account of these variants, see the textual introduction to ME1b below, p. 116.

3.3 ME2

ME2 is an adapted translation of a Latin text of the A3 family. Some material has been omitted from the source, and the rest is partially rephrased and reorganised, with the apparent aim of imposing a clearer structure. Sections VI, on the devil's temptations according to predisposition to vices; XV, on discernment between genuine thoughts and the suggestions of evil spirits; and XVI, on temptations in dreams, are omitted, as are large parts of sections II, IX, and XIII, most likely for structural purposes. The concluding chapter from Stimulus amoris is not present. At several places the contents are grouped into systematic lists of twos and threes. There are also a few short additions, characterised by a tone of encouragement and positive assurance that only a deliberate will and not temptation allows for consent to sin.

The manuscript Br (Bristol PL, MS 6) contains a unique version of ME2 that has been adapted in much the same way as the W1 copy of ME1b mentioned above. Br was also conflated with a Latin source text, and contains added retranslations and corrections as well as many other variants and additions, though it remains close enough textually to be collated with the other ME2 witnesses. For a full account of these variants, see the textual introduction to ME2 below, p. 123.
Section I of ME2 largely follows the Latin source but is somewhat rearranged and rephrased. A typical example of the translator’s approach is the rendering of the Latin ‘omnia fantastica imaginata concepta, erronea vel feda, id est blasphemias, visa vel audita, non curare’ (7–8) as ‘The first rewle of wythsettyng þe fend in fondynggis is to ȝeue non fors of non fondynggis, of no thouth of non errour, of non dispit, ne of non fals leuyng, ne fantasiys, ne of non trauaylis of þe fend, qwethir so a man heer hem, see hem, thank hem, or feele hem in his body’ (7–10). Here ME2 changes the sentence structure, adds that temptations may be felt as well as seen or heard, and omits the precise word ‘blasphemies’. The line ‘et quem non potest . . . indesinenter perturbare’ (5–6) is also omitted, and at 11–12 there is an added remark that temptations may arise from the complexion, anticipating section XI.

Section II is shortened by the omission of much of the quotation from Isidore on the devil’s temptations being turned to merit. The difficult opening of section III is simplified, and slight clarifying expansions are added at 39–40, 42–43, and 46–47, all emphasising the point that sin is accountable only to free will. At 48–63, beginning with ‘And also a man owith not for non weerous fantasiys deemyn his euene-cristene’, there is a long added passage expanding upon the statement that a good will is proven by the action of good deeds: just as a person should not judge his neighbours without definite facts, he should not judge his own soul too quickly unless he is certain he has actually sinned. Even if he does not feel repentance, the will to repent is sufficient. ME2 repeats this point concerning the will at 62–63: ‘For as I haue oftyn seyd, God takith oonly heed at a mannys wil and nouth at a mannys trauaylous fantasiys’. Two short additions at 65–66 and 73 in section IV again emphasise that thoughts and feelings are not sinful in themselves, and short omissions at 67 and 68 probably aim to improve the flow of sense.

Sections V–VII are rearranged so that V is inserted in the middle of VII, and VI is mainly omitted, resulting in a more concise account of despair, the role of melancholy in causing it, and an exhortation to patience. The description of temptation leading to despair in VII is attributed incorrectly to Pope Leo. All that is retained of VI is the summarising line ‘and as Leo þe pope seith, þe feend aspyith in iche man what vice he is most disposid to [of complexyoun, and therto temptyth he most a man]’ (88–89; partially omitted in base MS). To the account of the melancholic temperament in V, ME2 adds that the smoke of black choler
not only obscures the mind but makes melancholics see ‘blake and myschape ymagis’ (93), and also makes them believe ‘thyng ageyns hym þat is most for hym’ (95).

Section VIII, containing further scriptural citations on temptation, is slightly expanded in a positive manner with additions at 109–10, ‘myhtily he owith to abyden þe comfort of God, and drelod qwan it verrily nedith, he schal not falyn þerof’, and 128–31, on the help of Christ’s grace and prayers in temptations. A short interpretive passage is added to the quotation ‘Sathanas expetiuit vos vt cribraret sicut triticum’: the fact that Satan asked this shows that he has no power without God’s permission, and God only allows temptation or ‘sifting’ for our good. To the quotation ‘confirma fratres tuos’ ME2 adds another from Proverbs 18. 19, ‘Oo broþer þat is helpyn of anoþer is as a myhti cite ageyn þe feend’ (133–34), and more of the quotation from Psalms is also added at 136–37. Added advice to follow the teaching of others at 139–41 anticipates section XIV.

Section IX is shorted by the omission of quotations from St Bernard, Augustine, and Gregory concerning God withholding himself, likely to simplify the transition into the following section. The translator repeats once again that ‘euyr in Goddis doom þe wil stant for dede’ (146). Section X is rearranged and the supporting quotations ‘Cum esses iunior’ and ‘Lac dedi vobis’ are omitted. A short passage is added to make the exemplum of St Peter explicit, stating that the holy ghost will give strength after tribulation, and echoing the ending of DR: ‘þowh it be longe heer he fele comfort, he thar not dredyn hym, for his mercyful sauyour wot ful weel qwat tyme coumfort is most needful to hym, and he may trost verrily þat it is for þe beste’ (160–62). It builds on the idea that feelings of devotion are sometimes taken away to provide greater merit, adding that this is also done to purge sins.

Sections XI–XIV are restructured into a series of enumerated lists. The directions in XI for sufferers not to remain alone, to rely on advisors, and to be glad, are first listed as ‘thre thyngis’. The quotations ‘Ve soli’ and ‘Ne forte abundanciori tristicia’ are omitted from this section. A short addition reinforces the warning not to rely on personal feeling: ‘And if it falle in here herte þat þei schul be lorn for þei wil not beheldyn hem, þei owyn non heed takyn to swyche thouhtis, for it may neuere turnyn hem to dampnacioun þe counseil of heer wysere þat is ȝowyn for here sauacioun. God seith in þe gospel, if þe meenynge of a mannys purpos be good, þe deede is good’ (173–77). The injunction to be glad prompts an addition of three reasons to be glad because of temptation: ‘First, for Goddis enemy turmentith hym. Þe
secunde, for in swyche turmentis þe feend schewyth þat he is ful enemy. Þe thridde skile is þat be swiche turnens a man not oonli byith away þe peynes and purgatorijs of synne but þerto þe blisse of heuene’ (184–87).

Sections XII–XIV, concerning the deceptions of the devil that appear positive, are restructured into a list of three ‘guiles’ and their remedies: to confess too often (as described in XIII), to be distracted by remembering sins during either divine service or ‘honest solace’ (XII), and to overestimate sin (XIV). The addition of ‘honest solace’ as a setting for intrusive thoughts of sins is new in ME2, but would have been suggested by DR’s recommendation of ‘honestam et licitam consolacionem temporalem’ in XI. Just as intrusive thoughts should be ignored during divine service, ME2 adds, quite permissively, that they should also be ignored during times of solace and left for confession at a later time, ‘for he þat is endeles God schuld rathere steryn a man to thenkyn of his synne in helppe of his liff þan in tarye o his liff or of his soule’ (207–09). In XIV, there is a short addition emphasising the statement that to follow individual feelings rather than obey authorities is heretical (215–21).

There is a return to a consolatory tone with the addition ending the paragraph, ‘And swiche a man þat hath fals doomys and tariis in consience ageyns his wil, he thar neuere dredyn hym, for drelles God schal comfortyn hym or þat he deye. And þe longere þat he suffre suche tarijs, þe moore is he worthi’ (223–26). Sections XV and XVI are omitted, and the treatise ends with a rearrangement of section XVII. The section begins with the quotation ‘Multe tribulaciones iustorum’, and omits the reference to the hymn ‘O tortuose serpens’. The line beginning ‘O quam miris modis’ is here attributed to Augustine. A short passage is added, attributed in part or all to St Gregory, that reassures readers of the love of God and asserts that spiritual or mental pains are worse than bodily pains, ‘and þerfore þei been moore medful þan bodily, withowtyn dred’ (234–35). Finally, the impersonal remarks ending DR on trust in eventual relief from tribulation are here addressed to the reader as an exhortation to charity: ‘For qwoso comfort hem þat arn desolaat, þe lord of comfort Ihesu hymself schal confortyn hem in endeles blisse’ (238–39).

3.4 ME3
ME3 is an expanded version of ME2. Nearly all of ME2 is retained, but approximately twice its length of new material is added, making ME3 largely original. It is divided into ten chapters, which will be cited here alongside the original sections I to XVII of DR. The new material is mainly contained in two long additions in chapters 4 and 9–10 (lines 134–283 and 509–690), but there are also shorter additions and expansions throughout, including a new opening paragraph. The additions provide consolation and advice on the profits of spiritual tribulations, with a focus on assuring the reader of God’s mercy. ME3 is also newly directed to a religious female recipient, addressed as ‘sister’.

While there are frequent expansions and interpolations, the text of ME2 itself is generally only a little rephrased, as in the following typical example:

ME2  Bot hit falleth sumtyme þat þe fend trauaileth so myche a rightful soule that hit is ouerleyd with care and dryuen to despeire. And al þat tyme the soule, þogh he perceyue hit nat, dwelleth still in þe drede and loue of God. (cf. 25–27)

ME3  And it falleth somtyme þat þe fend tempteth and trauaileth a rightful soule so scharply þat it is ouereleid with care and dreuen to dispeir. Al þat tyme, þouȝ the soule perseyue it nought, it dwelleth stille in þe dreed and in the loue of God. (41–44)

There is only one significant omission: the account of the physiological origin of melancholy in lines 90–98 of ME2. It is unclear why this should be omitted, unless perhaps to avoid limiting the audience too narrowly to melancholics, as part of ME3’s tendency to universalise its audience and its advice on the profits of tribulation. There are further minor omissions in lines 126–30 immediately following, which are shortened and lack the scriptural quotations ‘þou he sle me, I schal trostyn in hym’, ‘mi soule is sori to þe deed’, and ‘mi God, qwy hast þou forsakyn me?’. All of the text of ME2 is otherwise retained.

The additions to ME2 are much more numerous. The new opening (1–14) begins the treatise with a message on the general profits of temptation: temptation is sent as a chastisement for sin, to prove worth, and to allow for growth in virtue. There are further short additions at 38–39 and 51, ‘and ȝet þe sely soules knowliche is hid be þat turment’, an assertion

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55 Quotations from ME2 in this section are taken from Longleat 29 (Lo), the witness which is the textually closest to ME3.
of an inner purity of intent hidden from our knowledge by temptation that anticipates ME3’s account of a hidden spiritual will in chapter 5.

There are no additions to ME2 in the second chapter. In the third chapter the writer adds some brief reassurances of God’s mercy, referring to the forgiven sinners David, Peter, and Mary Magdalene (74–77). There are minor expansions at the beginning of chapter 4, and to the mention of Christ’s passion the writer adds that the sufferings of the Virgin also serve as an example (127).

The first of the two long additions in ME3 occurs at lines 134–283 of chapter 4. The main concern of this addition is to give proofs against despair of salvation. ME3 generally engages with this fear at much greater length than DR and ME2, which rather dismiss it implicitly. The writer first addresses the idea of having committed the unforgivable sin against the Holy Spirit (cf. Mark 3. 29), which, he says, frightens some people to the point of madness. But the sin against the Holy Spirit is nothing other than refusal to ask God for forgiveness, which logically means one will not be forgiven. The act of repenting guarantees salvation, no matter the sins. The writer next suggests that ‘sharpe wordes and harde sentencys’ that ‘somtyme ȝe heren speke or reede in bokes’ (161–62) may be a cause of despair, but replies that such restrictive teachings are usually ‘ment ful tendirly in good vndirstondyng’ (166–67), and if not, they refer not to Christians but to Jews and Saracens. There is an assurance of the broadest possible general salvation. In this section the writer also cites a number of biblical texts and examples commonly used against despair: Psalm 145. 9, ‘Þe mercy of God is so gret þat it passeth alle his werkes’ (161); Jeremiah 18 and Ezekiel 18 on mercy after repentance; that Christ came for sinners; and the forgiveness of the city of Nineveh and the woman taken in adultery. Moses leading the Israelites over the Red Sea is presented as a figure of Christ leading Christians safely through temptations. The writer uses expressions of devotion and colourful figures of speech, comparing the devil to a dragon, lion, and gnats, and comparing God to a doctor and a gardener. To balance the emphasis on God’s mercy, there is also a brief warning against despair’s opposite vice of presumption: ‘But God forbede þat ony man schulde ben the more bolde or necgligent to synne wilfully or wytyngly be deliberacion for oure lord is so mercyful, for I dar sauely seyn þat eueri creaunt soule and curteys wil be the more loth to offenden hym’ (206–09).
In chapter 5 there is an addition which introduces the idea that every person has two
wills: an evil will arising from the sensuality that inclines to sin, and a good will arising from
grace that inclines to God (296–312). Though a person may feel that they have consented to
temptation, the true will does not consent, so long only as ‘whanne reson cometh’ (299–300)
the person is ‘myspayd with all yuele þoughtes and sterynges’ (300–01) and makes some action
of choice against the thoughts. Thoughts and feelings of temptations block the consciousness
of the good will, like clouds blocking the sun. This passage resembles, but carries further, the
statement in section III of DR that the true will can be difficult to discern during temptation,
but that good actions prove the presence of a corresponding good will, ‘þouȝ his trauailouse
herte deme the contrarye’ (65–66). ME3 may also have either been influenced by, or itself
influenced, the statement of Julian of Norwich that there is both a bodily will and a godly or
goodly will in every soul (short text, ch. 17; long text, chs. 37); Walter Hilton’s account in the
Scale of Perfection of reason and sensuality as the ‘two lawes in a soule’, drawing on Romans 7.
23 (Book II, ch. 11);56 or a similar passage in the De pusillanimitate of Pseudo–Hugh of St
Victor.57 The rest of chapter 5 contains small expansions, and the addition that devotion is
withdrawn from prayer not simply to make prayer more virtuous but because ‘for ellis he
schulde waxen proud and presumptuouse or neglignet and recheles in vertues’ (376–77).

There are no additions to ME2 in chapter 6. In chapter 7, the writer reworks ME2’s
list of the devil’s three ‘guiles’ that appear positive. ME2’s third guile, overestimating sin, is
moved forward to chapter 8. The second guile, ruminating upon past sins during either divine
service or ‘honest solace’, is split into two points. One describes distracting thoughts during
honest solace, either of past sins or, an addition, the specific thought that recreation for the
sake of health is sinful. The other describes distracting thoughts during divine service, but
introduces a significant new concern:

Whanne somme men or women haue be custom good sterynges and deuoute þouȝtes
and felynges of meditacions and of contemplacions, of suyche parauenture as ben
solatarye, he wele þanne tempte hem to lothe here dyuyne seruyse þat thei ben

56 Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love: The Short Text and the Long Text, ed. by Barry Windeatt (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 87; Walter Hilton: The Scale of Perfection, ed. by Thomas H. Bestul
57 The similarity to De pusillanimitate is pointed out by Diekstra, p. 319 n. 54, 323.
bounden to, or [be] wersysom, and make hem to ben heuy and weersum to do it. For he steryth hem to wene þat it were best and more plesynge to God to folwe here owne werkynge withinne-foorth of þinkynges and felynges þanne for to seye þat þat þei ben bounden to, þat at somtyme thei ben so trauailed and troubled to and fro þat thei weten neuere whiche syde is best to take. (424–32)\textsuperscript{58}

Here, the temptation is to indulge excessively in personal contemplative feelings of the kind that solitary hermits or anchorites may have, though the word ‘parauenture’, ‘perhaps’, acknowledges that this experience is also open to men and women who are not solitary. The reader is advised that if she recites her divine offic alone—as either a solitary or a layperson might do—she may attend to contemplative feelings so long as she continues the office afterwards:

And if he seye his seruyse alone, he may quan deuoute þouȝtes comen, or loue with swetnesse vysyterth hym, or som hĭȝ visitacion of the holy goost toucheth hym, he may stynte of his seruyse for the tyme, and attende to þat, and aftir þat seye forth so þat his seruyse be not lefte ondoon. (459–63)

Here ME3 is more tolerant than some literature of the time, which tended to be cautious of contemplative feelings or visions, especially among laypeople. The passage is not accompanied by any warning, as there is for example in the Scale of Perfection, book I, chapter 11, against sensory impressions of the kind described by Richard Rolle. Though the reader may not be a solitary herself, yet she is accepted as being capable of the same spiritual experiences, and of self-regulation.

Chapters 9 and 10 of ME3 are entirely new, apart from the very end of the treatise from 691 onward and a quotation at 539–40. This second long addition begins with another reassurance against despair, addressing the fear that sinful thoughts at the hour of death will prevent salvation. The writer then remarks upon the general tribulation of receiving ‘wordes of discomfort’ (515) from other men and women, which may either represent the work of the devil or a chastisement for sin. Here the writer introduces a metaphor of God as a mother who punishes her children’s faults more or less severely according to their degree. This metaphor

\textsuperscript{58} The witness Wo (copied for a London layman) uses even more positive language: ‘whan sum men and wymmen han bi gode custom gode styrynges . . . of gode meditaciouns and contemplaciouns’ (ff. 39v–40r).
echoes the image of God as a mother found in the chapter of *Stimulus amoris* attached to *DR* and ultimately deriving from *Ancrene Wisse*, but here the mother only punishes the child, instead of inducing fear in play to prompt the child’s love. This framing of tribulation as a punishment for sin is a commonplace, but is not an element of the original *DR* or ME2.

There then follows a long narrative story or exemplum intended to demonstrate that God will eventually comfort people in despair. Introducing this, the writer makes a distinction between the causes of despair for lay versus religious people: the laity despair when they consider their sins, but the religious by the more subtle temptations of ‘false dreedys and streyt conscience and be deep ymagynacion of predestinacion’ (546–47). But despite the fact that ME3 as a whole is concerned more with the latter type of despair, the narrative that follows concerns a lay man, a squire named John Homeleis (or Holmes, in W2D). Homeleis ‘had ben a synful man, and soo at þe laste þoruȝ the beholdynge of his synnes and be the feendes temptacions he feel into dispeir soo deeply and so greuously þat he had ny lost his mynde’ (552–54). One day he is walking alone in a wood when he meets an angel disguised as a man. The angel presents Homeleis with what are in effect ME3’s earlier arguments against despair: he urges Homeleis to confide in him, quotes Psalm 145. 9 on God’s mercy, and cites examples of God’s forgiveness of sinners. Yet Homeleis cannot accept these arguments because of his felt conviction of sin. He reasons: “I wot weel þat God is mercyful, but he is rightful also, and his rightwysnesse muste nedys punysche synne, and þerfore I drede his ri	

The angel then challenges Homeleis to a game of dice in which whoever has the highest throw will know that they will be saved. The angel rolls three dice, and they all land as six. But when Homeleis is eventually convinced to throw, ‘be Goddis myght, euery dee claﬁf atweyne, and oon eche dee was sixe, and so he hadde the double þat þe aungel hadde’ (588–89). Homeleis’ apparently reasonable conviction that God must condemn him as a sinner is equated with the impossibility of beating the angel’s throw, but the miraculous splitting of dice illustrates God’s mercy. ME3 thereby acknowledges the limitations of its own arguments so far presented, as Homeleis is saved from despair not by any such arguments but only by a direct experience of God’s grace. The source of this exemplum is

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unknown and it may be original to ME3. The author presents it as a true account, adding that he knows a person at the ‘same abbey here in Ingelond’ where Homeleis’ tombstone lies (597).

Chapter 10 concludes ME3 with further assurances of God’s mercy and exhortations to hope. In this section the reader is addressed directly in a conversational tone: for example, ‘þenk not now as in discomfort: “Allas, I feele not þat loue, I haue not þat loue þat is soo good”’ (623–25). A devotional passage advises meditation on the three persons of the trinity and especially of Jesus as spouse as a prompt to affective devotion. The writer provides a series of prayers to say in temptation, but follows this by an expansion of DR’s earlier reassurance against the lack of consolation during prayer: ‘many ben þat stryuen with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and deuocion be maistrie, and I sey ȝou, so wole it not come, but be mekenesse it wil sunnere be had’ (666–68). A repetition of the message that ‘a good wil schal be accepted as for dede’ (681–82) finally leads into the ending retained from ME2.

3.5 Origins and Audiences

Internal evidence provides few clues to the audiences of ME1a, ME1b, or ME2, which all translate the Latin quite closely. It was common for such translations of religious texts to be intended for spiritually advanced but non-Latinate nuns or anchoresses. The translator of ME1a indeed seems to have a female readership in mind, as inclusive language such as ‘men or women’ is regularly used instead of the generic ‘men’. ME2 also uses some inclusive language, such as ‘qwanne he heerith þe goode comfort of his broþir or his sostyr’ (134–35). Allusions to the religious life of DR’s original audience are also generally retained. These include the implication that readers belong to the elect or ‘chosen’ (e.g., ME1a, 92; ME1b, 80; ME2, 75); that they are advanced well beyond the beginning stages of conversion (section X); and that they are accustomed to frequent confession (section XIII), not the yearly confession normal to the laity. In section IX the reader is advised to pray, sing the psalms (‘psallere’), and read holy scripture, reflecting the monastic and clerical daily office. ME1a may intend to generalise this by advising the reader only to ‘pray besily’ (182) rather than sing, and ME2 omits the reference to reading scripture, perhaps to avoid condoning unsupervised lay readership of the Bible. ME2 also slightly emphasises and expands upon DR’s warnings to submit to authority instead of following erroneous personal ideas (173–76, 215–21). This is the only point in which ME2
takes a more negative and admonitory stance than the original, and may reveal a concern that a potential female or lay audience should be obedient to the authority of the church.

In ME3, the reader or hearer is constructed explicitly as a religious woman, addressed throughout as ‘sister’. Gender-inclusive language is also used, and the author addresses this point directly: ‘Sister, alwey quan I speke of man in þis wrytinge take it bothe for man and woman, for so it is ment in alle suche writinges’ (103–04). The author of ME3 may indeed have had a particular recipient in mind, or the female religious figure may have been conventional. Yet it is clear that, even if an initial addressee did exist, the author also expected to reach a broader audience. The mode of address alternates between the direct ‘I’ and ‘you’ and the impersonal ‘we’ or ‘a man’. An addition in chapter 10 is directed at a general religious audience: ‘O ȝe childern of holy cherche þat haue forsaken the worlde for helthe of youre soules and princypally to plesen God, conforte ȝe in hym whom ȝe haue chosen to loue and serue!’ (609–11). Another indication that a religious audience is intended is the statement that it is ‘goostly lyueres’ and not worldly people who are tempted by ‘inputtynge of false dreedys and streyt conscience and be deep ymagynacion of predestinacion’, which are the temptations described in DR (546–47). Despite these statements, other aspects of ME3 seem inclusive of a lay readership. Most significantly, there is the long narrative exemplum concerning a lay squire who falls into despair by thinking of his past sins and is saved through the worldly means of a game of dice. There are a number of metaphors drawn from secular life: temptations are compared to a knight being tested in battle (8–9), sinning and repenting to the movement up and down of wrestlers (152), and God to a doctor and a gardener (255–71). The advice in section IX of DR to pray, sing the psalms, and read holy scripture, to which ME2 omits the reference to reading scripture, is here generalised still further to ‘þei musten ȝeue hem to som good liȝt occupacion, and somtyme to redynge and syngynge the seruyse of Goð, and to other good dedes’ (347–49). The ‘good sterynges’ of contemplative feelings that ME3 describes are presented ambiguously not as belonging strictly to the religious, but to ‘suyche parauenture as ben solatarye’ (426), and taking place either during requisite times of the divine office or when saying one’s office alone, as a layperson might do (459–60).
The actual audiences of the four Middle English versions, according to the evidence of the surviving copies, were quite varied. ME1a is found in two manuscripts. The first, H1, was given by Prioress Maude Wade of Swine in East Yorkshire to Joan Hiltoft of Nun Coton in Lincolnshire, both Cistercian houses, before 1482. ME1a is in a dialect of Lincolnshire. The style of decoration of the manuscript suggests it was made earlier in the fifteenth century, so Maude was possibly not its first owner. The second manuscript, B, was copied by the layman John Morton of York around the 1440s, as part of a religious miscellany apparently made for his own use. These two copies are textually very close, and the connection of both to Yorkshire suggests that ME1a had northern origins.

The Foyle manuscript of ME1b, F, is possibly the earliest witness of any of the Middle English versions. It was produced in London for Sibyl de Felton, the abbess of Barking, sometime between c. 1410—the approximate date of The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, which it also contains—and Sibyl’s death in 1419. It afterwards remained at Barking until the Dissolution. ME1b is found with The Chastising of God’s Children in H2, a miscellany on the theme of temptation probably copied for the use of a priest, in a mid-fifteenth-century hand and South-East Midlands dialect. H2 contains both ME1b and ME2, copied by the same scribe. There is also an incunable, W1, that contains ME1b and Chastising. Three of the nineteen surviving or recorded copies of this edition contain inscriptions showing that the copy was given from one nun to another, two at Syon and one at Campsey, Suffolk; two copies record the names of other female sixteenth-century readers, and another was purchased by an ‘R. Johnson’ together with secular Caxton prints.

It is possible that ME1b was originally translated for the nuns of Barking Abbey. This would account for the early copy in the Barking manuscript F, and for its later transmission alongside Chastising, which was probably also written for Barking. As we will see, the author of Chastising apparently knew of DR and drew on it as a source. However, isolative scribal errors in F do show that it is not itself the original copy of ME1b.

60 The following account is a summary, full details of which can be found in the descriptions of the manuscripts and printed editions below.


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ME2 survives in seven manuscripts, which together with its adaption into ME3 suggests that it held a wider circulation than the first two versions. It is not only found together with ME1b in H2, but also together with ME3 in C, a miscellany compiled in the mid-fifteenth century for a nunnery in East Anglia. Another copy was included in the Carthusian miscellany A, produced in a charterhouse in the north of England c. 1450–75. The witness Le was made c. 1456 probably in a monastery in Lincolnshire, and Br in 1502 by a brother of the religious community of St Mark’s Hospital, Bristol. G is an instructional compilation possibly intended for lay readership, which based on its decoration can be dated to the first two decades of the fifteenth century; the dialect of ME2 in this manuscript is of the region of Northamptonshire. Finally, Lo is a devotional miscellany including works by Richard Rolle copied 1422–c. 1450 by a legal clerk in Dublin. The copies of ME2 cover a large geographical spread and little can be reconstructed about its origin. Several copies are associated with male religious houses, and ME2 is the only one of the ME versions with evidence of more male readers than female.

ME3 survives in five manuscripts and a printed edition. The devotional miscellany C is described above. The miscellany H3 was owned at some time in the period 1486 to 1509 by Elizabeth Scrope Beaumont de Vere, Countess of Oxford, though it was possibly originally made for Barking Abbey. It was produced by professional scribes in London in the later fifteenth century, and was partly copied from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 322, made for a nun at Dartford Priory. Wo was copied in London in the second half of the fifteenth century by the professional ‘Hammond’ scribe for John Vale, secretary to the mayor of London; its narrative and ecclesiastical contents differ from the devotional and instructional material that typically accompanies DR. Ho was apparently made in the second quarter of the fifteenth century for a wealthy religious woman. D is in a Leicestershire dialect of the later fifteenth century and was most likely intended for a religious owner, possibly male, as D regularly omits the addresses to the ‘sister’ recipient. The printed edition W2 (1508; repr. 1519 and 1525) was commissioned by Margaret Beaufort, and the surviving parchment copy of the 1508 edition may have belonged to her. A copy of the second edition was owned by the nun Dame Margaret Necollson.

The circulation of ME3 shows a pattern of female readership that is in keeping with its address to a religious sister. An exception is John Vale’s copy, which demonstrates an
interest in ME3 among London literary and administrative circles. The manuscripts also suggest that London, and possibly Syon Abbey, was a centre of transmission for this version. H3 was copied by professional scribes working in London, possibly for the nearby house of Barking. C was made in East Anglia but is textually similar enough to H3 that the two may have been copied from the same exemplar, which could perhaps have circulated between Barking and the East Anglian house. Wo was also copied in London by professional scribes, but from a different exemplar than H3. Wo’s exemplar was, instead, related to Ho. Ho may have a connection with Syon, as may the printed edition W2: Margaret Beaufort in her role as patron of religious printed books had close connections with both Syon and its partnered Carthusian house Sheen, and it is quite possible that ME3 was among the devotional texts either sourced from or produced in the expectation of purchasers, or both, among these two houses. While no Middle English versions can be directly traced to Syon, it is known that the bothers’ library held at least one surviving copy and four now lost copies of the Latin DR.62

A survey of the ME versions therefore reveals the exceptionally wide circulation of DR in the vernacular and the evident interest it held among a broad readership. While it was typical for such Latin works to be translated, it is unusual for so many different versions to exist: besides the three different translations and the expanded version ME3, we may also note that in two copies, W1 and Br, the translations were compared and conflated again with the Latin source. Among the copies of each version there is furthermore a great deal of scribal variation: this freedom that the scribes evidently felt to alter and add material suggests that DR was appreciated as a source of practical spiritual guidance which might be improved or adapted to suit different audiences.63 The four versions are associated largely with female readers, especially ME3, but also circulated among a broad audience including religious men and laypeople of both sexes. The texts themselves primarily address a religious audience, but do not exclude different types of readers. They contribute to a late-medieval trend of increasing interest among laypeople in sophisticated, introspective devotional texts previously

intended for the religious, in the pursuit of a ‘mixed life’ combining contemplative practices and activity in the world.64

3.6 Dates

None of the Middle English texts can be dated more precisely than to around the beginning of the fifteenth century. The earliest manuscript of ME1b was produced sometime between c. 1410, the date of Nicholas Love’s Mirror, and 1419. The earliest manuscript of ME1a can be dated only to early in the fifteenth century, ME2 to approximately the first two decades, and ME3 to approximately the second quarter.

The lack of any clear response to the Wycliffite controversies may prompt us to date the ME texts to before 1409, when the Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, responding to the spread of heresy and promulgation of the Wycliffite Bible, forbade the unauthorised translation of scriptural texts into English.65 There are numerous biblical quotations incorporated throughout DR, and these are retained in all of the Middle English versions; still more are added in ME3.66 Nor do any of the versions except perhaps ME2 make an effort to reinforce points of orthodoxy, as might be expected in a post-Wycliffite climate, particularly as DR deals with issues of religious doubt and blasphemy. ME2 expands slightly upon DR’s brief warning that it is heretical not to submit to the judgement of authorities (see ‘Doubt and Despair’ below, p. 41), and also omits the advice to read holy scripture;67 however, both of these changes are subtle and may not be significant. The fact that all of the translations were produced independently to one another in the early part of the century and none later is telling

64 The literature on this subject is extensive; for a recent study see Jennifer Bryan, Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and the Private Self in Late Medieval England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
66 In ME1a the quotations are usually provided in both Latin and English. In ME1b and ME2 the Latin is provided sometimes but not always. In ME3 only English is used, but this is probably because ME3’s source, a text of ME2 related to Lo, omitted the Latin.
67 If this is indeed a deliberate omission, it suggests that biblical translations were more permissible when presented and mediated within a work such as DR than when accessed freely.
in itself. While the evidence is not conclusive, it seems more probable to date the Middle English versions to shortly before 1409 rather than shortly after.
4 Other Adaptations and Influence

4.1 Other Adaptations

There are two other known Middle English translations of DR besides the four versions edited in this thesis. Both are partial translations. These are a letter uniquely found in London, British Library, MS Royal 18.A.X, and a section in the compilations *Disce mori* and *Ignorancia sacerdotum*.

As F. N. M. Diekstra has shown, a letter of spiritual direction in MS Royal 18.A.X contains excerpts from sections I–III, VI, VII–VIII, and XI of *DR* conflated with Pseudo-Hugh of St Victor’s *De pusillanimitate*.\(^68\) The letter is entitled *A Good Remedio Agens Spirituell Temptacions* and is addressed to a woman concerned with religious scruples. Diekstra’s edition shows that *A Good Remedio* is an independent translation from a Latin A3 text. Curiously, some passages seem to be influenced by original material in ME3: for example, ‘though it were possible that on creatur hadde done all the synnes that all creatures han done fro the beginnyng of the world into this day, yit Oure Lord Ihesu Crist of his infinite mercy schuld be more redy to foryeue hym his synnes than the synnere to aske forgueness’ (287–95); cf. ME3, 156–60, 454–56. Another passage echoes both ME3 and the Trinitarian formulation in Julian’s *Revelations* quoted above: ‘Thar are manie creatures that thynkyn God is almyhty to punche al synne, and al wisdam to knowe alle thyng, ffrom whom nothyng may ben hid, but they welen nat thynke how God is goodnesse and ouerpassynge goodnesse to foreyeuen al synne’ (527–34).

The exact nature of the relationship between these texts is not clear, but as Diekstra remarks, this ‘multiplicity of sources, analogues and echoes’ shows at least that the author was highly familiar with *DR* and with other works associated with it in subject.\(^69\)

The second vernacular adaptation of *DR* derives from the inclusion of the Latin *DR* almost in its entirety in the Latin compilation *Speculum spiritualium*.\(^70\) The *Speculum* is a


\(^{69}\) Diekstra, p. 316.

\(^{70}\) The *DR* text in the *Speculum* was noted by Hackett, ‘William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptationes*,’ p. 342 n. 44. Diekstra discusses it in more detail. For the *Speculum*, see A. I. Doyle, *The Speculum Spiritualium*
handbook on the contemplative life most likely put together by a Carthusian c. 1400–30 and found in at least nineteen manuscripts and an edition printed by Hopyl in 1510. DR is incorporated, unacknowledged, within part II, on temptations. In the 1510 edition it appears as follows: part II, chapter nine contains DR XII–XIV (‘De occultis et subtilibus temptationibus’); chapter ten contains I–IV (‘De blasphemia et de remediis contra blasphemiam et contra alias spirituales temptationes’); and chapter thirteen contains VII (rearranged), VIII (shortened), IX, X (shortened), XI with V and VI incorporated, and XVII (‘Quod homo videtur aliquando derelictus a deo’). There is added material and the Latin varies in details from the other DR texts, but it is related to the A4 family.71 DR is also found in a second Latin compilation, Donatus devocionis, which is derived from the Speculum.72

Section I–IV of DR were translated into English from the Speculum in the compilations Disce mori and its derivative Ignorancia sacerdotum. Disce mori is a lengthy instructional treatise compiled for a devout woman between 1453 and 1464.73 It is found in two manuscripts: Oxford, Jesus College, MS 39, which belonged to Syon Abbey, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 99. An adapted version of Disce mori titled Ignorancia sacerdotum is found in one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. c. 57. Chapter 45 of Disce mori, concerning blasphemy and its remedies, directly translates the Speculum, part 2, chapters 10 and 11,74 and with it sections I–IV of DR. The opening and closing lines of this translation are quoted below, to demonstrate its originality:

For as seith þappostel, without feith it is inpossible to plese God; þerfore þolde serpent, desirynge aboue al þinge to breke þi feith with his fals suggestions and erroneus ymaginacions, in mervaillous maners is aboute to induce symple soules to forsake þat þat þei afore by plegges promitted to God in þeire baptisme, þat was to forsake þe deuel and alle his werkes and his pompes, and whome he may not bi his

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71 For example, it includes A4’s addition beginning ‘sed anime purgacio’ in section II.
72 Identified in Diekstra, p. 315 n. 43. For the Donatus devocionis, see Doyle, “The European Circulation of Three Latin Spiritual Texts.”
73 E. A. Jones, The ‘Exhortacion’ from ‘Disce Mori’ (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2006). This is the only published edition of Disce mori, and includes only the concluding section or ‘Exhortacion’, not the section here discussed.
74 Jones, The ‘Exhortacion’ from ‘Disce Mori’, p. xxxix.
fallaces, quia mendax est et pater eius, put from þe feith as he wolde, at þe leest he wol gretly trouble and vexe . . . þough his shrewd complexi
on, whiche may be cause of his trouble, or elles his erroneus conscience consent for þe tyme to þe contrarie, for it is written by þappostel: 'Ore autem confessio fit as salutem'. For he is to grete a coward þat fereth þat aduersarie þat may not ouercome but hem þat wol, and þat with a wille deliberat, grata et rata, ferme and stable consentyng to hym. (Jesus College MS 39, pp. 223–24)75

There are also at least two early modern adaptations of DR, which show how the treatise continued to circulate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hackett has recognised that a passage in Thomas More’s Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation, composed while More was a prisoner in the Tower of London, derives from DR, probably by memory.76 In addition, in the early seventeenth century a modernised version of ME3 from the W2 printed edition was made by Fr Augustine Baker for the use of a house of English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai. Three manuscript copies of this transcription survive, made by members of the house: Ampleforth Abbey, MS 118; Colwich Abbey, MS 13; and Colwich Abbey, MS 18.77 These were not collated in the present edition because, as direct copies of W2, they do not shed any light on the medieval textual transmission.

4.2 Influence

Many similarities can be traced between DR and other late medieval religious literature, but it is difficult to know whether these show the direct or indirect influence of DR or dependence upon common sources, or sometimes to tell the direction of influence, especially concerning the additions in ME3. Further research into this area will doubtless uncover more connections.

One author who it does seem clear was influenced by DR is Walter Hilton, who may have been Flete’s contemporary at Cambridge in the late 1350s.78 There are many parallels

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75 The equivalent text appears with very few variants in MS Laud misc. 99, ff. 91v–92r, and MS Eng. th. c. 57, ff. 109r–10r.
77 See Colledge and Chadwick, pp. 212–17, for a detailed account of these copies.
78 See Walter Hilton: The Scale of Perfection, ed. by J. P. H. Clark and Rosemary Dorward (New York: Paulist Press,
with *DR* in both books of the *Scale of Perfection*. Book I, ch. 21, dealing with religious doubts, echoes *DR* in its message and phraseology: faith is defined as an act of ‘the wille of thyn herte’ (534–35), and Hilton advises the reader: ‘though thu feele ony stirynge in thyn herte agens [Holi Chirche] bi suggestion of the enmye . . . not to mykil have drede of sich stirynges ne of the feelynge of hem, but forsake thyn own witte withoute disputyng or ransakyng of hem’ (535–38). Ch. 34 discusses the doubt of having been properly confessed, and ch. 36 the withdrawal of devotion in prayer for the purification of the soul (cf. also book II, ch. 28). Chs. 37–39, concerning temptations, show many similarities. Hilton’s account of spiritual temptation follows *DR*, though Hilton describes religious doubts more explicitly, in terms of contemporary Wycliffite ideas: ‘Sum men he tempteth bi gosteli synnes maliciousli, as of mystrowynge of the articles of the feith or of the sacrament of Goddis bodi, also dispeir or blasphemye in oure Lord or in ony of His seyntis, or lothyng of here lif, or bittirnesse and unskilful hevynesse’ (975–78). He repeats that such temptations ‘tarie the soule, but thei apeire [‘injure’] not the soule, yf a man wolde despice hem and sette hem at nought. It is not good to stryve with hem, for to putte hem ought bi maistrie; for the more that men stryven with siche thoughtes the more thei cleve to hem’ (997–99). Several citations are used in common with *DR*, such as Isaiah 54. 7–8, ‘In modico dereliqui te’, quoted in the context of temptations of despair (1012–13).

Other parts of the *Scale* may have conversely influenced the additions in ME3. Book I, ch. 11 warns against abandoning spiritual duties for private devotions and visions in a similar way to the added passage in ME3, 424–36, although Hilton is more cautious. Book II, ch. 11 develops the idea of two laws of sensuality and of reason in the soul, similar to ME3’s two wills of sensuality and grace. This chapter also discusses the difficulty of discerning when one has assented to sin and of overestimating sins ‘alle as deedli synnes, or elles as grete venyal’ (542). ME3’s simile comparing feelings of temptations blocking the consciousness of a good will to clouds blocking the sun (305–12) may have been suggested by book II, ch 26, which compares

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The *Scale* was written between c. 1380 and Hilton’s death in 1396.

Quotations are from Bestul.

These chapters were copied on their own with ME1b and ME2 in MS Harley 6615.
sin to clouds blocking direct apprehension of the sun, or chs. 16 and 26, which compare a sinful person to a blind person unable to see the sun.

It is also possible that Julian of Norwich was familiar with *DR* in some version. In chapters 73–79 (long text) of the *Revelations of Divine Love*, Julian discusses ‘gostly sekenes’, including preoccupation with past sins (73/25) and ‘doubtfull drede’, or despair (74/11).\(^81\) She emphasises the presence and purpose of God in these temptations and that we should not be ‘hevey ne sorowfull undiscretly’ (77/26). Julian frequently compares God to a mother, as do both the *Stimulus amoris* ending of *DR* and ME3, 518–30, but this metaphor derives ultimately from *Ancrene Wisse* and Julian develops it much further than any *DR* text. The *Revelations* have some particularly close analogues with ME3. ME3’s addition that with God nothing is impossible, ‘and þerfore þenk weel þat his myght may do alle þinge, and his wisdom kan, and his goodnesse wole’ (230–31; cf. also 204–05, 636–40), directly echoes Julian’s ‘Som of us leven that God is almyty and may don all, and that he is al wisdam and can don all—but that he is all love and will don all, there we astynen’ (73/20–22).\(^82\) Julian’s statement that there is both a bodily will and a godly will in every soul that will be saved (37, 53) also resembles ME3’s addition that every person has an evil will arising from the sensuality that inclines to sin and a good will arising from grace that inclines to God. This higher will does not assent to sin, despite the inclinations of the sensuality, thus assuring salvation. Again, these similarities may indicate that ME3 was in turn influenced by Julian, or that they are both echoing other writings or current ideas.\(^83\)

Another work that may draw on *DR* is *The Chastising of God’s Children*, a treatise on the profits of tribulation compiled mainly from earlier sources around the 1390s.\(^84\) Ch. 24, concerning spiritual temptations, emphasises that feelings of doubt, despair, or blasphemy are

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\(^81\) Quotations are from Windeatt, *Julian of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love: The Short Text and the Long Text*.

\(^82\) Julian uses this formulation to refer to the three persons of the Trinity: cf. ch. 31, 2–5: “I may makyn al thing wele; I can make al thing wele, and I wil make al thyng wele . . .” There he seyth, “I may”, I understond for the Fader; and there he seith “I can”, I understond for the Son; and where he seith “I will”, I understond for the Holy Gost.’

\(^83\) For Julian to have been influenced directly by ME3 would require ME3 to be dated quite early, as the *Revelations* were likely composed in the 1370s (short text) to 1390s (long text).

not sinful unless they are assented to, ‘for, as seith seint austyn, þat eche synne þat is nat wilful is no dedeli synne’ (201/19–21). Similar ideas are presented in ch. 6 (117–19). In another parallel to ME3’s account of the two wills in the soul, the author distinguishes between the consent of the ‘wil of reason’ and the ‘wil of kynde’, which reason may overrule (201/1–8). In ch. 24 Chastising also quotes the same passage as DR from Isidore’s Sententiae bk. 3, ch. 4, on not being forsaken by God in temptation (200/1–6), as well as the hymn ‘O tortuose serpens’, here presented among other special verses to say in temptation (202/16–19). As in DR, the remedies suggested are to speak of temptations to confessors and to think of Christ’s passion. Another possible borrowing from DR is the statement that spiritual comfort can be given at the beginning of religious life but then taken away, accompanied by the quotation ‘lac dedi vobis’ from 1 Corinthians 3. 2 (103–04).

There are also similarities between DR and Pseudo-Hugh of St Victor’s De pusillanimitate, which is conflated with DR in the unique MS Royal 18.A.X text. A Middle English translation of De pusillanimitate states that feelings of despair do not necessitate consent, because there are two wills in every soul, one of reason and one of the flesh; if the reason does not consent, then sufferers are not put out of charity but rather gain more merit.85 Similarly, if a person does not feel any grace in devotion, then the spiritual duties are more meritorious. The treatise also warns against having a ‘douteful conscience for litil synnes’ (f. 96r), and concludes: ‘if foule þouȝtis comen: þoo schulen be schewid soone to sum discreet man: & siche schulen not be dredded. for þo deliten not but tourmenten/ & þo ben not oure: but of fendis þat bryngen in þo. & putten þo aȝens oure herte/ wherfore þo schulen be arettid to synne’ (f. 98r). It is unclear in which direction the influence lies if any between De pusillanimitate, the Latin DR, and ME3. Doyle believes that it is likely De pusillanimitate had a Continental origin and only came to England around the beginning of the fifteenth century.86 Diekstra leaves open the possibility that De pusillanimitate might have an English origin and therefore have influenced Flete.87

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87 Diekstra, p. 319.
5 Religious Doubt and Despair in *De remediis*

*DR* is primarily concerned with the temptations of religious doubt and despair of salvation, along with the related experiences of a lack of devotional feeling and an over-strict conscience. Its wide circulation and influence meant that *DR* played a significant role in the conceptualisation of doubt and despair in the late Middle Ages.

The opening sections of the treatise deal with the temptation to doubt. Flete describes how the devil will attack the faithful with ‘false suggestions and erroneous ideas’ (4), ‘fanciful ideas that are conceived, erroneous or foul; that is, blasphemies’ (7–8), or ‘fantastic errors that attack faith or morals’ (10–11), leading to an ‘unbelief or hesitation’ (34). Accounts of doubt are not uncommon in spiritual literature, but, as here, most will not specify what exactly the false ideas may be. Similarly, the author of the *Chastising of God’s Children* explicitly refrains from detailing ‘dredeful þouȝtis’ involving doubts in order not to suggest any ideas to readers: ‘it nediþ nat to specifie, for they þat han bien chastised wiþ suche goostli temptacions mowe wite in her soule what I wolde mene. Also, it is perilouse to specifie suche þouȝtes, for sum . . . shul neuer imagine suche a þouȝt, but bi oþer mennys tellynge’ (119/3–9). Yet medieval Christians certainly did experience scepticism and disbelief in a variety of forms. Some questioned specific doctrines of the church, such as the real presence in the Eucharist or the intercession of the saints, or more fundamentally the reliability of the scriptures, the divine nature of Christ, or the goodness or omnipotence of God. Another form of doubt concerned fears for one’s personal salvation, so was closely allied with despair. An account of spiritual temptation from the thirteenth-century *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius von Heisterbach describes such a case of generalised doubts combined with despair:

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88 Bazire and Collodge.
A few months ago, a certain nun, a woman of advanced age and of great reputed sanctity, was so much troubled by the vice of melancholy, and so much harassed by the spirit of blasphemy, doubt, and distrust, that she fell into despair. She began to disbelieve utterly all those articles of the faith which she had accepted from infancy, and which it was her bounden duty to accept; and she refused to take any further share in the blessed Sacrament . . . [and when questioned] she replied: ‘I am reprobate,’ that is, ‘I am one of those appointed to eternal ruin.’

While other accounts of doubt in the *Dialogus miraculorum* end in the recovery of faith by means of miraculous visions, the fate of this nun is left troublingly uncertain.

Religious doubt is presented in *DR* as an affliction that calls for pastoral and psychological care, not intellectual engagement. The sufferer must dismiss thoughts of doubt ‘lightly’, not entertaining them or even struggling against them too closely (8–13). In this way one will gain distance from the thoughts and avoid assenting to them. Even if thoughts are felt to be true, they can still be rejected in principle by an inner exercise of the will. Flete’s attitude here may be linked to his experience of university dialectics and debate: the warning that one must not examine or ‘investigate much into the causes of such things’ (12) implies that doubts may be inspired or at least furthered by too much reasoning into divine matters.

The Middle English versions follow the original quite closely in the sections dealing with doubt. This is significant in itself, in light of the anxieties about heresy at the time of their production in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries. As well as Wycliffism, with its scepticism of transubstantiation and other sacramental doctrines, there was the earlier sect of the Free Spirit, believed to teach that perfected spirits could become one with the will of God and that the intercession of the church was not necessary. Concern over Free Spiritism may be detected in the Latin *DR*’s emphasis that to follow the devil’s suggestions in the belief that they come from one’s own conscience is heretical (section XIV). We might expect the

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Middle English adaptors to address and condemn heresy more strongly, given the broad audience for such vernacular writing, as *The Chastising of God’s Children* does very frequently, for example. But to the opening mention of blasphemy, ME1b adds only ‘blasphemye, þat is to mene irreuerence or despit aȝens God and his seintis’ (12–13), while the adaptor of ME3 may have contemporary heresies in mind when he adds that ‘specially now in these dayes [the devil] is ful besy to dysese and to disseyve mannes soule’ (17–18). ME2 (and, following it, ME3) also expands a little upon the warning against a false conscience:

> For swyche a man, if he folwid his owyn conscience, it weere a gret pride þat he wolde leetyn his witt betyr þan þe trewe loore of holy chirche. And þerfore a man þat wolde so doon must nedynge fallyn in vile heresijs and fulli in þe bondis of þe feend. And if swiche an errour of consience seye þat oþer men felyn nowth þat he felith, and þerfore he cun not demyn of hym, and þat he schal be lorn for þat he doth not his owyn fantasie, he is beholdyn to takyn non heed of swich thoutis. (215–21)

These slight additions indicate some concern with the heretical element of doubt, but only to a limited extent.

Religious doubt in *DR* is closely tied to despair. Intrusive doubts may naturally lead to dejection and despair, or both may arise from the same weaknesses of character. Flete describes how the devil will suggest doubt and despair to people of a melancholic temperament because they are particularly susceptible:

> He tests the worth of each one’s constitution, and whomever he sees to be excessively dampened with the melancholic humour he vexes and disturbs with spiritual temptation in many different ways. For the natural philosophers say that the smoke of the black choler, rising to the brain, comes to the locus of the mind and obscures and disturbs its light, preventing the soul from discerning. Such people are sad and fearful without a reasonable cause, and fainthearted and dry, because of their constitution . . . and such people imagine that false things are true, for they are impeded because of the black smoke spreading over their brain, so that they cannot discern the truth. (Section V)
The source of this account of melancholy is a standard medical treatise. According to medieval humoral theory, melancholics were prone to excessive sadness and fear, and in extreme cases madness, as a result of fumes from black bile or from the overheating of yellow bile, choler, suffusing the brain and impairing judgement. By emphasising the irrational side of melancholy, Flete connects it to belief in false things as well as unreasonable sorrow. Doubt and despair can therefore be partly physiological in origin. The devil takes advantage of the natural tendencies and weaknesses caused by the humours, and sends the appropriate temptations. This link between the humours and diabolic temptation probably derives from the thirteenth-century Somme le Roi of Laurent of Orleans, which categorises the humours in connection with the deadly sins. However, while Laurent states only that the devil tempts the melancholic to 'envy and sorrow', Flete connects melancholy more broadly to all 'spiritual temptation'. This passage is retained in all the Middle English versions except ME3, which retains only the first sentence, omitting the account of the black smoke. ME2 adds the observation 'wel ðanne it is knowe þat seekness fallith to a man aftyr þe disposicioun of his conpleccioun' (87–88), showing that the translator assumes a basic knowledge of humoral theory among his non-Latinate audience. ME2 also elaborates that the smoke not only obscures the brain but 'makith a man to semyn as þow he seye blake and myschape ymagis' (92–93), another symptom sometimes attributed to melancholics.

The experience of religious despair is summarised in section VII of DR:

Hence it is that he often sends such great bitterness into the minds of the faithful . . . that they believe that life is torture and death is a remedy, so that it comes to pass that they often despair of the life of body and soul. For they believe that they are abandoned by God. (72–75)

Despair consists of a weariness of life, often leading to suicide, along with a sense of sin so overwhelming that the despairing person cannot believe that they will be saved. In the theological sense, despair or ‘wanhope’ was a lack of faith in personal mercy from God, which

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was a sin because it precluded the necessary process of contrition and forgiveness. The conception of despair as a demonic temptation had a long theological history. In the scheme of the seven deadly sins, it was classified under acedia, sloth. For the desert fathers acedia was the ‘noonday demon’, a lack of energy for the religious life, incorporating tedium, apathy, dejection, and associated symptoms, and related to doubt in its effective rejection of faith. Chaucer’s Parson’s Tale, for example, describes wanhope among the vices belonging to acedia in the manner of a penitential manual:

Now comth wanhope, that is despeir of the mercy of God, that comth somtyme of to muche outrageous sorwe, and somtyme of to muche drede, ymaginyng that he hath doon so muche synne that it wol nat availlen hym, though he wolde repeten hym and forsake synne, thurgh which despeir or drede he abaundoneth al his herte to every maner synne, as seith Seint Augustin. Which dampnable synne, if that it continue unto his ende, it is cleped synnyng in the Hooly Goost. (692–94)

Medieval understanding of despair drew on a distinction made in II Corinthians 7. 10 between ‘godly sorrow’, which arises from self-knowledge and is necessary for contrition, and ‘worldly sorrow’, an unproductive and irrational excess of emotion. Godly sorrow is a natural reaction to the recognition of sin, but it must be checked and balanced by the hope of God’s forgiveness. The idea that God, being good, must logically condemn the sinful—later expressed by Luther as the ‘devil’s syllogism’—is a misapplication of reason that fails to take into account the grace brought by Christ. Despair was often contrasted against the opposite

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96 See Siegfried Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967). Despair was originally classified under the sin of tristitia, sorrow, but in the early medieval period tristitia was merged with acedia based upon a common sense of inactivity and depression. Tristitia probably disappeared as a capital sin due to the confusion of applying the term to positive and negative types (Snyder, p. 44).

97 Citation from The Riverside Chaucer, ed. by Larry D. Benson and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

98 Snyder, pp. 20–21.

99 Snyder, pp. 30–32.
vice of presumption, following Augustine’s teaching that moderation is required between the extremes of religious hope and fear. Because despair removed any motive to repent, it had a direct potential to lead to death without penitence and was therefore sometimes called the greatest sin.

Flete does not elaborate a great deal further on the symptoms or results of despair, focusing instead on its remedies. The primary remedy is a reminder that the temptation to despair is like any other tribulation, and is permitted by God for the purpose of strengthening patience and purity of faith. The reader is also reminded that even Christ experienced sorrow and the thought that he was forsaken by God. Scriptural assurances and precedents, many from the archetypal example of the temptation of Job, are given throughout, and the reader is advised to meditate on the Bible regularly. As in the case of religious doubt, the sufferer should not ‘scrutinise any matter by thinking about it too deeply’ (134), but should follow the advice of others.

Related to despair in the strongest sense but less severe is a lack of ‘devotion of the senses’ (‘deuocionem sensibilem’) during prayer, or spiritual dryness (107). To this Flete comments that feelings of consolation are not necessary for prayer, and their absence makes prayer and religious duties more purely selfless. In addition, Flete connects despair to the temptation of scrupulosity, or over-strictness. This also arises out of a pervasive guilt, but is expressed in the exaggeration or fabrication of non-existent sins. The devil may suggest intrusive thoughts of past sins to distract from the divine service, inducing a wish to confess constantly even when the sins have already been forgiven. More generally, the devil may suggest that good or neutral things are sinful and that venial sins are deadly. Again, this temptation is based on an error of judgement, and must be counteracted by following the judgement of advisors and repudiating the false belief and feelings by an exercise of the will.

The added material in ME3 largely develops ideas about despair already present in the original, but frames them with more generalised advice on the profits of tribulation, including the idea that temptation may come as a punishment for previous sin. This is expressed in

100 E.g., ‘Si desperes, peris; si speres, peris’ (Serm. XX, 4), cited in Snyder, pp. 35–36.
101 E.g., by Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica II–II, Q. 20, Art. 3.
102 For a discussion of spiritual dryness see Wenzel, pp. 60–63. Spiritual dryness shares with acedia the characteristic of a lack of devotion, but unlike it involves a desire for the missing devotion.
ME3’s new incipit, ‘oure merciful lord God chastyseth hese childirn’, and in an extended metaphor in chapter nine of God as a disciplining mother. In the Latin DR, despair of forgiveness is dismissed as a matter of course, but ME3 discusses and refutes it at length, with scriptural evidence such as Psalm 144. 9, ‘þe mercy of God is so gret þat it passeth alle his werkes’ (161), and examples of forgiven sinners from the gospels. ME3 also specifies the preoccupations of despair in greater detail, as ‘sharpe wordes and harde sentencys’ of judgement that ‘þe heren speke or reede in bokes’ (162), as well as the specific fear that one has committed the unforgivable sin against the holy ghost. A distinction is made between the causes of despair for lay versus religious people:

\[\text{þe feend tempteth many to desperacions and dreedis of sauacion, and specyally Goddis seruauntes, and also worldly men and women the feend tempteth hem to dispeir quan þei beholden here greuou synnes, and the goostly lyueres he tempteth to dispeir be inputynge of false dreedyds and streyt conscience and be deep ymagynacion of predestinacion, and in moo sondry wyseys Þan I kan telle. (543–48)}\]

The laity come to despair through awareness of their sinful lives, but the religious more subtly through scrupulosity and over-thinking, notably on the subject of predestination. Because DR deals with the latter type of despair, it is implied that its audience, including the ‘suster’ to which it is addressed, belongs to the ‘goostly lyueres’, yet the long exemplum concerning the squire who falls into despair through the ‘beholdynge of his synnes’ (553) shows that ME3 is concerned with the experiences of the laity as well. Given arguments for God’s mercy, the squire replies: ‘I wot wel þat God is mercyful, buþ he is rightful also, and his rightwysnesse muste nedys punysche synne, and þerfore I drede his rightwysnesse in iugementes’ (573–75).

This argument appears reasonable on the surface, but is really the devil’s syllogism, because it does not take into account the potential of grace. The squire is therefore answered by a miracle which demonstrates that God’s grace transcends earthly laws and reason.

Perhaps the most characteristic quality of DR’s presentation of doubt and despair is its positivity. There is a general tendency to moderation, stressing practical as well as spiritual remedies to despair: not to remain alone, to exert oneself to ‘rejoice and exult’, and to ‘receive honest and lawful temporal consolation’ to restore physical heath (section XI). While Chaucer’s Parson equates despair with total abandonment to sin, Flete assumes that his
audience is, if anything, too scrupulous in self-examination and confession. The emphasis throughout on reliance on God’s compassion is not checked in any version except ME3 by a warning against despair’s opposite vice of presumption, or estimating sins too lightly. In DR these temptations are not a divine punishment or the fault of the individual, but on the contrary are special trials allowed to the elect out of God’s love. It is natural that a ‘spiritual person’ (‘homo spiritualis’) should be tempted ‘spiritually and almost exceptionally’ (95). Here DR is following the customary idea that saints are tempted spiritually after having overcome the carnal temptations of the world. Flete states repeatedly that it is God’s ‘elect’ who are tempted by doubt and despair, suggesting not only that such temptation is compatible with membership of the elect but that it may even be a positive indication of it. It would be natural for Flete to use this language of election when addressing the professional religious readers of his Latin treatise. But the same language is then carried over into the Middle English versions, whose mixed lay and religious readers were thus also encouraged to count themselves among God’s ‘chosyn frendis’ (ME2, 80–81).

This encouraging and inclusive attitude towards salvation is furthered by DR’s presentation of the role of the will in sin. It is repeatedly stated that feelings of doubt and despair are only sinful when they are deliberately entertained and consented to. Yet sinful inclinations may continue and blasphemous ideas may seem genuinely valid, making the presence or absence of consent difficult to perceive: ‘but the mind is sometimes clouded over, so that a person cannot see his own will’ (40–41). Flete responds that a true will to reject sin may nevertheless be present, and can be recognised if nothing else by the actions of good deeds and affirmative speech. Such an attitude implies a default assumption of rightful intent and salvation except in cases where the consent to sin is clearly apparent. It rests on an Augustinian understanding of predestination in which the elect are saved through prevenient grace, making it possible for the faithful to be certain of their salvation. ME3 takes this idea still further:

For ye schuln vnderstonde þat every man or woman hath too willis: a good wil and an yuel wil. þe yuel wil cometh of the sensualite, the whiche is euere downward enclynynge to synne, and þe good wil cometh of grace, þe whiche is alwey vpwarde enclynynge to alle goodnesse . . . And þoure good wil stondeth stille in þou onbroke,

103 See Watson, ‘Despair’, p. 353.
Even though the thoughts and feelings may be oriented towards sin, the true self is not to be identified with these but with a sinless spiritual will which always remains underneath, like the sun behind clouds, so long only as 'whanne reson cometh' one has 'a good wil to do weel' (299–300). ME3 assures its readers further that the 'harde sentens' of eternal punishment applies primarily or perhaps only to 'lewys and Sarasyns' (168–69), and that even the worst Christian sinners will be saved if they repent at the time of death, or merely 'haue a wil þat it were soo' (170). Still further, ME3 goes on to state,

I dare safly seye þat þer is non so synful a caytef þat is cristen or wolde be cristen þis day on erthe, and þough he were for synne in the seyght of God dampnable, and in the sighte of alle creaturis also, ȝha and were juged to be dampned be alle scripture, and he wolde forsake his synne and be contrite and asken God forȝeuenesse he schuld haue mercy and forȝeuenesse of hym, and if he stode soo or hadde a good wil to stonde soo in þe tyme of deth he schulde be saued. (234–39)

Via this inner spiritual will granted by grace, ME3 intimates, practically all Christians—and even those that ‘wolde be cristen’—will be saved.105

Nicholas Watson has placed De remediis at the head of a late-medieval tradition that presented the temptation to despair as a complex and ultimately positive experience belonging to those advanced in religion.106 As such, it differed from a mainstream medieval view of despair as an ‘abnormal and wholly negative’ experience, without an intrinsic meaning or purpose, as some historians have seen it.107 This distinction is not unlike that made in ME3

104 Or ‘moon’, in some witnesses.
107 Watson, ‘Despair’, p. 342, here quoting from Michael McDonald, ‘The Fearefull Estate of Francis Spira:'
between the despair proper to religious and to lay people. In the mainstream view, the link to *acedia* fostered a perception of despair as merely one sin among others in the branch of sloth. Watson sees this view represented in *Piers Plowman*, for example, where in several places Wanhope threatens sinners and is overcome by the actions of penance and confession.¹⁰⁸ Wanhope’s attack on Elde, as well as popular representations of demons urging despair in *ars moriendi* texts, reflect a particular association of despair with the deathbed, when lay sinners are especially lethargic and fearful.¹⁰⁹ *DR*, by contrast, speaks to a purposeful experience common and even perhaps necessary for the religious on the path of spiritual growth. Watson traces a continuity between *DR* and early modern accounts of despair by Protestants such as Luther and John Bunyan, which developed a pattern of conversion, recognition of personal sinfulness, fear of reprobation, and eventual assurance of grace. In both *DR* and the early modern texts, the experience of despair is individualised and normalised so that it ‘becomes synonymous with any spiritual difficulty involving doubt or what Catholic theologians had long called “scrupulosity”’.¹¹⁰ Doubts and despair are associated in both with an over-occupation with theological questions, most crucially predestination. Yet the process of overcoming despair is not ultimately negative but rather a salutary stage of conversion. This model of despair was, of course, directed in the original *DR* to a Latinate religious audience. By presenting the same model to their much broader readership, the Middle English versions normalise it further, universalising this positive and purposeful view of despair as a common Christian experience.

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The following section provides full descriptions of the manuscripts and printed editions of the four Middle English versions wherever detailed published descriptions are not already available. Where these are available, summary descriptions are provided.

6.1 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131 (B)\textsuperscript{111}

**Date:**

Mid-fifteenth century (after 1431). Dated on the basis of item 9, the ‘Kings of England’. This poem records the coronation of Henry VI so must have been written after 1431; the poem’s editor suggests a date of composition of 1444–45 on the occasion of Henry’s marriage. The version here is a redaction made after the original, probably during a period in the late 1440s in which Henry’s claim to the French throne was reasserted.\textsuperscript{112} This copy does not add any mention of Edward IV, as might have been expected if it was made after 1461. The most likely date for this manuscript is therefore the late 1440s or 1450s.

**Description:**

Mixed paper and parchment (each quire has a parchment bifolium on the outside and at the centre). Ff. 2 + 147 + 3.\textsuperscript{113} Foliated 1–150 in a modern hand. Size of page: 210 x 150 mm; the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: *Of þe passion of our Lord*. Single column, 30–34 lines to a page. Size of written area: approx. 160 x 100 mm. Frames are drawn in ink, but

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\textsuperscript{113} In descriptions of foliation throughout this section, Arabic numerals are used for medieval flyleaves and lowercase roman numerals for modern flyleaves.
the ruling within the frames is made by drypoint. No pricking visible. Binding: contemporary white leather over boards.

Initials drawn in red or black ink with red or black pen-flourishing, 2–5 lines high, are used for items 1–6 and for the subsections within the *Mirror* and ME1a. The flourishing is typically in the same colour of ink used for the text, indicating that the scribe drew the initials himself. 2-line initials drawn in red ink without flourishing are used for items 7, 10, and 11. Red ink is used to highlight initials at new sections, for some marginalia, and to underline Latin passages.

Hand: Anglicana media. A larger Textura script is used for chapter headings and Latin passages within the text.

Collation:

A possible collation is 1\textsuperscript{24}, 2–4\textsuperscript{20}, 5\textsuperscript{20} + 1 after leaf 13, 6\textsuperscript{28}, 7\textsuperscript{14} + four stubs, two after leaf 8 and two after leaf 13.

Signatures in roman numerals, apparently by the scribe, for quires 2 to 5.

Scribe and Dialect:

One scribe only. Linguistic profile: LALME LP 473, Grid 467/414, West Riding of Yorkshire.

The Latin texts at the end of the manuscript may be in a different hand. They appear different, particularly item 12, since the duct is thinner and smaller, but the formation of the letters is very similar to that of the main hand and the same unusual punctuation of colons is used.

Annotation:

On f. 1r, in a 17th-century hand, ‘Speculum Vitae Christi translated out off’ Bonaventure by Jh. Morton. Vide infra fol. 121’; a misunderstanding of the note identifying Morton as the scribe (see below). On foot of f. 144r, in a possibly scribal hand: ‘þra pen wrot

\footnote{Script classifications follow Jane Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2005).}
banaventura’. On stub between ff. 146 and 147, in a possibly scribal hand: ‘Amen quod noght’ (repeated), ‘In mynd of my trespass I cry god marcy’ (repeated). On f. 149v are further partly illegible marks in a possibly scribal hand, including ‘to Peter warke 1d’.116

Contents:

1. Ff. 1–121v. Aat þe begynnyg of þe buke, þe proheme of þe buke þat es called þe Mirur of þe Blyssed Lyfe of Ihesu Criste . . . and his modir Mare now and euer withowtyn end. Amen. Explicit Speculum Vite Christi quod John Morton.

_The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ._

2. Ff. 122r–31r. For als mekyll as þe apostell says þat withouten payth and trw beleue it es inpossibill to plese God . . . sall be hied in blys. To þat blis bryng vs he whas mercy is to all men fre. Amen.

ME1a.

3. F. 131r. [Full text] A sely saule askid of God our stedfast lord clennes of saule. And God apered to hir and sayd: If þou will haue þat clennes þat þou askys, þe behoues be oned to me perfityly þat am sufferan clennes, and þat sall þou be if þou will kepe thre thinges þat I sall say to þe. Þe fyrst es if þou put þe and all þine entent in me, of all þi warkes mak me þe ende, and if þou travaile þe ay to hafe me before þe eghe of þi saule. Þe secund es if þou forsake witterly þine awne will, and noȝt tak hede of my will [sic], þat will þi holynes and þi gude lifyn, and deme ay þat I do nothing no suffir nothing to be done to þe bot for þi gude; and if þou tak hede of þis maner þou sal noȝt be heuy, þou sall noȝt be wroth, bot rather haldyn to hym þat dos þe wrong. Þe third es if þou deme anygate þ my seruandis werke þe noȝt eftir þine awne dome bot eftir my dome.

115 Apparently referring to the cost of writing the _Mirror_. Perry, ‘Some sprytyall matter’, p. 100.
116 Referring to the support of maintenance work at York Minster.
‘Cleanness of Soul’, a translated extract from Catherine of Siena’s *Documento Spirituale*, copied from Catherine’s dictation by William Flete.\(^{118}\)

4. F. 131r–v. Þere ar twelf poynctes þe whilk Crist taght Bryde his spouse vndir þis forme. Thre thinges I comand þe to do, thre thinges I suffir þe to do, and thre thinges I counsell þe to do . . . þis I suffir þe for I am þi spouse, and þis I conseile þe fore I am þi frend.

*The Twelf Poyntes*, an extract from Book 2, Chapter 16 of the *Revelations* of St Bridget of Sweden.\(^{119}\)


*‘An abridged copy of the Latin Meditationes de Passione Christi with added prefatory material which introduces the hours of the Passion.’*\(^{120}\)

6. Ff. 136v–39r. I knaw me to God and to our Lady Saynt Marie and to all þe blyssed felaghship of heuen and to þe my gostly fadir, þat I haue lyfed vnwyttely and wrangwisly anentes God and my nawne saule, and ofte sitheȝ trespast in thoght, in will, and worde, and in dede, wherefore I cry God mercy . . . þat it may be to wurschip and louyng of my maker and saluacion to my saule. Ideo precor gloriosam virginem genitricon dei et omnes sanctos et sanctas dei et te pater orare pro me. Amen.

Unique form of confession dealing with basic tenets of the faith. Related to the form


\(^{119}\) Ed. from this manuscript in Domenico Pezzini, *‘The twelf poynctes: Versioni di un trattato Brigidino (Rev. II,16) nel quattrocento inglese’*, *Acuvm*, 62 (1988), 286–301 (p. 299).  

of confession in York, York Minster Archive MS Add. 2, the York Bolton Hours.  

7. Ff. 139r–40r. Beatus vir qui suffert temptacionem quoniam cum probatus fuerit accipiet coronam vite quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se. Blyssed and cely es þe man þat hafeȝ in fayndyng gude sufferaunce, for when he es proued, he shall be crowned with þe crowne of lyfe þat God haueȝ graunt to þo þat hym loues . . . [ends imperfectly] Ego quos arguo castigo: þat es þo þat I loue I vpbrade and chastis; ne betis he nonne bot wham he lufeȝ and haldis for his, no more þan þou wold a fremed child, if all he mysdid.

Unique text on the purpose and rewards of suffering.  

8. F. 140r. [Full text] Vt Iuda erat. Tell þi syns wyth þi mouthe, and be sore also, and be noȝt in wanhope, for witbowryn þat Saynt Petir thryse ouer lord forsuke, bot we fynd noȝt wrytin in no stede þat he þeroof was schryuen; bot neuerþeles he tok so mekyll sorow his syns war forgfyfyn wele. Eght thynges þe buse do or þi syns ar noȝt forgfyfyn: say what þi syns ar and wha was þi fere, why and when and whare þou it dyd, how ofte and of whilk maner.

Unique text on contrition and confession.  

9. Ff. 140v–44r. Willelmus Bastard. Þis myghty William duke of Northmandy / þat by iuste tytill and also by chyualery . . . Now lord send hym siche gouernaunce / Long to reioyse and reigne in his ryght.


10. F. 144r. [Full text] Þe tytell of Fraunse. Phelyp þe kyng of Fraunse hade issew iij sons,

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122 Jolliffe, J.1.
123 Jolliffe, E.18.

53
which sonnes died without issew. And þe hede a daughter hight Isabell wyck was maryed to Kyng Edward of Carnervan, by whome sho hade issew Kyng Edward of Wyndesore. And after deth of þise iij sonnes, Phelyp þe sonne of Charlis of Valois, brother to þe forsayd Kyng Phelyp, was wrongfully i-made kyng and dishereite þe sayd Edward rightful eyre of Ingland and Fraunce.

Short genealogical text, added to the end of the previous item.


Latin verses on aspects of monastic life.125


Latin devotional text, in three parts.

13. F. 147v. O uero [?] quidam existens in caritate fecit plura bona vt jeuния et elimôsyna deinde cecidit in mortale peccatum et sic illa bona opera extinguuntur . . . Illa reuuiiscunt que mortificata fuerunt / Vivere non possess que mortua nata fuerunt.

Short Latin text on sin and penance.

A bifolium from a twelfth-century gradual is bound at the front of the manuscript. Two letters

125 These verses were written over the doors of the cells in the London Charterhouse. They probably originated in the Carthusian order. See Michael G. Sargent, 'The Latin Verses over the Cell Doors of London Charterhouse', in Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages, ed. by Julian Luxford (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 179–97, for discussion and an edition from BL, Sloane MS 2515.
of confraternity are bound at the end of the manuscript, ff. 148–50: see below.

History and Audience:

The scribe identifies himself in a colophon at the end of the Mirror (f. 121v): ‘quod John Morton’. Two Latin documents are bound after the last quire of the manuscript: first (ff. 148–49) a letter granting confraternity to John Morton and his wife Juliana, from William, prior provincial of the Augustinian friars, dated York, 1438; second (f. 150) part of a similar letter of confraternity to an Agnes Wyndhyll, her son John, and Robert, from William, prior of the house of Carmelite friars in Scarborough, dated 9 November 1396.

It would seem that the John Morton who wrote the manuscript is the same layman mentioned in the letter of confraternity, or at least a relative. The scribe was a member of the Morton family of York, prominent in administrative and ecclesiastical circles, and connected through a bequest of books to the household of Joan Beaufort, mother of Cecily Neville. Either a John Morton who was mayor of York (d. 1434) or his son, also named John, may have been the scribe; this family came from a town near LALME’s dialectal reference point for this manuscript.

It is possible, as Doyle suggests, that Morton copied the manuscript as a benefaction for the use of the Augustinian friars. However, it seems more likely that he copied it for his own personal use. This is suggested by the utilitarian appearance of the book, with its use of paper and its informal script, as well as the idiosyncratic mix of English and Latin religious and historical texts (reminiscent of the Lincoln Thornton Manuscript, Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91, a miscellany compiled by another Yorkshire layman in the same period). The contents appear to have been added in gradually over time: from item 7 onwards, in particular, filling up the last quire, the texts vary in the colour of ink, decoration, and size and neatness of writing. As Perry observes, the selection of devotional texts in the section ending at item 8 presents a coherent development of the themes of penitence and the profits of suffering, showing arrangement by a careful and widely read compiler. It bears witness to a sophisticated practice

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126 Perry, ‘Some sprytuall matter’, p. 97.
127 Ibid., p. 99.
of lay piety, drawing on the guidance of, and transmission of texts from, the professional religious.\textsuperscript{129} It is possible that the contents of the manuscript were sourced from the Augustinian friars. Alternatively, Sargent suggests the \textit{Mirror} and other texts may have been supplied by Mount Grace charterhouse, since the Latin verses (item 11) suggest a Carthusian connection.\textsuperscript{130} There may also have been a connection to Syon and Sheen via the household of Cecily Neville; the copy of the \textit{Mirror} is textually related to a copy belonging to Syon Abbey.\textsuperscript{131}

6.2 London, British Library, MS Harley 2409 (H1)\textsuperscript{132}

Date:

The style of pen decoration and script suggest a date of around the second quarter of the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{133}

Description:

Parchment. Ff. iv + 1 + 79 + iv. Size of page: 206 x 142 mm. Folios numbered 1–79 by a modern hand. The opening medieval flyleaf is not included in this numbering but is marked with the number ‘1*’. Secundo folio: \textit{S: How be encres of vertuis}. Single column, 23 lines per page. Size of written area: 140 x 90 mm (145 x 90 mm for the last item). Framed and ruled with lead. Pricking visible on outer edges. Rebound by the British Museum in 1967.

The initials to the first three items are illuminated with flat gold leaf and decorated with purple pen-flourishing. The initials to the last item and to each of the lettered sub-sections within \textit{Contemplations} are painted in blue, with red pen-flourishing. Rubrication is used throughout for titles at the beginning of the items and sub-sections, for paragraph marks, to highlight majuscules, and to join the rhyming couplets in the last item. In ME1a, quotations

\textsuperscript{129} Perry, ‘Some spryruall matter’, pp. 104–5.
\textsuperscript{130} Sargent, ‘The Latin Verses over the Cell Doors of London Charterhouse’, p. 189.
from authorities (in Latin or English) are usually underlined in red. *Contemplations* begins with an integral index of contents, and has running headings throughout giving the letter (A–Z + AB) of the section below.

Hand: a professional Anglicana formata, verging on Textura.

Collation:

1–9⁸, 10⁸ (wants 5, 6). Catchwords by the scribe. Signatures in two hands: one, in lead like the ruling, reads 'a 1', 'a 2'; 'b 1', 'b 2', etc.; the other, in ink (darker than the ink used by the scribe), adds 'i', 'ii', etc., in Roman numerals. The lead seems to have been written first.

Scribe and Dialect:

One scribe only. Each of the four texts is in a different dialect, showing that the scribe reproduced the spelling of the exemplars. The dialects have been localised by LALME as follows:

Item 1: LP 6190, grid 549/234, Essex
Item 2, ME1a: LP 213, grid 488/337, Lincolnshire
Item 3: LP 278, grid 482/361, Nottinghamshire
Item 4: LP 607, West Riding of Yorkshire

Annotation:

Ownership inscription in a fifteenth-century hand on f. 78v: ‘Be yt remembryd þat dame Mald Wade priorys of Swyne has gyven þis boke to dame Ioan Hyltoft in Noncotom’. A similar (but not identical) hand has written above: ‘Iorge Hiltoft duelles in Bedwyn’, ‘Sir Symon Hyltoft duellis in dorsetschyre in a toune called spectysbury. And þe neste marked toune fro himi is blandför Blandford’. At the foot of the same folio is an inscription in Textura: ‘Elyzabet Loketon’. Other contemporay marks are ‘Iste liber’ written on fol. 77v and ‘Haton’, ‘Colman’, ‘M. Bygod’, ‘ȝoltor’ on fol. 79r.

Contents:

1. Ff. 1r–51v. This schort pistil þat foliwith is diuidid in sundri matieres . . . Which be þe techyng of almiȝti god haue write to þe þes fewe wordis in help of þi soule. Here endes þis
tretice.

*Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God.*


ME1a.

3. Ff. 70r–75r. Here folowes how þe holy mayden Kateryne of Seen first began to sette hyr hert fully to godwarde. In þe yere of oure lorde Crist a thousand thre hundreth foure score and sex, þe viii day of Ianuer, þe holy mayden Kateryne of Seen told til a special familiere, spekand of hir self as it had bene of anoþer persone . . . When þis was sayde, þat ioyful visyon vnapered. And þe ryng abode still on hir fynger. Deo gracias. Here endes þe forsayde visions of Saine Kateryne Seen.

‘Cleanness of Soul’, a translated extract from the *Documento Spirituale* written by Flete at the dictation of St Catherine of Siena, followed by three extracts from the *Legenda Major* of Raymond of Capua.

4. Ff. 75v–77v. Here ere neghen poyntes of gret vertu / Þat oure lorde talde swet Ihesu . . . Þat is erþely þinge mare þan me / Þat become man and dyde for þe. Amen.

Verses on the nine points of virtue.

History and Audience:

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This manuscript is of a high standard of production, with gold leaf illumination and a professional formata script. As the inscription on f. 78v informs us, it was owned by Maude Wade, prioress of Swine in East Yorkshire until her resignation in 1482. Maude then donated the book to Joan Hiltoft of Nun Coton in nearby Lincolnshire. Swine and Nun Coton were both Cistercian houses. The style of decoration of the manuscript suggests it was made earlier in the fifteenth century, so Maude was possibly not its first owner.

6.3 **Olim Foyle MS**, owned by William Foyle of Beeleigh Abbey, Essex; now privately owned (sold at Christie’s 11 July 2000) (F)138

Date:

`c. 1410–1419. Dating based on ownership by Sibyl de Felton, abbess of Barking Abbey from 1394 until her death in 1419, and inclusion of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror*, which was probably written shortly before it was approved for circulation by Archbishop Arundel in 1410.`

Description:

Parchment. Ff. 1 + 177. The manuscript is unfoliated, except for the first four leaves. Size of page: 242 x 170 mm;139 the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: *non penitendi*. Single column, 30–32 lines per page. Size of written area: 178 x 120 mm. Frames and lines ruled in ink, except in Scribe C’s stint in the *Mirror*. Some pricking visible on outer edges. Binding: contemporary white leather over boards.

Initials drawn in alternating red and blue ink, two to three lines high, without any flourishing, are used at the beginnings and heads of chapters of the *Mirror* and *De remedis*. Scribes C’s stint in the *Mirror* has one-line initials. The remaining texts (Scribe E) have one-

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139 Dimensions are taken from a manuscript description on the microfilm.
to two-line initials in ink.

Scribes A, B, and D write in Anglicana formata hands, C in Anglicana media, and E in a small Anglicana formata.

Collation:

1–2² [ff. 1–4], 3–22⁸[ff. 5–164], 23₁₂ + 1 [ff. 165–77].

Signatures in roman numerals in the first half of every quire, starting with quire 3.

The signature numbers are continuous through the manuscript, so ff. 5–8 (quire 3) are marked i–iv, ff. 13–16 (quire 4) are marked v–viii, etc. The numbering starts again from i on f. 125 (quire 18), and then again on f. 149 (quire 21). The signatures are cropped on ff. 79–80, 101–04, 118–20, 125–28, 135–36, 141–42, and 149–50. After this, no signatures remain in the rest of the book except f. 151, marked iii.

Catchwords by the scribes, some in decorative scrolls.

Scribe and Dialect:

Four scribal hands (scribes A–D) worked together to produce the text of the *Mirror*, and scribe D also copied the whole of ME1b. As Perry notes, scribes A, C, and D worked together closely, taking over from each other’s stints in the middle of lines. Scribe A seems to have been organising the others. B seems to have worked independently, since he copies the ‘Attende Lector’ passage at the beginning of the Mirror, despite the fact that A has just copied it with the table of contents, and is working from a different copy-text.¹⁴¹

The dialect of Scribe A has been localised by LALME to Essex (LP 6250). My analysis of Scribe D using LALME’s fit-technique has also localised this hand to Essex, or possibly London, Hertfordshire, or Middlesex. It should be noted that, as Simon Horobin and others have pointed out, LALME commonly maps dialects to Essex and other adjacent regions when the manuscripts in fact were produced in London.¹⁴² Hands A to D, furthermore, closely

¹⁴⁰ Collation derives from the manuscript description on the microform.
¹⁴¹ Perry, ‘Formerly, Beeleigh Abbey MS, Owned by William Foyle (now Privately Owned)’.
¹⁴² This is because LALME’s dialectal mapping could not adequately take into account the variety and rate of change of the dialects of late medieval London. See Simon Horobin, ‘Mapping the Words’, in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2011), pp. 59–78 (pp. 75–77).
resemble the hands of professional scribes associated with the London Guildhall in the early fifteenth century. These scribes were clerks who, in addition to their work as civil servants, produced vernacular literary manuscripts as bespoke commissions. Although the hands in F cannot as yet be identified, it is clear that this manuscript was produced in a similar professional London milieu.

Another contemporary hand (scribe E) wrote items 1–3 and 7–9 on blank sheets at the opening bifolium and end of the last quire and on an additional added page at the end. One or more pages are missing from the beginning of the first item. This scribe also copied a poem (item 4) in a space after the end of the table of contents to the Mirror, immediately beneath Sibyl’s ownership inscription. This tells us that these items must have been copied after the book was in Sibyl’s possession. Underneath item 1 the scribe writes the name, prominently, ‘P Hynewyk’.

Annotation:
On f. 4v, between the table of contents to the Mirror and the poem Balsamus et munda, is an ownership inscription in Textura: ‘Iste liber constat domine Sibille de Felton abbatisse de Berkyng’. On f. 170v: ‘Mystris Gowldewell / me possidet Teste Streete / disce mori quia morientur omnes dies tamen est incerta’. On f. 177r: ‘Mistris Agnes Gowldewell me possidet / ex dono Margarete Scroope quondam / moonache monasterij de Berckynge’. On f. 4v, immediately underneath Balsamus et munda, there is an English translation of the poem written in a sixteenth-century hand.

Contents:
1. F. 1r–v. [begins imperfectly] and when I se this I haue a gret ioye to se thus myn euencristen encrase. Lo this is a grace and a yifte of the holigost. Whan a man ys wo of his enemȝ disese and is also glad of his welfare, this is charite. But this grace of the


144 It is possible that this poem, and item 3, were copied at a different time than the other texts by Scribe E, since the hand looks slightly different: single-compartment forms of g and a are used instead of double-compartment.
62

holigost is ofte tyme put awey by another synne . . . for if he synne en ony of the other spices byefore seyd for a tyme, yit he may repente, and so thouh it be a synne ayens the holigost yit it may be foryeuen so that he falle nat en this laste poynte; that is to seyn, that he dye nat out of this world and chese to dye fynaly withouten repentaunce. 

Unique devotional text, apparently the final section of an exposition on sins. In two parts, the first concerning envy and the second concerning repentance and wilful unrepentance, the sin against the holy ghost.

2. Ff. 1v–2v. De peccato in spiritum sanctum. Nota quod peccatum in spiritum sanctum dicitur illud peccatum quod committitur ex deliberata malicia . . . quia nullum potest esse tam grande peccatum quin per penitentiam fiat remissibile prete finalem impenitentiam.

Latin treatise on sins.

Followed by a formula of text from Matthew 5:22:

[Qui irascitur fratri suo / Qui irascitur et dixerit racha / Qui irascitur et dixerit fatue] sine causa [reus erit iudicio / reus erit concilio / reus erit gehenne ignis].

3. F. 2v. Narratur in Daniele quod erat quidam rex Babilonis nomine Baltasar et erat superbus; fecit autem magnum conviuum . . . peccans potest timere ista <word obscured> Mane techel phares. Vnde versus. [Followed by couplet:] Mane techel phares, vigili si mente notares / Rapta restaurares, aut meliora dares.

Latin commentary on Daniel 5 on the theme of repentance and judgement.

4. F. 4v. [Added at the end of the table of contents to the Mirror, below, and before the main text of the Mirror begins.] Versus de virtutibus agnus dei missi per dominum Vrbanum Imperatori. Balsamus et munda, cera cum crismatis vnda . . . Siquis honorat eum, recinebit ab hoste triumphum.

_Balsamus et munda_, Latin poem by Pope Urban V on the Agnus Dei and its powers to
ward off evil.\textsuperscript{145}


\textit{The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ}: [1.] table of contents; [2.] main text.\textsuperscript{146}

6. Ff. 168r–75v. Remedia contra spirituales temptaciones. For as moche as þe apostle seiþ þat men may not plese God wipouthe stedfast feiþ, þerfore it is to wite þat oure olde enemy . . . þat is euere lastynge in trinite. Amen.

ME1b.


Latin commentary on Matthew 5. 22.


Latin commentary on the Pater Noster.


Latin treatise on the vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty. Followed by two formulae, the first relating to Item 8, and the second to Item 9:

Panis [Sacramentalis / Doctrinalis / Corporalis]

{Obediencia / Castitas / Paupertas} dat Deo {Animam siue spiritum / Carnem siue corpus / Er bona mundi siue fortune} . . . <text obscured at end>

History and Audience:

This manuscript was owned by Sibyl de Felton, abbess of Barking Abbey from 1394 to her death in 1419. It afterwards remained in the possession of the house and was eventually given from a nun, Margaret Scrope, to a laywoman, Agnes Goldwell. Scrope was a member of Barking at the time of the Dissolution, and afterwards a member of the household of her sister, Lady Elizabeth Peche. Goldwell was a gentlewoman in the same household.147

Barking Abbey was an important house notable for its literary culture.148 As in Benedictine monasteries, the nuns were assigned a book to read each year from what must have been a large library, and a considerable sixteen surviving books can be traced to Barking.149 In addition to F there are three other surviving manuscripts with Sibyl de Felton’s ownership inscription: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 923 (The Cleansing of Man’s Soul), which records the year 1401; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1038 (Vies des saints


64
pères), which Sibyl purchased from the executors of Philippa Coucy (d. 1411); and Oxford, University College, MS 169, an ordinal in Latin, French and English which Sibyl commissioned. F is one of the earliest surviving copies of the Mirror. Doyle remarks that Sibyl and her community thus seem to have been ‘in the fore-front of the public for such English theology, and readily supplied’.¹⁵⁰

The ownership inscription ‘Iste liber constat domine Sibille de Felton’ indicates that F was Sibyl’s personal possession, not the general property of the abbey. Since it was usual at this time for professional scribes to produce manuscripts for particular clients, not for general sale, F would have been copied at the special request of Sibyl herself or a friend or spiritual director.¹⁵¹ A number of short didactic texts, mainly in Latin, were copied at blank spaces at the beginning and end of the manuscript after the book was in Sibyl’s possession, and signed ‘P Hynewyk’. This scribe can be identified with a Peter Hynewyk who was rector of Upminster, near Barking Abbey, between 1405 and 1411 at least.¹⁵²

6.4 London, British Library, MS Harley 6615 (H2, containing both H2a [ME1b] and H2b [ME2])¹⁵³

Date:

The editors of The Chastising of God’s Children date H2 to the second half of the fifteenth century. The editor of the Revelations of St Bridget extract suggests the mid-fifteenth century.

¹⁵³ Described briefly in Domenico Pezzini, ‘How resoun schal be keper of þe soule: Una traduzione del quattrocento inglese dalle Rivelazioni (VII,5) di S. Brigida di Svezia’, Aevum, 60 (1986), 253–81 (p. 265), and in A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, 4 vols (London), iii, p. 380. The contents of the manuscript are listed and the text of Chastising analysed in The Chastising of God’s Children and the Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God, ed. by Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), pp. 4–5; 29. Note that what Bazire and Colledge list as two separate prose pieces beginning ‘O þou heyste . . . ’ and ‘O þou man ytempyrd . . . ’ are the concluding sections of DR, with the end of DR being followed by an extract from the Scale of Perfection, as shown below.
century based on orthographical features.  

Description:

Parchment. Ff. ii + 2 + 152 + ii. Folios numbered 1–152 in modern pencil. Underneath, the folios are numbered 150–301 in ink in a post-medieval hand. Size of page: 153 x 105 mm; the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: to god without any mene. Single column, 21–27 lines per page. Size of written area: 118 x 75 mm (varies). Framed and ruled with lead. Pricking sometimes visible for the top two and bottom two horizontal lines of the frame. Modern binding.

Initials in blue ink decorated with red pen-flourishing, 2 lines tall (longer for ‘I’) are used for items 1–6, 8, and 9, for each chapter within Chastising, once within item 6, and for two sections within MEIb: ‘O þou heyeste’ (f. 121r) and ‘O þou man ytemptyd’ (f. 122r). Rubrication is used throughout for titles and to underline some Latin passages. Paragraph marks are in alternating blue and red ink. Items 5–9 do not have titles, but blank spaces appear within item 5 and preceding items 8 and 9, suggesting titles were intended to be added.

Written in a Secretary formata hand.

Collation:

1–198. Catchwords by the scribe, lost on some quires due to cropping. Two cropped signatures are visible on ff. 65r and 66r (quire 9), appearing to read ‘9 i’ and ‘9’.

Scribe and Dialect:

One scribe only.

Bazire localises the dialect of H2 to the South-East Midlands, noting, however, that it ‘shows influence, even though slight, of practically all other dialects’. Pezzini similarly concludes that the dialect belongs to the South-East Midlands but that it shows traces of the

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154 Bazire and Colledge, p. 4; Pezzini, ‘How resoun schal be keeper of þe soule’, p. 271.
155 This would suggest that the MS was, at some point in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, bound with other material, although there is no record of this. The MS does retain an original medieval flyleaf at the beginning which has not been foliated.
dialect of Norfolk. Benskin suggests an area of origin between Cambridge and Newmarket, and attributes occasional eastern forms, including 'suyche' for the more regular 'swiche', 'xal' for 'schal', and 'qwiche' for 'whiche', to a dependence on an exemplar 'written evidently in a dialect of Norfolk or North Suffolk'.

The writing is characterised by inconsistency in spelling and by frequent errors. Although þ and y are distinguished in form, y is sometimes used in the place of þ. Bazire and Colledge describe the scribe as 'careless and inattentive', and raise the possibility that since the errors in Chastising are occasionally nonsensical, the scribe may not have been a native English speaker, although he wrote in an English hand. Bazire, in 'The Dialects of the Manuscripts of The Chastising of God’s Children', adds:

H presents numerous orthographical peculiarities: the ME development of OE *ht* is spelled in a variety of ways: *th*, *tht*, *t*, *t* and, rarely, *ght*, *wt*, *ht*; ME *t* appears as *t*, *3t*, *th* . . . OE *hw* usually appears as *wh*, but in several instances *w* is found and, in even more, *qw*. Perhaps the variant spellings are merely scribal attempts to render the same sound, but these and other peculiarities of spelling (*chacche* [catch], *sbyte* [sight], *she* [see], etc, and the indiscriminate omission or addition of initial *h*) may lend support to the suggestion . . . that the scribe was not an Englishman, was unfamiliar with the language, and so unable to distinguish properly between the sounds.

My examination has shown that H2’s copies of ME1b and ME2 both also contain inconsistent spellings and frequent errors in the same manner.

Annotation:

All of the texts in the manuscript are marked in red chalk, about one to five small marks per page, placed unevenly along the margin and occasionally within the text. In ME1b and ME2, the marks within the text sometimes point out errors, words that span two lines, or apparent difficult words. Bazire and Colledge note that this may be evidence of Wynkyn de

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157 Pezzini, ‘How resoun schal be keper of þe soule’, p. 270.
159 Bazire and Colledge, p. 29.
160 Bazire, p. 73.
Worde consulting H2 as a source when preparing his printed text of the *Chastising* and ME1b (W1).\(^{161}\) If this was so, H2 was rejected, as it was not used as a source for either text.

Contents:


*The Chastising of God's Children.*\(^{162}\)

2. Ff. 100v–03v. Of withdrawyng of deuocyoun, how a man schal doon. Þif þou wilre contynuellly steyen vp to perfeccyoun and in þe weye of god whiche þou arte entryd, euere profyȝt more and more . . . be þe qwiche a man is maad Crystis felawe here in þis lyfe and in þe blysse of heuene wiþ outen eend. Amen.

Chapter 2 of Walter Hilton’s *Eight Chapters on Perfection*.\(^{163}\)

3. Ff. 104r–09v. How reson schal be kepere of þe soule to putte owte and to wiþstonde temptaciouns þat þey entre nat in to þe soule. Þis informacyoun owre lady ȝaf to Seynt Bryde, pryncesse of Swiche, as I rede in þe seuente boke of here reuelacyoun and in seuente chapitele. A kyng ful myghty and worchypeful ordeynyd and made an hows werein he putte is dowȝtyr . . . clepyng to God and askynge of grace. Thys grace vs grawnte þat wiþ hys blood vs boute, Crist Ihesu Goddys sone. Amen.

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\(^{161}\) Bazire and Colledge, p. 29.

\(^{162}\) Id. Bazire and Colledge.

4. Ff. 109v–23r. Remedys aȝens spiritual temptacyouns. For as moche as þe apostele seipt þat we may nat plese God wiþowte stedefast feyth . . . in hys ful ioye and blysse. Now God graunte yt more so bee þat euer ys lastynge in þe trinite. Amen.

ME1b.

5. Ff. 123r–26v. It behouyth a man or a woman for to suffer many temptacyouns, and þese temptacyouns fallyn often sithes to some men and women aftyr þat conforte ys wiþdrawyn vpon dyuers manerys be malice of þe enemy, as þus . . . but do as I haue seyde, and bettyr zif þe may, or be in gode wyl þerto. For wyl ys cowntyd for deede. And I hope be þe grace of Ihesu Cryst þe schal neuer be ouercome of þowre enmyem [sic] be no maner of temptacion.

Chapters 37–39 of Book I of Walter Hilton’s Scale of Perfection.165

6. Ff. 127r–40r. Attendite popule meus legem meam. As a grette clerke seip in hys bokys . . . conanlyche for to knowleche God swiche as he ys yt ys endeles lyyf and lastynge blysse: to whiche blysse he brynge vs, owre lorde God almyhty. Amen.

The Lay Folk’s Catechism.166


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164 Jollife D.10. Ed. from this MS in Pezzini, ‘How resoun schal be keper of þe soule’.
165 Ed. from another MS in Bestul.
A series of short Latin citations from authorities, dealing with the duties of a priest. Priests must instruct the laity in the teachings of the Church; the laity must not debate the faith; points in the administering of the sacraments of confession and baptism.

8. F. 141v–42v. De tribulacione electorum. Owre lorde Jhesus suffriþ men and women þat ben chosen of hym for to ben dyspicyd and haue grete tribulacyoun in þis worlde boþe in body and in sowle. For as holy wrytte wyttenessyth, he betith every chylde þat he receuyyth to hise grace. And so þy ys spedeful to vs to be betyn and to suffre tribulacyoun and dyssse in þise worlde for many causys . . . And no more schulde we, what tribulacyoun so euer come to vs, þis we suffre pacently and trostfully in þe helpe of owre lorde ihesu þat wil noȝt fayle vs at owre nede. Amen.

Unique text on the necessity of temptation.167

9. Ff. 142v–52r. For as myche as þe apostyl Seynt Powle seiþ, with owte feiþ no maþ may plese God, þerefore oure olde enemey þe feende . . . to worchepe of þat lorde. Qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Sit Deo laus, pax viuis, requies defunctis.

ME2.

History and Audience:

H2 is a carefully arranged religious miscellany dealing with the theme of tribulation and its profits or remedies. The contents range from basic pastoral instruction (The Lay Folk’s Catechism) to advice for contemplatives (Eight Chapters on Perfection). The Latin pastoral material indicates that the compilation was intended for a priest. A. I. Doyle describes H2 as ‘a contemplative (but sacerdotal) volume’ and considers that it was probably intended for the regular clergy.168

6.5 The prouffytable boke for mannes soule, and right comfortable to the body, and specially in

167 Jolliffe J.11. Not an extract from ME3, as Bazire and Colledge suggest (p. 4).
adversite and trybulacyon, whiche boke is called *The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern*. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, c. 1492–1493, STC 5065 (W1)

Description:

A detailed description is available in *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Library.*

Folio. Composition: [*]² A–G⁶ H⁴ [$3 signed, except the first two leaves]. 48 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1–96]. Size of leaves: 261 x 189 mm. Printed in double columns of 35 to 37 lines, measuring 217 x 144 mm. Type: title and text, Caxton’s type 3; first two lines, Caxton’s type 2. Punctuation is by punctus, virgula suspensiva, colon, and a double hyphen for split words. Woodcut initials.

The title page, the earliest to be printed in Westminster, contains the title, *The prouffytable boke . . . called The Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern*, with no other information. Dated on the basis of the paper: ‘paper evidence indicates that the Chastising was published before the *Golden legend*, dated 20 May 1493, and its paper stocks include Caxton stock 277, suggesting a transitional phase’. ME1b is presented as a distinct work in that it appears after the explicit of Chastising, but it does not have any title or explicit itself. In the table of contents preceding Chastising, it is described as ‘other dyuerse good maters fowolyng in this sayd boke’ (f. [*]2v).

Contents:


*The Chastising of God’s Children.*
2. [G4r–H4r] Forasmoche as thappostle sayth þat we may not pleyse God wythout good fayth and byleue . . . Now God graunt that it myghte so be that euer is lastyng in trinyte.

ME1b.

History:

Likely the earliest book to be printed by Wynkyn de Worde after Caxton’s death. Several copies are bound with the Treatise of Love (STC 24234), an adaptation of Ancrene Wisse, and the two may have been produced together. 172

Mary Erler has examined this book as part of her study of women’s ownership of religious incunabula and noted that three copies record a gift from one nun to another within the same community: copy 5 below was exchanged between Edith Morepath (d. 1536) and Katherine Palmer, abbess (d. 1576), at Syon; copy 17 between Mary Nevell (d. 1557 or 1558) and Awdry Dely (d. 1579) at Syon; and the now lost copy 19 between Elizabeth Wyllowby and Catherine Symond (early sixteenth century) at the Augustinian priory at Campsey, Suffolk. Two other female sixteenth-century readers are also recorded: Dorothy Abington, possibly the sister of Thomas Habington of Hindlip, Worcs., in copy 5, and Elizabeth Alford in copy 12. 173 Other records of ownership include the signatures of R. Johnson, 1510, in copy 3; Thomas Leventhorp (fl. 1582) in copy 6; and ‘H. D.’ in copy 4. Copies 8 to 17, which I have not examined, may contain further records of readership.

19 copies: 174

Copy 1. London, British Library, shelfmark C.10.b.21

Belonged to John Ratcliffe before 1776, when it was sold to King George III.

Complete.

172 Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century, p. 182.
174 I have examined the following copies of W1 in person: 1 (BL), 2 (CUL), 3 (CUL), 4 (Pepys), 5 (Sidney Sussex), 6 (Glasgow), 7 (Leeds). This list follows that currently provided in the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue <http://istc.bl.uk> [accessed 26 August 2014], ISTC ic00430000, and identified in Erler, Women, Reading, and Piety, p. 191 n. 29.
Copy 2. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Inc.3.J.1.2 [3562]

Imperfect: lacks folios [*]1–[*]2. Marginalia in a sixteenth- to seventeenth-century hand marking points in the Chastising. Formerly bound with the Treatise of Love. With bookplate of the Royal Library (collection of Bishop John Moore, given to Cambridge University Library in 1715 by King George I).

Copy 3. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Inc.3.J.1.2 [3563]

Inscribed on f. H4r: ‘R. Johnson prec viijd 1510’. This book was one of five purchased in 1510 by R. Johnson and subsequently bound together, though they are now rebound separately. The other four books in the volume were all secular: Eneydos, a romance adapted from the Aeneid (Caxton, 1490); Chaucer’s Book of Fame (Caxton, 1483); Christine de Pisan’s Book of Fayttes of Armes & of Chyualrye (Caxton, 1489); and Godefrey of Boloyn, a history of the Crusades (Caxton, 1481). With bookplate of the Royal Library (collection of Bishop John Moore, given to Cambridge University Library in 1715 by King George I). Complete.

Copy 4. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library, shelfmark PL 2051(1)

Marginalia throughout (partly cropped) in a sixteenth-century hand. Includes notes reading ‘John’ (H1r) and a drawing of a jester and another figure (G1v). There are chapter numbers added throughout in a different ink and Textura script, concluding with ‘capitulum xxx’ and ‘capitulum xxxi’ in ME1b, and with a note at the end: ‘here endeth the one / and thyrtey salmeys / H D’. A note in a seventeenth-century hand reads ‘memorandum that I George Bassendyne’ (E3v). Bound with the Treatise of Love. Complete.

Copy 5. Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, shelfmark Bb.2.14


Copy 6. Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, shelfmark Hunter Bv.2.19

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Owned by Thomas Leventhorp (fl. 1582): inscription on [*]1r: ‘Tho. Leventhorp / There ys in this olde Book many a good sayinge and Lesson: as well as some superstycyouse and popys‘, and marginalia by Leventhorp throughout. Complete.

Copy 7. Leeds, Brotherton Library, shelfmark BC Safe CHA

Several lines in the final two leaves are supplied in fascimile where the paper has been mended. Belonged to John Ratcliffe in 1776. Acquired by Sir Edward Allen Brotherton from the Huth library in the 1920s. Complete.

Copy 8. Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library


Copy 9. London, Lambeth Palace Library, shelfmark L40.4.80

Imperfect: lacks ff. D2 and D5, which are replaced by manuscript facsimiles. Contains annotation as follows: ‘15–16th centuries, anonymous, running headline to proem & tabula; 15c foliation ([36–38] 39–80 [81–83]) showing formerly part of Sammelband. D2 and D5 supplied in mss in early 16th-century hand, or later but imitating type style.’ Formerly in the library of Robert Coke (1586–1653) and subsequently Sion College Library.

Copy 10. Manchester, John Rylands Library, shelfmark 15004

Formerly owned by John Ker, the Duke of Roxburghe (1740–1804). Complete.

Copy 11. Oxford, Bodleian Library. shelfmark Inc.e.E1.2 (fragment)

Ff. F2–F3 only, cropped. Removed from the binding of Desiderius Erasmus, Ecclesiastes, Antwerp, 1539.

Copy 12. Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark STC 5065

Signature on f. [*]1r in sixteenth-century Italic: ‘Elizabeth Alford‘ and ‘Elisabeth‘. Leaf

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[*]2 misbound after A6.

Copy 13. California, Henry E. Huntington Library, shelfmark 82739

Formerly belonged to Chatsworth library. Complete.

Copy 14. Bloomington, Indiana University, The Lilly Library, shelfmark BV4909.C491

Bound with the *Treatise of Love*.

Copy 15. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, shelfmark ChL 1799

Formerly in the library of Frederick Perkins (1780–1860). Complete.

Copy 16. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, shelfmark ChL 1799a

Bound with the *Treatise of Love*. Complete.


'Given at an early date by Mary Newell to Awdry Dely.'177 Bound with the *Treatise of Love*. Complete.

Copy 18. Copenhagen, Copenhagen Royal Library (lost)

Copy 19. Harleian Library (lost)

Recorded in the *Catalogus bibliothecae Harleianae* (no. 1560), which notes that the book was bound with the *Treatise of Love*, and records the following: 'On the last Leaf, there is a Memorandum, written by a Nun of Campessey, named Elyabeth Wyllowby, That she gives this Book to Dame Catelyne Symonde, under the Condition, That, in no wise, she sell it, or give it from the House of Campessey: But she shall give it to one of her Sisters.'178

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177 de Ricci, p. 111.
Copies 3, 5, 6, and 7 of ME1b were collated in full for this edition. Copies 1, 2, and 4 were collated in part. The only variants noticed are the following in copy 5 (Sidney Sussex College): f. G4v, column 1, line 20 reads ‘that he it’ for ‘that he is’ and ‘forsaken’ for ‘forsake’.

6.6 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Hh.1.11 (C, containing both Ca [ME2] and Cb [ME3])

This manuscript has been described in detail by V. M. O’Mara, Sarah McNamer, and Colledge and Chadwick.\(^{179}\) The following account will be based upon these descriptions as well as upon my own examination of the manuscript.

CUL, MS Hh.1.11 is a composite devotional anthology, copied by about eight main scribes, who contributed whole quires, and a number of additional scribes who added short texts at the ends of quires. O’Mara has identified the contents and scribes as follows:\(^{180}\)

Quire 1: ff. 1r–8v: [Hand 1] Two extracts from Love’s Mirror: ch. 3, on the Incarnation and Annunciation, and chs. 6–7, on the Nativity and Circumcision.


Quire 7: ff. 45r–53v: [Hand 3] Extract from the Seven Points of True Love (Suso’s Orologium sapientiae), on the Sacrament; [Hand E] f. 54r–v: Latin prayer on the seven words from the cross.

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Quire 8: ff. 55r–60r: [Hand 3] Ch. 38 of the Prickynge of Love (Stimulus amoris), a meditation to the Virgin; [Hand F] f. 60v: Latin prayer to the name of Jesus.


Quires 14–15: ff. 100r–16r: [Hand 5]: ME3 (ff. 116v–17v: blank, with ruling).


Quire 18: ff. 128r–32v: [Hand 8, or possibly 1] A sermon on the Assumption.


F. 136r: [Hand H] A few Latin lines on Christ’s resurrection; [Hand I] An indulgence, part of the Vision of St John on the Sorrows of the Virgin.

The manuscript originated in East Anglia, according to the dialects of the scribes: O’Mara’s hands 3–5 and 7–8 have been localised by LALME to Norfolk, and hand 1 to Essex. The dating is uncertain, but the style of the hands points to around the middle of the fifteenth century.181 The contents have a devotional and Marian focus. The audience would seem to be a member or members of a women’s house, as the sermon on the Assumption is addressed to nuns and includes discussion of their conduct and dress. Which house this was is unclear. The dialects suggest a location most likely in Norfolk. As Colledge and Chadwick note, the sermon refers to the Virgin as ‘vowe & patronesse’, so was at least originally addressed to a house dedicated to the Virgin.182 Doyle suggests the house of Franciscan Minoresses at Bruisyard in Suffolk, which was dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin, following a marginal note that may read ‘brisuyard’.183 This word is very unclear, but, compared to marginalia in a similar hand and ink colour on ff. 22v–23r, seems rather to read ‘wr---h-y’ or ‘wr---h-yd’; O’Mara was unable to determine a better reading than possibly ‘wrisuhay’ under ultra-violet light. However, McNamer adds in favour of the Bruisyard suggestion that most versions of the

182 Colledge and Chadwick, p. 208.
Revelations of Saint Elizabeth occur in manuscripts of Franciscan origin. O’Mara suggests Carrow in Norwich as a possible candidate, as one of the hands is specifically localised near to Norwich, the description of dress in the sermon fits the Benedictine habit slightly more than others, and Carrow likely had an appreciable collection of books. It could be argued against this that the anthology would have been more useful for a small house that did not already have a large library.

The texts are generally presented carefully, but with little decoration besides some ornamentation of initials in red and blue. Hands 3–7 are Anglicana, and appear practised, but not commercial; most of the others are Textura. It appears that this manuscript was put together from individual sections or booklets that were not all intended to be a part of the same volume. The quires show many features typical of booklets: different scribes, different sets of signatures, blank pages at the ends, different layouts, a mix of paper and parchment, and some wear to the outer leaves. It is certain that the sections were produced independently, but unclear to what extent the collection might have been planned.

Independent production and perhaps lack of identification by a later compiler may account for the two different versions of De remediis, although there is no reason the texts could not have been identified as the same and nevertheless included, similar to the way both ME1b and ME2 were copied by the same scribe in MS Harley 6615. An awareness that the two are connected is in fact suggested by the similarity of the titles, both written by the original scribes, of ME2, ‘a souereyn counfort for a soule dishesyd’, and ME3, ‘a souereyn and a notable sentence to comforte a persone that is in temptacion’.

Several of the main hands, especially 3–7, resemble each other closely, showing that the scribes shared some association. Colledge and Chadwick argue from the appearance of haphazard community production that it is ‘virtually certain’ that the scribes were the nuns themselves. O’Mara considers this suggestion at length and concludes that there is no

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185 O’Mara, A Study, pp. 164–72 and n. 29.
188 Colledge and Chadwick, p. 217.
positive evidence to support it.\textsuperscript{189} She suggests rather that the manuscript was compiled for the house by a person such as a chaplain. Further evidence against the nuns as copyists is that Hand 3 has been identified in another East Anglian devotional compilation, Durham, University Library, MS Cosin v.iii.24.\textsuperscript{190} MS Cosin v.iii.24 appears to be a planned production, with Hand 3 correcting the work of the three other scribes. Two of the other scribes are named as ‘Robert Baile’ and ‘William’, and both have dialects localised to near Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, so presumably the scribe of Hand 3 was another male scribe writing in a similar milieu.\textsuperscript{191} It has been suggested that MS Cosin v.iii.24 may be the same copy of ‘Le doctrine of the herte’ that Norwich widow Margaret Purdans bequeathed to a nun at Bruisyard in 1481, because of the localisation to Suffolk, near Bruisyard.\textsuperscript{192} Hand 3 thus suggests another, though very tentative, connection to Bruisyard for CUL, MS Hh.1.11.

6.7 Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS 501 (Le)

Described in detail by Oliver Pickering and Ralph Hanna.\textsuperscript{193}

A vernacular religious miscellany copied c. 1456 in a dialect of south-west Lincolnshire.\textsuperscript{194} It contains the following: the Prick of Conscience, a religious poem concerned with contempt for the world and the Four Last Things; ‘Wimbledon’s Sermon’, concerning the Last Judgement; three didactic texts on the seven deadly sins, the ten commandments, and the works of mercy; a form of confession; ME2; a Marian miracle; the Points Best Pleasing to

\textsuperscript{191} Robert Baile could possibly be identified with either a Carmelite prior of Burnham Norton in Norfolk (d. 1503), or a London chronicler and scrivener (d. c. 1473), of the same name: Whitehead, Renevey, and Mouron, p. l.
\textsuperscript{192} This is suggested by Mary Erler in Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 76.
\textsuperscript{194} Pickering, p. 141. The date 1456 appears in a marginal note.
God (Novem virtutes); Chapter 15 of the Prickynge of Love (Stimulus amoris); the verse Invention of the Cross and Exaltation of the Cross; the Passion narratives the Complaint of Our Lady and the Gospel of Nicodemus; Chapter 11 of the Prickynge of Love; a verse Marian miracle; and the Purgatory poem the Gast of Gy.

Fiona Somerset has identified one of the items in the manuscript, ‘The Seven Works of Mercy and the Commandments’, as a piece of ‘lollard pastoralia’, and notes that the preceding ten commandments commentary also appears to have Lollard content.195 ‘The Seven Works of Mercy’ calls upon all Christians to preach and teach to help others to keep the commandments. Though identifiably the work of a Lollard writer, it is not highly polemical, and as Somerset notes, such writings commonly circulated within mainstream religious contexts.

ME2 is preceded by a long rubric which links it with the preceding form of confession and paraphrases ME2’s own teaching on confession:

O þou my chylde, y haue now wretyn to the how þou shalt confesse thyself of thy sennys. Wherfor, my brothyr, whiche hast be pensyf and hevy for thy sennys many a day, stondyng thyself in doute to be clene shreuyn or not, or to haue foryeuene of thy sennes, be now glad and here what y shal sey. Loke what houre thyself do for thy besynes to be clene shrevyn of all thy synnys comyng to thy mynde: that houre God forȝeuyth the thy trespas an ioyeth of the. Þerfor dowte the neuer of tho sennys aftyr þat þou hast be shreuyn of . . . Now y shal wryghte to þe how þou shal be war of ydyl thoghrys and of temptacions with othyr thinges as folwith here. Take hede.196

There is no other title or identifying information provided. Evidently the writer saw ME2, with its concern for the handling of sins, as a natural continuation from a manual of confession.

ME2 is one of several items in the manuscript that are addressed to a young ‘brothyr’. Pickering argues that these personal addresses were copied from an exemplar and incorporated


196 ff. 85v–86r. The rubric also quotes from the later item Gast of Gy on putting sins out of mind after confession.
into the scribe’s own more impersonal rubrics that are used throughout. Although the address may therefore not be original, it was at least judged appropriate to retain. Further proof that the scribe was writing for a male audience is the addition, or at least retention, in ME2 of the unique line ‘as thes temptacions byforseyde and also pollucions þat fallyth in mans slep’ (f. 86r). Pickering notes further addresses to a ‘frater’ and ‘fratres’ in the rubrics and marginal comments probably composed by the scribe, strongly suggesting the context of a religious community. The manuscript may therefore derive from ‘one of the communities in Stamford’ in Lincolnshire.

6.8 London, British Library, MS Additional 37049 (A)

Widely studied and described. A religious miscellany produced for a Carthusian charterhouse in the north of England around the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Its extensive contents include didactic material, including the Ten Commandments from the Speculum Christiani, the ABC of Aristotle, forms of confession and the articles of faith; devotional and didactic verses, including the Desert

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197 Pickering, pp. 150–56. The exemplar probably contained the form of confession, ME2, the following miracle, the Points Best Pleasing to God, Chapters 15 and 11 of the Prickynge of Love, and The Gast of Gy.

198 Pickering, p. 160.


200 For the dating and place of origin, see Gray, p. 100. The contents clearly show a Carthusian audience, but it is not known which particular charterhouse it was associated with. Mount Grace, Hull, Axholme, and Beaumount have all been suggested. Kathleen Scott dates the manuscript on the basis of costume to after c. 1460–70: see Kathleen L. Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, VI, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), II, p. 193.
of Religion; Mandeville’s Travels; meditations on the Passion and Christ’s wounds; miracle tales; and dialogues. Many illustrative and allegorical drawings are integrated with the texts, and there is a theme of death and the necessity of preparation for the Last Things. MS Add. 37049 is largely the work of one scribe, who was likely also the artist. Its informal appearance suggests it was intended for private use. The manuscript may have been intended for the use of the monks—it is partly concerned with the solitary life—but its didactic focus perhaps rather connects it with the instruction of the novices or lay brothers attached to a charterhouse.

The copy of ME2, on folios 91v to 93r, is abridged and incorporated within a larger piece titled ‘Agayne Despayre’, on folios 89v to 94r. ‘Agayne Despayre’ is a unique compilation that draws on several sources. Its contents have not yet been fully described. It opens in the form of a dialogue between a student and a teacher, accompanied by a drawing of the two figures. The teacher provides reassurance of God’s mercy against the temptation to despair that one’s sins will not be forgiven. On f. 91r there is a brief translated excerpt from the *Horologium sapientiae* of Henry Suso, in which Christ says that he is quick to forgive sinners ‘boght . . . with my precios blode’, and that the repentant are forgiven more quickly than a straw of flax is burnt up in a fire. Beside this is a drawing of a monk praying before a bleeding Christ on the cross. There is then a short excerpt from Pseudo–Hugh of St Victor’s *De pusillanimitate*, beginning: ‘Dowbyl is þe wyl in a man, as þe apostyl says’. ME2 then follows, ending on f. 93r. After ME2 is an account of the hermit St Cuthlake (i.e., Guthlac) who was tempted by despair and comforted by a vision of St Bartholomew. On f. 93v there is a paraphrase of two lines from ME2, leading into a short Marian miracle describing a sinful rich man who is tempted to despair on his deathbed, but, helped by his devotion to the Virgin, replies that God is merciful, which is echoed by a voice from heaven. There then follows an exhortation to the reader to trust to the mercy and help of God and Mary and an account of the purgative value of worldly afflictions, with an indication of the *Elucidarium* as a source. Finally, on f. 94r there is

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201 Brantley, p. 10.
205 Not on f. 94r, as stated in Jolliffe and Brantley, p. 324.
an apparently unique translation of an excerpt from *Stimulus amoris* concerning the fear of predestination.\(^\text{206}\)

6.9 Bristol, Bristol Public Library, MS 6 (Br)\(^\text{207}\)

**Date:**

1502 (inscriptions in manuscript).

**Description:**

Parchment. Ff. iii + 140 + iii. Foliated in modern pencil. Size of page: 230 x 160 mm; the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: *nobilissimus*. Single column, 29–30 lines per page. Size of written area: 170 x 110 mm. Framed and ruled in lead. Pricking visible on some outer edges. Modern binding; table of contents in an 18th-century hand pasted inside front cover.

Initials in blue ink with red pen-flourishing, 2–3 lines tall. Items 5, 6, 10, and section headings on the top lines of item 9, have decorated initials drawn by the scribe in ink, an extension of the elaborate script used for headings. Single-line initials drawn in blue ink are used for some chapter beginnings. Capitals are sometimes highlighted in pale yellow.

Rubrication is used for the title of item 11 and section headings of item 10.

Secretary formata script. A larger version of the same script, with Textura features and often with elaborate capitals and ascenders, is used for titles, incipits, and explicits.

**Collation:**

1–7\(^8\), 8\(^8\) (wants 3–6), 9–18\(^8\). Catchwords by the scribe. Signatures in letters and roman numerals, mostly cropped. The quires are also lettered in modern pencil with uppercase roman numerals. The first signature visible is on quire 4, yet reads ‘c ii’, and the remaining visible signatures (on quires 5, 6, 8, 9, and 13), follow the same pattern; the first quire would probably have been signed with a cross.

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\(^\text{206}\) The excerpt corresponds to the beginning, and some subsequent lines, of chapter 3 of the short text, or book III, chapter 13 of the long text (immediately following the chapter that is appended to *DR*.)

There are leaves missing from the end of the manuscript, as the last item, *The Virtues of Rosemary*, ends imperfectly, with a catchword. A comparison with the published edition of this text indicates that the rest should have taken up about two further leaves. The missing leaves also contained the end of item 5.

Item 5, a unique treatise on tribulation, was copied later than, at least, item 6. It ends imperfectly partway down the page on f. 120v, where item 6 begins. It is then continued in an unusual fashion across the lower margins of ff. 120v and 121r, underneath item 6. The scribe apparently left room to copy this piece and underestimated the space required. He then attempted to complete it in the lower margins, but also ran out of room here; the marginal text ends with the words ‘require in fine libri’. The remainder of the text, apparently not long, would thus have appeared on the missing leaves at the end of the manuscript.

Scribe and Dialect:

One scribe. Although the dialect of the manuscript is late, LALME fitting indicates that a placement in Bristol is possible.

Contents:


   Latin commentary on Greek and Hebrew words of the missal.

2. Ff. 3r–47r. Dominica prima adventus domini sequencia. ‘Salus eterna’, et cetera. In hac sequencia agitur memoria de primo adventu Christi, scilicet in carne, quia incarnatus fuit filius domini de virgine Maria, et ponitur hic pro toto tempore . . . diciones que intransizione construuntur idemptitatem servant accidencium, vt dicit Petrus Helyas in Minori et cetera.

   Latin commentary on the Sarum sequences, ending with grammatical material.

Latin commentary on difficult words in the missal, followed by a short commentary on words in the rites of baptism, visitation of the sick, and burial.


Latin commentary on difficult words in the psalter.

5. Ff. 119v–20v; continues in lower margins of ff. 120v–21r. Tribulacyon is the best thyng that any man may haue yn thys world. For yef ther hadde be any better thyng in thys world than tribulacyon,oure lord God wolde haue yeven hit to his owne son, for he suffred the grettest tribulacyon yn this world that ever dyd any creature. Also a man may desere in meke sufferaunce of a lytell tribulacyon more meryte than he shuld do and he did faste xxx yere . . . for other mennys myschief morne as thow woldest for thyne owne, et cetera. [continued in margin] Evermore stodye to be pacient yn sufferyng the passiouns and defautes of other men . . . [ends imperfectly] That we may haue this grete vertue of pacience lette vs pray, et cetera.
Unique text on the spiritual benefits of tribulation and patience in suffering.208

6. Ff. 120v–21r. Da pauperibus vnum denareum in vita tua cum bona voluntate, et hoc mibi plus placet quam si dares post mortem tuam montes aureos in monetam compositos. Et mitte vnam lacrimam cordialiter pro amore meo vel pro passione mea, et hoc mihi plus placet quam si pro amico defuncto emittes tantam aquam quanta continetur in mari . . . ita vt caro tua scinderetur in particulis.

A Latin version of the Novem virtutes.209

Followed by a formula describing the seven corporal works of mercy:

Ait dominus omnipotens:

\{(infirum / sitientem / esurientem / captum / nudum / hospitem / mortuum)\}

\{(visito / poto / cibo / redimo / tego / colligo / condo)\}

7. Ff. 121v–27v. Her ys a tretys techyng vs to knowe the dyuersytes of temptacyons and to chose that ys good and leue the euyle. For as much as the apostle sayth wythouten feyth . . . þat wyth hys precyouse blode bought vs. Amen.

ME2.

8. Ff. 127v–33v. Here begynnyth a profytable ynformacyon techyng a man to knowe the kynd of spyritys whych ben good and whych not. For by cause that ther ben dyuerse kyndis of spyritys, therfore it ys nedful to vs to haue dyscrete knowlege of them . . . grace to consent to the good and ayenstond the euyl. Amen.

A Tretis of Discrescyon of Spirites.210

208 Jolliffe J.14.


   A form of confession, for female use, in that ‘a fayre man’ (f. 135r) is the object of the sin of lust.211

10. Ff. 137v–40v. Thyes are the notable rewles of the lyfe heremiticalle as they folow hereafter, made be pope Celestyn whych was an heremyte and chosyn for hys holynes out of wyldernes to be pope, and afterwarde left the popase, and returnyd ynto wyldernes ayend. How be yt that the state of heremytes ys not cananizit, neuerthelese to all thoos that haue chosyn the wayse of trew poverte . . . he owght to say: sit dulce nomen domini nostri Iheu Christi benedictum in secula. Deo gracias.

   A rule for hermits. A unique translation of the Regula Oxoniensis.212

11. F. 140v. Thes ben þe vertues of þe rosemarye ful precyous. Fyrst take rosemary leves and bynde hem in a clene lynnen cloth and boyle hem in fayre water tyl the water be half soden away, and vse thys to drynke, fro thys water ys good for many maner of evelys in manis body. Also boyle rosemary leves in wyn and vse to wasse the face therwyth and thy face shall euermore be clere and the here of thy face and of þi hed shall neuer pyle. [ends imperfectly; catchword: Also drye]

   Fragment of The Virtues of Rosemary, a collection of medicinal uses. Possibly an independent translation.213

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211 MWME XX [211] (Version R); Jolliffe C.21; IPMEP 309. Ed. from a different MS in Y’W II: 340–45.
History and Audience:

Two inscriptions at the ends of items 1 and 3 provide the date and place of production: ‘A.D. 1502 13° die mensis Septembris’ ['13th September 1502'] (f. 47r), and ‘In domo Sancti Marci evangeliste iuxta Bristoliam, xxxi° die mensis Octobris anno domini 1502’ ['In the house of St Mark the Evangelist near Bristol, 31st October 1502'] (f. 119r).

There is a third inscription that has not previously been noticed, near the beginning of the first text on f. 1r. This provides another date and the name of the scribe: ‘sic incipit tur in xiii° die mensis Augusti anno domini 1502 per Willelmum Haulle’ ['begun on 13th August 1502 by William Haulle'].

St Mark’s or Gaunts’ Hospital, Bristol, was an independent religious community following the rule of Augustinian canons.214 The hospital had a charitable function, but was in practice a religious house consisting of a master and a small number of clerical and lay brothers. William Haulle was presumably a brother in the community; he was not a master and was not one of the four brothers at the time of the dissolution in 1534. He is a confident scribe, and may himself be responsible for the unique partial retranslations in this copy of ME2, judging by his notation of a phrase from the Latin source text in the margin.

It is interesting to note that using the precise dates that Haulle provides, we can estimate the speed at which he copied the first 118.5 folios: this took 80 days, giving an average rate of 1.48 folios per day, including Sundays, or 10.5 per week. The sections before and after the note on f. 47r were completed at an almost identical rate: 1.45 folios per day for ff. 1–47r, and 1.5 folios per day for ff. 47v–119r. For comparison, an average writing speed of 2 to 3 folios per day, or 12 to 20 per week, has been estimated based on some similarly dated continental manuscripts; another study of specifically monastic scribes in the Low Countries found a rate of 0.5 to 1.5 folios per day.215 Wakelin cites an English example of a scribe who copied 224 folios in 156 days, or 1.4 folios per day.216 Haulle’s speed of writing is comparable

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214 See the introduction to the Cartulary of St. Mark’s Hospital, Bristol, ed. by C. D. Ross (Bristol Record Society’s Publications, 21, 1959).
to these, suggesting that he devoted a considerable amount of time to copying this book alongside his other duties.

The opening commentaries in the manuscript combine theological and grammatical instruction through the framework of the Sarum Use liturgy, which was followed by the hospital. The other texts may have been of interest to the brothers themselves or of pastoral use. They convey a positive ideal of the poor religious life and of patience in temptations and tribulations. The hospital was probably an alms-house, and also kept boarders in the sixteenth century: in 1535 Lady Jane Guildford was a boarder, suggesting the possibility of a female recipient for the form of confession in 1502.

A continuing interest in manuscript production and vernacular theology at St Mark’s Hospital is shown by the scribal activity of John Colman or Coleman, the master in the 1530s. Colman copied Oxford, St John’s College, MS 173, a miscellany predominantly in Latin but including a translation of the Golden Epistle and extracts from Thomas Betson’s Ryght Profytable Treatys. Colman also copied two manuscripts in Latin, including Rolle’s De emendatione vitae, and owned and annotated a copy of the vernacular Scale of Perfection printed in 1494.

6.10 Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 520 (G)

Date:

Datable to the first or possibly second decade of the fifteenth century based on the pen decoration of the initials, which incorporates leaf-shaped scallops with ink infills that are distinct to this period.
Description:


Initials in blue ink decorated with red pen-flourishing, 2 to 4 lines tall, used throughout for each new item and chapters within items. Rubrication used for titles, running titles (for items 1, 2, 3, and 5), and to mark initials and the ascenders of letters in the top line of each page. Paragraph marks are in alternating red and blue ink, the blue sometimes decorated with red pen-flourishing.

Written in Anglicana formata, verging on Textura. The main hand is very similar though not identical to the formata hand of H1.

Collation:

1–218, 222, 23–248, 258 + 1 after 8. Catchwords by the scribe, in scrolls, except on quires 2 and 23, where the new quire starts a new section. Signatures in letters and roman numerals, mostly cropped.

P. 336, the last page of quire 21, is blank, except for the catchword scroll which is drawn in red but empty. Six folios were removed from the beginning of quire 22, and on p. 337, item 7 begins halfway down the page in a new hand. Evidently space was left here for an additional piece which was never copied.

Scribe and Dialect:

Two scribes: pp. 337–40, making up the two leaves of quire 22, are written by a different hand.

My analysis of ME2 using LALME indicates a dialect of the region of Northamptonshire.

Annotation:
A number of names are inscribed on the flyleaves, including ‘Master Grymston’ (15th–16th c.); ‘Gnatisiauton Foster’ and ‘Johannes Ruxton[?]’ (16th c.); ‘Henry Cobham 1573’ (the diplomat Sir Henry Cobham, 1537–1592); and ‘Samuele Wadham’, ‘James Deare[?]’, and ‘Margt. Godwyn’ (16th–17th c.). There are sixteenth-century descriptive marginal notes throughout ME2.

Contents:

1. Pp. 1–268. Here bigynneþ a tretis þat sufficeþ to ech Cristen man and womman to lyuen aftur. This tretis, compiled of a pore catif and nedli of gostli help of alle Cristen peple, bi þe gret merci and help of God schal teche symple men and wommen . . . þi ten commandementis in perfiȝt loue and lastyng charite, þat we moune regne with þee in endeles blis. Amen, amen.

_The Pore Caitiff:_ [223]

2. Pp. 268–83. Here bigynneþ a tretis þat is clepid þe mirrour of synneris. For that we ben in þe weie of þis falling liif and our daies passen as a schadow . . . vs þat bouȝte vs wiþ his precious blood mercyful God. Amen. Here endiþ þis tretis þat is clepid þe mirrour of synneris.

_The Mirror of Sinners:_ [224]

3. Pp. 283–95. And here bigynnyþ þat spekeþ of þre arowis þat schulen be schett at domys day to hem þat þere schulen be dampnyd. Who so wole haue in mynde þe dredeful day of doom, so þat he mow be mouyd wiþ drede . . . brynge us Ihesu Crist þat bouȝtist man wiþ þi precious blood. Amen. Here endiþ þe trevis of þe þre arowis.

_Of Three Arrows on Doomsday:_ [225]

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4. Pp. 295–97. If any man semeþ any part of Goddis lawe hard or heuy to hym for to vndirstond, purge he himself of þese foure erroirs þat suen and no doute it schal be ful esy to conseuyue . . . hou streiȝt is þe ȝate and narowȝ þat lediþ to liif and þer ben but fewe þat fynden it, et cetera.

*The Four Errors.*


*Meditation of St Augustine.*

6. Pp. 315–35. An argument aȝens wanho<pe>. For as myche as þe apostel seiþ wiþoute feiþ no man may plesen God . . . victorie ouer þat queed to the worschip of þe lord God. Amen.

ME2.

7. Pp. 337–42. Here foleweþ þe v bodili wittus. Hit is knowen of bileue that oure goode God haþ ȝouen to man fyue wittes, wiþ whiche a man scholde gouerne and lede his liif to saue boþe bodi and solwe, and ben þese: seynge, herynge, smellynge, tastynge, and touchynge. Þe whyche, as seyþ Synt Gregor, ben vndurstonde . . . þat þou canst for to gete þer wiþ þi sustinaunce wiþ treuthe.

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228 End of title cropped.

Treatise on the ten commandments.


Treatise on the seven works of corporal mercy.


Treatise on the seven works of spiritual mercy.

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229 Jolliffe D.9. This and the following three items are listed under ‘miscellaneous manuals’ in MWME XX [24].


231 MWME XX [24].

232 MWME XX [24].
11. Pp. 352–53. V þyngis we scholde knowe to loue Ihæu Crist by. Hit bihoueþ specially to euery man þat desireþ to loue oure lorde Ihæu Crist inwardly in herte ðyue þyngis: On, for to knowe first what him silf is . . . set on þe lefte half of oure lord Ihæu wiþ þe flok of þe dampnyd felaschip. Þan it is nedeful to knowe þi silf.

Treatise on knowing oneself in order to love Christ. 233

12. Pp. 354–56. What is þe kynde of man in bodi and in soule. Thou schalt vndirstonde þat man is of two kyndis: on bodili, anoþer goostly; on erþely, anoþer heuenly; on bestial, anoþer spiritual . . . þan doþ he contrary to his kynde and vnabliþ himself to his owen heritage.

Treatise on the bodily and spiritual natures of man. 234


Chapter AB of Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, containing a guided Passion meditation and prayer. 235


Devotional verses: ‘Jesu thy sweetness who so might it see’. 236

15. Pp. 371–89. An argument aȝens wanhope. For þee schulen vndirstonde þat al a mannes lyf, fram þe furste poynþ vnto þe laste, þe fende is aboute to brynge a man or a womman to þe

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233 Jolliffe D.8.
236 DIMEV 2940 (NIMEV 1781). Ed. YR I: 368–70 and elsewhere.
cursid synne of wanhope . . . to whiche ioye and to whiche blisse Crist Iheu brynge ȝou, þat for ȝou schedde his blood, merciful God. Amen.

Prose treatise against the temptation of despair.237

History and Audience:

This manuscript is an instructional compilation, consisting mainly of texts designed to teach laypeople the basics of the Christian faith.238 The *Pore Caitiff*, a comprehensive religious manual addressed to ‘ech Cristen man and womman’, is followed by supplementary texts of spiritual instruction, with meditations and prayers. The inclusion of both *DR* and a further text on ‘wanhope’ indicates a particular concern with comfort against spiritual despair.

The copy of *Pore Caitiff* in Glasgow UL, MS Hunter 520 belongs to a family that includes Lollard interpolations.239 As Brady shows, these interpolations, though not highly controversial, convey Lollard concerns by criticising religious images, emphasising inward rather than sacramental penance, omitting passages on swearing by the Bible and on an apostolic legend, emphasising the duty of priests to preach, and discussing patience under persecution. Closer study of this manuscript may reveal whether any of the other contents show a Lollard influence.

6.11 Longleat House, Marquess of Bath, MS 29 (Lo)

Described in detail by Ogilvie-Thomson; see also Hanna and Manly and Rickert.240

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237 Jolliffe K.9. Also found in this form in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 210, and as the final section of an Easter sermon in London, British Library, MS Harley 2398 and Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125.


Longleat, MS 29 is a miscellany containing a number of treatises and lyrics by Richard Rolle, Chaucer’s ‘Parson’s Tale’ as a penitential tract, the *Revelation of Purgatory* of a female visionary, the *Fifteen Oes of St Bridget*, and other religious treatises, lyrics, florilegia, meditations, and prayers in English and Latin, characterised by advanced spiritual instruction and affective piety. ME2 appears on folios 69r to 73v, preceded by Hilton’s *Mixed Life* and followed by *The Lamentation of our Lady*, a narrative of the Passion from the perspective of Mary. The manuscript is dated by Ogilvie-Thomson to between 1422 (a date given in the *Revelation of Purgatory*) and c. 1450. It is written in one hand, besides filler items in two subsidiary hands, in a dialect with Anglo-Irish features. The same scribe copied Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 232, another religious miscellany.

Theresa O’Byrne has recently identified the scribe as Nicholas Bellewe, a legal clerk in Dublin.\(^{241}\) O’Byrne notes that the manuscript’s construction from booklets of varying structure and inconsistent layout suggest that it was produced over a period of time for the personal use of an individual. Bellewe was closely involved with its compilation, being himself the translator of at least two items, *The Ladder of Henyn* and *O Thou Soul Myn*. Given that several of the texts are addressed to or written by women, O’Byrne suggests that Longleat, MS 29 may have been created for Bellewe’s patron, the lay noblewoman Ismaia FitzWilliam, who died around 1445.

The signature ‘Iohannes Goldewell’ is written on fol. 168r in a fifteenth-century hand.\(^{242}\) Ogilvie-Thomson connects this name with Elizabeth Goldwell, daughter of London merchant John Goldwell (d. 1466), as family connections link Elizabeth to the manuscript’s sixteenth-century owner John Thynne of Longleat House. O’Byrne suggests that the manuscript may have been offered for sale, perhaps after the death of its first owner, and purchased by John Goldwell via the strong trading connections between London and Dublin.

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\(^{242}\) O’Byrne, p. 286. Ogilvie-Thomson notes only the name ‘Goldewell’ following five lines of indiscernable Latin verse. The signature is not legible from the microfilm copy that I consulted.
MS Harley 1706 is a large collection of devotional literature in verse and prose. Its provenance was outlined in an important study by Doyle, and there is a recent description of the manuscript by Hanna. The manuscript is in two parts. The first part corresponds to the entirety of MS Douce 322, an anthology of extracts from devotional and didactic treatises, prayers, and poems by Lydgate and others, made in the late fifteenth century for a nun of Dartford Priory. This part of MS Harley 1706 was apparently produced by commercial scribes working in London, as MS Douce 322 was, and copied either directly from MS Douce 322 or from a common exemplar in the possession of the scribes.

The second half of MS Harley 1706, which contains ME3, is a separate production but is similar in its content and appearance. It contains further short moral and didactic texts, such as the *Complainte of the Dying Creature* and an extract from *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*. The text of ME3 (ff. 115v–39v) is prefaced by the ‘Four Profitable Things’ extract from Rolle’s *Form of Living*, as in W2 and D, but it is not itself attributed to Rolle. This half of MS Harley 1706 was probably produced at a subsequent time to the first, also in London. The volume was complete by the period of 1486 to 1509, when it was in the possession of Elizabeth Scrope Beaumont de Vere, Countess of Oxford (d. 1537). It is possible that before this the volume was at Barking Abbey, as contemporary annotations record prayers to St Ethelburga, the first abbess of Barking. Elizabeth had connections through family with Barking as well as Dartford and there are several records of such books passing between nuns and laywomen: one example is the Foyle copy of ME1b, which was owned by Elizabeth’s cousin Margaret Scrope, a nun at Barking, and given to a laywoman after the Dissolution (see above).

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6.13 Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F. 172 (Wo)

Described in detail by R. M. Thompson and Hanna.247

A religious miscellany owned by John Vale, secretary to the draper Sir Thomas Cook, mayor of London (d. 1478), and Cook’s widow (d. 1484).248 It contains a broader mix of narrative, ecclesiastical, and didactic and devotional content than is usual for manuscripts of DR: the Gospel of Nicodemus; a legend of the cross; Rolle’s Emendatio vitae; notes on the offices of priests and the pope’s authority to excommunicate; Duodecim gradus humilitatis; collections of moral exempla; the Wycliffite Acts of the Apostles and Psalter; Book 1 of the Scale of Perfection; indulgences; Alexander legends; and diocesan statutes. Further contents have been lost at the beginning and end. The manuscript was copied sometime in the second half of the century by the ‘Hammond’ scribe, who worked in a professional capacity in London.249 It may have been produced originally for Vale himself or for Cook; the presence of Vale’s monogram in the manuscript likely indicates his ownership but possibly his involvement in some other way, such as translation. Worcester CL, MS F. 172 is in any case evidence of a readership for ME3 among the London literary and administrative circles of Vale, Cook, the Hammond scribe, and other book owners and producers they were associated with such as the scribe John Shirley. Two other volumes copied by the Hammond scribe also have Vale’s monogram: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.52, containing medical and scientific treatises, and London, British Library, MS Harley 2251, containing religious and secular verse. Another manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, was copied jointly by the


Hammond scribe and the Trinity Anthologies scribe, who also copied MS Douce 322, related to MS Harley 1706 (see above). Both MS Harley 1706 and Worcester CL, MS F. 172 are therefore the work of professionally associated London scribes of the later fifteenth century. Yet they are not textually related (see Textual Relationships below), showing that at least two different exemplars of ME3 were circulating in the capital.

6.14 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Holkham Miscellany 41; formerly Holkham Hall, Norfolk, 675 (Ho)

Date:
Colledge and Chadwick, and Alexandra Barratt, suggest a general date of c. 1450. Koster believes the date may be closer to c. 1425, based on the appearance of the hand. The borders on pp. 1, 6, and 99 show characteristics typical of c. 1430s–50s, as noted below.

Description:
The *Festis* and ME3 have large illuminated initials on pp. 1, 6, and 99 painted in blue,

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254 Pollard, ‘Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41’, p. 44.
green, rose, and orange on a gold ground, backfilled with leaves from vines that develop from the initial ends. The initials continue into painted spraywork borders in the same colours, which are partly cropped. The initial on p. 1 has a border with a gold bar along the left margin and spraywork along the top and bottom, while the initials on pp. 6 and 99 have spraywork only, along, respectively, the left and bottom and the left and top margins. The spraywork is made up of acanthus leaves tinted in orange, green, and blue with spines of white dots, growing from the initial and developing into curved penwork sprays with green lobes, ending in single straight acanthus leaves or kidney leaves. The borders can be dated to c. 1430s–50s or possibly later. The colouring, initial style, curling sprays with green lobes, and leaves are all features of a standard London style of decoration that is typical of this period but that persists to near the end of the century.

There are also numerous additional two-line initials painted in blue with elaborate red pen-flourishing throughout the Festis and on pp. 186 and 188. Smaller initials and paragraph marks throughout are painted in alternating red and blue with red and blue pen decoration. The hand is a professional semi-quadrata Textura.

The manuscript is damaged throughout by damp which has caused stains, fading, and numerous small holes, partly obscuring a good deal of the text. Some of the damage is patched with vellum. The damage is particularly heavy on the first folio, suggesting that it was at some point left unprotected.

Collation:

No catchwords or signatures are visible on the heavily cropped leaves. As the binding is tight, it has not been possible to determine a collation. The final p. 194 is ruled but blank.

A single leaf is missing from ME3 between pp. 180 and 181. The leaf containing pp. 123 and 124 has been bound on the wrong side, so that the text on the two pages is incorrectly transposed. At least one quire of eight leaves is also missing from the Festis.256

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255 See Kathleen L. Scott, Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders, c. 1395–1499 (London: Bibliographical Society, 2002). Dateable features of the borders include the following: sprays in a waving form rather than a straight form (usual by the second quarter of the century), curving acanthus leaves partly shaded in white (after c. 1405 and more widespread after c. 1425), and sprays ending in single leaves (1450s and earlier).

Scribe and Dialect:

Single scribe. Koster describes the dialect of the texts as 'East Midlands with a few smatterings of Northeast Midlands mixed in.\textsuperscript{257}

Contents:

1. Pp. 1–98. Religious sustir <for> as mechil as ye have desirid and preyed me diuers tymes that I wolde write yow the festis and the passion of oure lord Ihesu Crist, therfore now at this tyme to folwe yowre desire aftir myn simple <cu>nyng . . . God yeue us boþe grace in al thing to do as it is most to his worshep and plesing. Amen.

A unique prayer sequence, \textit{The Festis and the Passion of Oure Lord Ihesu Crist}, consisting of fifty-three prayers reflecting on the life of Christ, with a prologue, a general confession, and an epilogue addressing the recipient. Composed for professional religious women, apparently by another woman.\textsuperscript{258}

2. P. 98. Syke and sorwe deeply / Wepe and moorne sadly / Preye and thinke deuoutly / Loue and longe continualy.

\textit{Four-line devotional poem.}\textsuperscript{259}

\textsuperscript{257} Koster, ‘Theorizing’, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{259} DIMEV 4840 (NIMEV 3102).

ME3.

History and Audience:

This manuscript is of a high quality of script and decoration and may have been specially commissioned by a wealthy patron or intended as a presentation copy. It was clearly produced for a female reader, as the opening text begins with a prominent address to the reader as a ‘religious sustir’. Similarly, ME3 is addressed to a sister and uses language inclusive of women. It is most likely that the recipient was an enclosed religious woman.

The author of this unique text of the Festis is learned and represents herself as a guide to others in the contemplative life. The Bridgettine elements of this work, such as its verbal echoes of the Fifteen Oes of St Bridget, suggest Syon as a possible origin: ‘the author’s bold voice and her wide reading certainly suggest a woman with an education such as might have been provided at Syon, and her authoritative authorial stance would be consistent with an abbess of such an institution.’ While this would not in itself connect this particular manuscript to Syon, Vincent Gillespie has also noted the presence of ‘the distinctive Syon monogram of five dots or points in the pattern of the Cross’ on p. 6 at the beginning of the Festis. As we have seen, the manuscript was apparently intended for a wealthy religious woman and its decoration is consistent with a London origin. My textual analysis has also revealed that the manuscript’s exemplar of ME3 was closely related to that of the London manuscript Wo. Koster, however, maintains that origins or ownership elsewhere are also likely, suggesting for instance the possibility of a connection with Polesworth Abbey near Leicester, where there was an anchoress at the Dissolution who was connected to the family of the

founder of Holkham Hall library and who owned an illuminated psalter which, like this manuscript, later came into the library.\footnote{Koster, ‘Theorizing’, pp. 71–75.}

6.15  

Date:

The script suggests a date of the later fifteenth century. Dated by Hanna to the 1480s and by Scattergood to c. 1475.

Description:


Two- to three-line initials in red used for each new item, and similar single-line initials for chapter divisions. Titles, chapter titles, and explicits in red; capital letters and virgules beginning new sentences, and some corrections, are touched in red.

Anglicana media script, with a secretary duct and secretary w form, more carefully written on the first few folios.

Collation:

The composition of this manuscript is complex and difficult to determine, as there are no catchwords or signatures and, as Hanna notes, some leaves are stab-bound. A tentative collation offered by Hanna is as follows: 1\(^{8} \) 2\(^{2} \) 3\(^{6} \) 4\(^{4} \) 5\(^{14} \) 6\(^{4} \) 7\(^{14} \) 8\(^{10} \) 9\(^{8} \) 10–12\(^{10} \) 13\(^{10} \) (wants 10, probably a cancelled blank).\footnote{Folios 105v to 109v are blank.}
Scribe and Dialect:

One scribe only. Dialect: LALME LP 1, Leicestershire.

Annotation:

‘Thomas Lukys aw Thys buke’ is written in a sixteenth-century secretary hand on f. 105v. ‘FFF2’, ‘A 60’, and pen trials on f. 1r. Some faded and illegible writing, possibly contemporary, on f. 68r.

Contents:

1. Ff. 1r–3r. [Ihesu Maria at top of page.] Here after folowes a deuoute counseyl and tretace made by þe holy fader Richarde Rolle, hermyte of Hampul, mervelous comfortable and necessary to all suche that haue takyn apon thayme gostly lyffe. Whiche mater is called þe remedys agance theye trowbylls of gostly temptatyons. The first chapitoure of tyme and howe we monne straytly gyue accompte as we spende it. The first mesure of þi lyf is so schort that in maner it is nothyng, for we lyffe here bot in a poynte, that is þe leyst thynge þat may be . . . whome they haue serued as long as/ god is in hewyn with his seruauntys which is euerlastyngly withowte ende.

‘Four Profitable Things’, lines 280–309 of Richard Rolle’s The Form of Living.266

2. Ff. 3r–82r. Here after foloeth gret comforthe for a person that is in temptacyon. Oure mercyfull lord god cryst ihesu chaystyseyth his childer and suffers theme to be tempt . . . in hys euerlastyng ioyes of hewyn withowtyn end amen. Thus endyth thys treatyce of þe forsayd devoute fader.

ME3. Lines 184–202 and 439–60 of The Form of Living are incorporated on ff. 41v–46v.267

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267 For a transcription of these excerpts, see below, pp. 141–43.
3. Ff. 82v–105r. Of dyuyn e loue taken fourthe of a treatyse by þe sayd dewoute fader Richard Rolle hermyte mayd to a certan recluse. And þou wolde be perfytyly with god and haue grace to rewle þi lyf ryght and come vnto þe ioye of loue þou moost speccyally fest so fast in þi harte thys swet name of ihese þat it be neuer owt of þi thought . . . and labure discretly to luff hym, and so schall þou cumme vnto þe blysse whiche neuer shall haue ende, where þou schall euermore ioye and love and luff hym worlde witbowl endyng. Amen.

Lines 610–835 of The Form of Living, concerning love for God.

History and Audience:

A small book, suitable for private devotional reading. The excerpts from The Form of Living deal with advanced contemplative practices, the first referring to an audience who ‘haue takyn apon thayme gostly lyffe’; the owner may have been either religious or a devout layperson aspiring to such a life.

In the sixteenth century the manuscript was apparently owned by a Thomas Lukys, as per the inscriptions. Obtained by Trinity College, Dublin, before 1745.268

6.16 The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1508 (W2), 1519 (W2b), 1525 (W2c)

i. 1508 edition, STC 20875.5269 (W2)

Description based on an imperfect copy, wanting folios A1, D2, and D5.

Description:

The title page, f. A1, is missing from the single surviving copy of this first edition (for a description of the title page and woodcuts appearing in the second and third editions, see below, p. 110). The colophon on f. D8r reads: ‘Enprynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne. By Wynkyn de Worde. Anno domini .M.CCCC.viii. the fourth daye of February.’

268 Noted by Scattergood.
269 Formerly STC 21262.
The surviving copy is printed on parchment. Quarto in sixes, with eight leaves in gathering D. Composition: A–C6 D8 [$1, 3 signed]. 26 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1–52]. Size of leaves: 200 x 135 mm. Printed in a single column of 30 or 31 lines, measuring 140 x 90 mm. Type: English textura (91 mm). Punctuation is by punctus, virgula suspensiva, colon, and a double hyphen for split words.

On f. A2r. is a woodcut initial T with grotesque face and beast, 21 x 17 mm (seven lines high). On D8v is the tripartite printer’s device of Wynkyn de Worde used c. 1504–18 (McKerrow 19), 103 x 89 mm.

Contents:
1. [A2r–A2v] Here after foloweth foure proufytable thynges to haue in mynde whiche hath be taken out of þe thyrde chapiter of a deuoute treatyse and a fourme of lyuinge that the dyscrete and vertuous Richard Hampole wrote to a deuoute and an holy persone for grete loue. The fyrst mesure of thy lyf whiche is so shorte that vnnethes it is ony thynge . . . with his seruauntes that lasteth euer.

‘Four Profitable Things’ extract from Rolle’s Form of Living.

2. [A2v–D2v] Here foloweth and enseweth a souerayne notable sentence to comforte a persone that is in temptacyon. Our mercyfull lorde God Cryst Ihesu chastyseth his chyldren and suffreth them to be tempted . . . [that lyueth and reyneth withouten ende. Amen. Here endeth þe remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons.]270

ME3.

3. [D2v–D8r] [Here begynneth a deuoute medytacyon in sayenge deuoutly þe psalter of our lady with dyuers ensamples. The glorious mayster John of the mounte in his moryall telleth, whiche also I founde in þe boke of frere Thomas] . . . here by grace and after this lyfe by

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270 The text in brackets here and for the below item is on a missing page, so is taken from the edition of 1519.
glorye. Here endeth a deuoute medytacyon in sayenge deuoutly the psalter of our lady with
dyuers ensamples.

Translation of a miracle story by Alanus de Rupe concerning the recitation of the
‘Psalter of Our Lady’, i.e., the rosary. 271

History:
The title pages of the editions of 1519 and 1525 (see below) feature the portcullis
badge of Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, the mother of Henry VII. It
appears that Margaret was involved in the publication of this book. She was an active patron of
devotional literature, commissioning, among other works, the Fifteen Oes printed by Caxton in
1491; the Scala Perfectionis by de Worde in 1494; the Imytacyon and Folowyngge . . . of our
Sauyuer Cryste by Pynson in 1503; her own translation of the fourth book of the Imytacyon in
1504; and her own translation of The Mirroure of Golde for the Synfull Soule by Pynson in
1506. 272 The exact nature of her role as patron is unclear, but would have involved some form
of endorsement or impetus, possibly with an agreement to purchase copies in advance. 273 In
1508 and 1509, the year of her death, Margaret began to be associated more closely with de
Worde. 274 She commissioned from him Fisher’s Fruytfull Saynges of Dawyd (1508), The Lyf of
Saynt Vrsula (c. 1509), Fisher’s funeral sermon for Henry VII (1509), and the Shyppe of Fooles
(1509), according to notices printed in the books, and it is likely that she was also involved
with five other works of 1509 in which de Worde styles himself as her printer. While the
Remedy does not contain any written reference to Margaret, the use of her badge implies a
connection; the only other books where de Worde uses this woodcut of which I am aware are
Fisher’s Fruytfull Saynges and funeral sermon and an edition of The Mirroure of Golde in 1522,
all associated with Margaret.

271 See Beati F. Alani Rediuini Rupeinis tractatus mirabilis de ortu atque progressu psalterii Christi et Mariae eiusque
confraternitatis, auctore R.P.F Ioanne Andrea Coppestein (Neap.: ex officina Nouelli de Bonis, 1665), ‘De
Copy 1. London, British Library, shelfmark C.29.i.16

Parchment. Imperfect: lacks folios A1, D2, and D5, all of which would originally have contained large woodcuts. The missing leaves have been replaced by facsimiles on parchment signed ‘F.S. by H. Junr’ (i.e., Harris Jr.), which are taken from the edition of 1519.

The printer’s device on f. D8v is hand coloured. There are also hand coloured and illuminated decorations throughout DR, of the two-line initials beginning chapters, line fillers at the ends of chapters, and paragraph marks before chapter titles. Initials within the texts are touched in yellow. The pages are ruled in red.

Contemporary binding in blind tooled brown calf. Central panel made up of a roll of quatrefoils in lozenges, in a rectangle, bordered by fillets; within this rectangle are three vertical strips made up of stamps of a row of three quatrefoils, with vertical fillets; around the central panel is a border made of a repeated stamp of a scroll containing the text ‘a : batas’; outer border of a stylised fleur-de-lis roll with larger fleurs-de-lis at corners; roll of geometric and leaf shapes around pastedown inside boards. Rebacked in 1938 (as per note on back board). Oldham identifies the scroll stamp as one used by his Huntsman Binder (no. 336, plate XXV), who perhaps worked in London and to whom Oldham assigns ten books of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. However, this is not evidence enough to assign this copy to the Huntsman Binder, as Oldham notes that his stamps were also used by others, and none of his other associated stamps appear here.

There are contemporary annotations, partly illegible, on f. D7v: ‘I [lv?]fe y[u?] I [P?]oe’; and D8r: ‘2” die annj .do. 1532 [I?]nnitium .V[o?] [. [amp.?] Lv pro .i. a[nn?] nis. 3 aug. | .pe. <erasure> die.’, followed by a sketch of four pieces of dice showing the numbers 5, 1, 2 (or perhaps 3), and 6, clockwise from the top left. The annotation records the ‘second day’ of the year 1532, and may also refer to another date or dates including 3 August. The sketch of dice is intriguing given the account of dice-throwing in ME3, but it has no obvious significance.

275 J. Basil Oldham, English Blind-Stamped Bindings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 30. The ‘a : batas’ scroll, which is described by Oldham as ‘mysterious’, seems to represent a name, but no identification has been possible.
The use of parchment for this copy, and its hand colouring and illumination in the style of a luxury manuscript, show that it was commissioned for an important individual, perhaps for presentation. Parchment was used only rarely by de Worde and the other English printers and only for specially commissioned copies within editions.\(^{276}\) It is quite possible that this copy was intended for Margaret Beaufort herself.\(^ {277}\)

Purchased by the British Museum in 1858.\(^ {278}\) The book was previously owned by a Mr. Jones, who purchased it from John Dent in 1827, and earlier by Mr. John Voight (d. 1806).\(^ {279}\) The facsimile leaves, taken from the edition of 1519, are by the artist John Harris or his son of the same name, who both supplied facsimiles for imperfect books in the British Museum during the nineteenth century; f. D5 at least was taken from the British Library’s copy G.12058.(2.), in which the woodcut is distinctively cropped.

ii. 1519 edition,\(^ {280}\) STC 20876\(^ {281}\) (W2b)

Description:

Title: ‘The remedy ayenst the troubles of temptacyons’. Colophon, from D8r:

‘Inprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of ye sonne. By Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our lorde M.CCCCC.xix. the .xxi. daye of Januarius.’


\(^ {277}\) This has also been suggested by Sue Ellen Holbrook, ‘Margery Kempe and Wynkyn de Worde’, in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe, Exeter Symposium, IV (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 27–46 (p. 45 n. 22).


\(^ {279}\) Beriah Botfield, ‘Bibliotheca Membranacea Britannica; or, Notices of Early English Books Printed upon Vellum’, in *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, II (London: Charles Whittingham, 1855–56), item 4, pp. 8–9; *A Catalogue of the Entire, Extensive, and Curious Library of the Late Mr. John Voight, formerly of the Custom-House . . . which will be sold by Auction, by Leigh and S. Sotheby . . . on Thursday, Dec 18, 1806*, p. 17.


\(^ {281}\) Formerly STC 21263.
The setting is nearly identical to the first edition. Quarto in sixes, with eight leaves in gathering D. A–C6 D8 [§3 signed (–A1)]. 26 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1–52]. An abbreviated title, ‘Reme. of temp.’, is printed beside each of the signatures. Size of leaves: 188 x 135 mm. Columns measure 146 x 92 mm. Type: English textura (94 mm). The type appears to be the same size and style as the first edition parchment copy, but the space between lines is slightly larger.

The title page on f. A1r prints the title at top within a woodcut banderole, 88 x 30 mm. Underneath this is a large woodcut depicting the badge of Margaret Beaufort: a crowned portcullis supported by the Tudor dragon and greyhound, with the motto ‘dieu et mon droit’, three marguerites below, and gatherings of marguerites in the side borders, 95 x 90 mm.282

There are borders of a row of fleuron ornaments to the top and bottom of the main woodcut; at the top, the fleurons are angled on their sides and cut in half. On f. A1v is a woodcut depicting a hermit with staff and beads, 68 x 90 mm (Hodnett 445), used by de Worde for books attributed to Richard Rolle. On f. A2r is the woodcut initial used in the first edition. Unornamented two-line initials are used throughout at the beginnings of chapters. On f. D2v is a woodcut of the Virgin and child in mandorla, 47 x 59 mm (Hodnett 420), with borders of fleurons, as on the title page, to the left and right. The text underneath begins with a large woodcut initial T depicting a portcullis, 33 x 37 mm. On f. D5v is a woodcut of Christ with a cross and spear before a woman in bed with a rosary, 107 x 80 mm (Hodnett 438). On the page preceding this woodcut, f. D5r, the text ends two-thirds of the way down the page, probably in order to allow the passage following to appear beneath the woodcut. There are printed ornaments as line fillers on ff. C3r and underneath the woodcut on D5v. On f. D8v is a tripartite printer’s device of Wynkyn de Worde (McKerrow 20), used c. 1519–28.

3 copies:

Copy 1. London, British Library, shelfmark G.12058(2)

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Formerly in the library of Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) and bequeathed in 1846. Modern binding; bound with Contemplacys of the Drede and Loue of God (Wynkyn de Worde, 1506). Complete.


Formerly part of a compilation of fifteen printed devotional works made by Dame Margaret Nicollson, who was a nun either at Elstow, Bedfordshire or Watton, Yorkshire, in the sixteenth century. The other contents of the compilation included Nyxbodemus Gospel (1518), The Mirroure of Golde for the Synfull Soule (1522), The Deyenge Creature (1514), and others. The volume formed part of the Old Royal collection, donated in 1757; the tracts were broken up and rebound probably before 1800. Folios B3 and B4 are misbound after B6. Complete.

Copy 3. Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Sel.5.35

Imperfect: lacksfolios A2–A5. Bound with nine other de Worde editions: The Fruyte of Redempeyon (1517); The Thre Kynges of Coleyne (1511); The Rote or Myrrour of Consolacyon and Conforte (1511); The Chirche of the Euyll Men and Women (1511); The Deyenge Creature (1514); The Mirroure of Golde for the Synfull Soule (1522); The Vertue of the Masse (1520); The VII Shedynges of the Blode of Jhesu Cryste (1509); and A Boke of a Ghoostly Fader (1521?).

Jottings in a sixteenth-century hand upside down on ff. D4v and D5r: ‘Dulcia non meruit qui non gustuit amara / et qui non studuit sunt illi gaudia rara / quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achiui’; ‘Rogare to desyre or aske or pray’. The same hand appears elsewhere in the volume, showing that the editions were bound together in the sixteenth century. A signature at the end of the last item, of the same date but in a different ink and possibly a different hand, reads: ‘Thys ys Wyllm Pyslyes[?] boke’. With bookplate of the Royal Library (collection of Bishop John Moore, given to Cambridge University Library in 1715 by King George I).

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284 Birrell, p. 27.
Copies 1 and 2 were collated for this edition, revealing the following printing variants:
on f. C6v, col. 12, G.12058(2) reads ‘sonne’ and C.21.c.22 ‘sone’; on col. 14, G.12058(2) reads
‘mynnte’ and C.21.c.22 ‘mynute’; on col. 27, G.12058(2) reads ‘lwys’ and C.21.c.22 ‘ywys’; and
on f. C7r, col. 5, G.12058(2) reads ‘descende (with a macron) and C.21.c.22 ‘descend’.

iii. c. 1525 edition, STC 20876.5 (W2c)

Description based on an imperfect copy, wanting folios D3–D8.

Description:

Differs from the edition of 1519 in the following ways: On the title page, the fleurons
in the border above the woodcut are not cut in half; a different woodcut initial T is used on f.
A2r, depicting a bird and flower; the woodcut of the Virgin and child on f. D5v is a new cut;
the ornaments on f. C3r are missing; and different ornaments are used beneath the woodcut
on f. D5v.

1 copy:

Copy 1. Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark HH180/31

Imperfect: lacks folios D3 to end. The bottom edge of the title page is torn, and the
title is partly worn away and has been written back in by hand. F. D2 is also torn at the
bottom edge, with loss of text. Jottings in a secretary hand on ff. B5v–B6r: ‘By yt knowen vnto
all men by these presentes wrytng that I [?] / By it knowen vnto alle men by these writting /
Ryght well be [?]’. Formerly owned by Sir Robert Leicester Harmsworth (1870–1937) and
belonged to the Britwell Court Library.

7 Textual Relationships and Choice of Base Copies

The following section discusses the textual characteristics of each witness, their relationships and groups, and the rationale behind the choice of base text for each of the Middle English versions. Quotations are normally presented in the form of a lemma and variants, in which the lemmas and line numbers are quoted from the base text for each version—B for ME1a, F for ME1b, Ca for ME2, and Cb for ME3—and the variants from the other witness or witnesses that are under discussion. Omissions are sometimes quoted only from the base text, and additions only from the witness concerned. The equivalent readings from the Latin source, or from ME2 in the case of ME3, are provided to shed light on the variants wherever possible.

7.1 ME1a

7.1.1 Individual Witnesses and Isolative Variants

The following list describes the textual characteristics of each witness of ME1a.

Neither of the two manuscripts is directly descended from the other, as shown by the fact that each has unique omissions or other differences from the Latin source which are not likely to have been independently corrected. Examples of these isolative variants are provided below.

(i) B (MS Bodley 131, ff. 122r–31r)

There are few errors in B, and only a small number of cases where H1 but not B has preserved an original reading. These include an omission due to eyeskip at 194 thinges ]hat er lightly set by and lyghtly forgettyng[ thyngis ]hat er lightly getyn er lityl set by and lightly forgetyn (Lat. *cito autem data vilescunt*), and the following minor variants: 100–01 *with a resonabyll cause*withoutyn a resonable cause (Lat. *sine causa rationabilis*); 184 yof all be felow noȝt yof al be fele not (Lat. *si nullam . . . percipiat*); 259 some] sum tyme (Lat. *aliquando*); 310 errour] heresy (Lat. *hereticum*); 351 Gregour] Gregour in his morals (Lat. *Gregorius in Moralibus*).
Isolative variants: 194 and 259 above.

(ii) H1 (MS Harley 2409, ff. 52r–69v)

H1 is also a carefully written copy, but has slightly more omissions and other variants that diverge from the Latin readings than B has. Some of the omissions may be accidental, such as 72–73 and his ill werekes his ill will (Lat. et mala malam), but most seem to be the result of deliberate simplification: 31 before our Lord God; 51 hat es to say many ar þe tribulaciouns of þe rightwis; 68 anely (Lat. sola); 132 ese, hat is my; 165 of þis temptacion (Lat. butius temptacionis); 274–75 clense þe saule fra synne] clense þe saule (Lat. anima a peccato purgetur); 326 in a buke (Lat. in libro); 358–59 þis bers wytnes haly kirke in ane ympne sayand (Lat. bec testatur ille hymnus in cuius versu canitur). Other variants that diverge from the Latin include the following: 12 passion of our lord] grace of our lord (Lat. misericordia dei noster); 46 merit] myrthe (Lat. meritum); 168 inwardly and parfitely examined] assaide and parfitly examyned (Lat. intime et perfecte examinatur); 207 sen vertueþ] swilk vertu (Lat. cum virtus); 285 nedefull] medful (Lat. necessaria); 366 lede] kep (Lat. educere); 420 yof nowþer reuerence ne luf myght lett hym] owþhir reuerence or lufe myght let hym (Lat. reuerencia et compassione non desisteret).

Isolative variants: 168 and 358–59 above.

7.1.2 Stemma

The relationship can therefore be represented as follows:

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   x (ME1a archetype)
     /    \\
    B     H1
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7.1.3 Choice of a Base Text

Both B and H1 are complete and clear texts of ME1a with few errors and few significant variants to distinguish between them. On the whole, B has fewer omissions and is closer to the Latin, and therefore presumably to the archetypal copy of ME1a. For this reason
B was chosen as the base text for this edition.

7.2 ME1b

7.2.1 Individual Witnesses and Isolative Variants

None of the three witnesses of ME1b is directly descended from any other, as each has isolative variants which the other witnesses agree against, and which are not likely to have been independently corrected.

(i) F (olim Foyle MS, ff. 168r–75v)

There are very few variants in which H2a and W1 agree against F. Most of these are insignificant and may either be variants in F or coincidental agreements in H2a and W1, including 35 ne more] om. H2aW1; 49 þer] þat H2aW1; 240 in’s] of H2aW1; 257 may wel wite not] may noȝt wel wyt H2aW1; 270 may] may noȝt H2aW1; and 272 Gregory] seyt Gregory H2aW1. At 57 ne desireþ not to knowe] om. H2aW1 is probably a coincidental error of eyeskip in H2aW1 rather than an addition in F. However, more significant agreements against F are 24 falsenessis rennyng] fals mysrennyngge H2aW1; 253 kulere of vertues] rulere of vertues H2aW1 (Lat. auriga virtutum); 297 fallīþ] and lawbyþ H2aW1; 307 renewe] ren H2aW1. These agreements between H2a and W1 could not be coincidental, and therefore show that F does not exactly represent the original version of ME1b.

Isolative variants: 24, 253, and 307 above.

(ii) H2a (MS Harley 6615, ff. 109v–23r)

H2a has numerous variants compared to F and W1. There are frequent errors, including both mechanical errors (omissions, misspellings, or repetitions of words) and instances of misreading, which are sometimes incoherent: for example, 6–7 and wbumso] awbomso; 8 wanlaces] lanlacys; 33–34 þe ofter and þe more berye bis God] be after and þe more worcþþþþþ and þeryþþþþþ is God; 81 spreyd] spynd; 112 want and] wanter in; 315 þee zit þat] þat the zet. Some examples of variants shown clearly to be unoriginal through comparison to the Latin source are 94] grenis of deceytes] greuws deceytys (Lat. deceptionum laqueos); 156 Austyn] Ancelme
There are frequent omissions of words and short passages, arising mainly from eyeskip, including 57 ne desireþ not to knowe; 73 al be it þat þe conceyt of errour; 95–96 to whomb þe foule lustis of glotenye; 97 whomb be schal disewe wiþ sorew and; 139 or asayede but be is strenghþid; 149–50 and namelyche þe sawis of þe gospel; 209 and þerfore eche þing schulde be do in his tyme.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 73, 95–96, 97, 139, and 209 above; 94 grenis of] 312 bloodd] grace and mercy.

(iii) W1 (Wynkyn de Worde, The prouffytable boke . . . , c. 1492–93, ff. G4r–H4r)

There are constant differences between W1 and FH2a, showing that the W1 text was reworked either in a source of W1 or by de Worde’s workshop itself when the book was printed.

It appears that in W1, ME1b has been conflated with a copy of the Latin source text. In several instances, W1 either translates readings from the Latin that are not present in FH2a, or follows the phrasing or vocabulary of the Latin more closely. It would seem that these represent conflation with the Latin in W1 rather than the other possibility, that W1 retains original readings that were lost in a common source of FH2a. This is seen in the following passage:

263–69

FHb And þerfore a man schal putt suche myswenynge awy from hym and dwelle not ne hange not longe þervpon, but suffre pacientlyche and mekelyche as I haue seyd here afore. For þilke serpent is so fals, schrewyd, and bigilynge mannes soule, þat whan he may not brynge man into errour and mysbileue wiþ oþer wylis and wanlacis þan he put into hym a fals feer, and þerwiþ heldiþ in þe venym of hys wickidnesse, whyche is to a man bitter and heuy and peyneful to hymself. Þerfore þe most remedye here aȝeyn is pacience and sufryng.

W1 But it is not to trowe ne stonde to his owne wytte in this partye but rather obeye to truthe and dyscrete rule. For this olde edder is bothe fals and slye and wyckid and discuyer of sowles. And whan he maye not put the mynde in to errour by suche discyetes, he besieth him to make it paynfully bytter thrugh smytyng in of a fals drede
and by pouryng in the venym of hys wyckidnes. Therfore it behouyth in every manere wyse to withstonde his dysceyuable entysinges put into man vnder lickenes of good thynge, and suffre pacyently and mekely the payne of bytternesse that he putteth into a ferdefull sowle. And therfore a man shall put suche mysweneng away from hym ne dwelle not ne henge not longe therupon, but suffre pacyently and mekely and truste alwayes as he can and maye for the tyme in grace and godenes of his God.

Lat. Non est enim credendum in hac parte vel proprio sensui insistendum, sed magis veritati et discrecioni regulate obediendum. Est enim serpens antiquus fallax, nequam, et fraudulentus deceptor animarum. Et cum non potest mentem suis fraudulencijs in errorem mittere, ntitur eam timorem falsum incuciendo et venenum sue nequicie infundendo penaliter amaricare. Oportet igitur suis deceptorijs suggestionibus sub specie boni inmissis omnino resistere et penam amaritudinis timide menti inflatam pacienter et humiliter tollerare.

Here W1 is closer to the Latin throughout. The intial sentence in FH2a, ‘And þerfore a man schal putt suche myswenyng awey . . . pacientlyche and mekelyche’ is paraphrased from the Latin ‘non est enim credendum in hac parte vel proprio sensui insistendum, sed magis veritati et discrecioni regulate obediendum’. In W1 the same Latin sentence is rendered more literally: ‘but it is not to trowe ne stonde to his owne wytte in this partye but rather obeye to truthe and dyscrete rule’. Yet W1 also retains the original paraphrased sentence from FH2a at the end of the passage. This shows clearly that the FH2a reading is original, and W1 is an adaptation.

Other examples where W1 retranslates the Latin include the following: 59 feïþ is habite of truþe fayth is habyte of wyll (Lat. fides sit habitus voluntatis), where W1 is probably correcting the initial translator’s misreading of ‘voluntatis’ as ‘veritatis’; 92 auísif hym bow every man is ordeyned or disposid considereth and beboldeth the state of every man (Lat. considerat . . . vniuscuiusque statum); 95 wel ynough to whom he shall profer he desire and the eernyng of couetyse (Lat. nouit enim cui adhibeat cupiditatis estus); 99 and weneweth the cures (Lat. ventilat curas); 235–36 he bryngiþ in also aierwhile, þis fals goost of errour, suche turnyng bidir and þidir and pryne traulencyng into mannys soule also this fals spiryte of errour bryngeth in otherewhyle and wrappeth þe mynde wyth dyuers perplexytees and doubtynges, wyth wonderfull and preuy sterynges (Lat. implicat etiam aliquando spiritus erroris mentem diuersis perplexitatibus, miris et occultis agitacionibus). The addition at 161 to desire grete and noble ȝiftis to desire gretly grete yeftes shows that W1’s new
Latin exemplar had the reading *magna magne desiderare*, as found in the Latin A1 and A4 family, unlike ME1b’s Latin source text of the A3 family, which omitted the word *magne*, ‘greatly’. W1 also provides the following longer passage that is omitted from ME1b:

286

W1 A howe pyteous and prouffytable, howe charitable and helthful it is to conforte and strengthe the man that is trowblid and tormenteed, desolate and forsaken, and to leed oute into refute of reste and of conforte hym that passith thus by the fyre of preuyngne and trybulacyon! And though he that is thus trowblid gete not anone but wante by longe tyme the rest and conforte of spiryte that he desireth, netheles hope he stedfastly that he shall haue it at the ende.

Lat. O quam pium est et vtile et quam caritatum et salubre sic turbatum et afflictum desolatum et derelictum confortare et roborare, imo transeuntem per ignem probacionis et aquam tribulacionis adducere in refrigerium quietis et consolacionis! Quam quietem spiritus optatam et si sic tribulatus non statim optineat vel certe per multa tempora careat, speret tum firmiter quod illam finaliter habere debeat.

W1 therefore supplies most, though not absolutely all, of ME1a’s few omissions from the Latin. It also tends to cite more of the Vulgate text or translate quotations more accurately, such as at 137, 172–75, and 198–99.

Besides this retranslation, W1 generally rearranges and rephrases the text throughout. Sometimes, especially towards the beginning, the changes clarify the text by simplifying the syntax or replacing an obscure word with an easier one. For example, here a passage which follows the Latin syntax in FH2a is rephrased in W1:

3–6

F oure olde enemy and aduersary þe deuyl ful feiþ, þat is grounde and fundament of holy chirche and bigynnynge of alle vertues and of good worchynge, wiþ fals suggestionis and diuerse ymaginaciones or mysþinckyng in many wonderful maneris he bisyeþ hym what he may to anyntische and destruye

W1 oure olde enmye the deuyll besieth hym what he may wyth fals suggestyo [sic] ymagynacions to hynder and destroy ful fayth, that is beginyng and grounde of all good werkinge
But just as often, W1 expands on the text, leaving FH2a with the more concise reading, e.g.:

196

F and þouȝ he fele litil goostliche comfort or ellis noon
W1 and all be it that he fele noo suche goostli conforte in his sowle whan he is soo
trowblid as thise holi appostles felten, but perauenture he felith lityll or none

Lat. et si modicam vel nullam senciat consolacionem spiritualem

There are fairly frequent errors in W1, including instances of omission through eyekip
at 82 hat is to seyn whom he seeþ most disposid to malencoly; 177 but it is ful hard and pure perfít
faptcha folowe God wiþ utter dise of berte; 324 and peyne on þat oþer syde.

7.2.2 Stemma

The relationship can therefore be represented as follows:

\[
\text{[Latin text]} \rightarrow (\text{ME1b archetype}) \leftarrow \begin{array}{c}
W1 \\
F \\
H2a
\end{array}
\]

7.2.3 Choice of a Base Text

W1 may be disqualified as a base text due to its conflation of ME1b and the Latin source. Though an interesting text, it has diverged from the original version of ME1b as preserved in the other two witnesses. Between these two, F is clearly the preferable choice. H2a is an unreliable copy, with frequent errors. There are very few unique variants in F, indicating that it is very close to the ME1b archetype. The early date of F (before 1419) supports this conjecture. F was therefore chosen as the base text for this edition.
7.3 ME2

7.3.1 Individual Witnesses and Isolative Variants

None of the seven manuscripts of ME2 is directly descended from any other, as each has isolative variants which all the other manuscripts agree against, and which are not likely to have been independently corrected.286

(i) Ca (CUL, Hh.1.11, ff. 61r–68r)

This copy has very few variants compared to the other manuscripts. Instances of possible deliberate changes are, in addition to the isolative variants below, 3 may no man] no man may H2bAGLoBr; 25 doon] om. LeH2bAGLoBr; 25 it is sumtyme] but yt fallyth ofsyn tyme Le, but yt falleth sumtyme H2bGLo, bot it bappyns sumtyme A, butt sumtyme it bflatlyth Br; 105 put] put bimself Le, put bym H2bAG, putteebt bym Lo [rewritten in Br]; 137 trubblis] troublest thow LeBr, turbyst þou so H2b, troublest þou so GLo [missing in A]; 154 þat om. LeH2bBrGLo [missing in A]; 181 strenkyth] strengbith bim LeH2bGLo, strenthys hymselfe A [rewritten in Br]. A few other variants in Ca likely preserve original readings that the other manuscripts have normalised or omitted. Examples are 52 werous] veyn Le, false H2b, doutful þoght and A, erroneous Br, doutous Lo, as well as other instances of the word ‘weer’; 32 bileus] veleynys LeLo, violence H2bG, and vyolent A, where the variants are likely to be misreadings of ‘bileus’ due to similarity of word form; 97–98 they may not do therwith Le, be synnyth nost H2b, om. AGLo [rewritten in Br]; and 161 be þar] lete bim LeH2bGLo [missing in ABr].

There is an omission due to eyeskip at 71 for þer was neuere man disseyued of þe fend. The omission at 89 to] to of complexyoun and therto tempyth be most a man LeH2bAGLo is probably also accidental, but has not been emended because the omission makes acceptable sense in context. There are also a few mechanical errors of spelling throughout the manuscript, as well as some instances where what may be errors are more likely nonstandard spellings:

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286 To avoid misrepresenting the evidence, examples of isolative variants are not given from where A or Br are incomplete, that is, lines 64–73, 116–63, 170–77, or 189–end.
these include 28 is for ‘his’ and 115 bis for ‘is’; 42 neyir for ‘neither’ (‘ner’); 83 werd for ‘world’, also spelt world; 194 olecue for ‘believe’; and 10, 79, and 80 be for ‘they’, usually spelt þei.

Isolative variants: 61 wele in berte cris] wolde in berte crye Le, wyl in berte crye H2bALo, ys yn wyl ym bys bert to crye Br, wilneþ in berte to crie G; 89 to] to of complexyon and therto tempytth be most a man LeH2bAGLo [missing in Br]

(ii) Le (Brotherton, MS 501, ff. 86r–88v)

This is a carefully written copy, but is characterised by frequent paraphrasing and small expansions throughout the manuscript: typical examples are 4 fantasys] abbonynablyl fantasies or 9 trauaylis of þe fend] trauaylys that comyth into a mans soule by sterynges and wylys of the fende. These changes generally serve to clarify the phrasing or vocabulary or to slightly emphasise points. Occasionally, but infrequently, they involve omissions of one or more words: some longer omissions are 13 and þerfore of swyche trauaylis, 158 and þe more trauaile þe moore maistrye, 163 þe greete doctour, and 190 be colour of good. There are omissions due to eyeskip at 76–77 þe feend sumtyme be steryng of and 180–81 for the lose gladnesse be fynt in his berte, and an omission that is probably accidental at 42 bothe mede and gil] bothe mede. A few of Le’s variants may be due to misreadings or carelessness: these include 37 vertuis] werryours, 64 do as I haue tauhte] do as in chaunce, 69 knowyng of mouhthe] the knowyng of many, 99 þei must schape] lete bem shame, 113 lestyn] rest, 156 erde ne kyn] berte ne lykyng, and 176 þat is sowyn for] ys gynnyng of:

There is a significant change to the account of melancholy in lines 90–93, where rather than smoke of black choler rising to the brain Le has smoke of the blak cole that rises to the fenerell, ‘chimney’, and merkyth the place of þe bous . . . and in lyk wyse this blak smoke lettyth the soule. This seems to be the result of a misreading of Ca’s original cernel, pith or centre, as carnel, an embrasure or window.

Isolative variants: 5–6 þe ground of holy cbirche and þe begynnyng of goode thwys]asure most defens aȝens all the fendys wylys and wrenchys; 9 dispit] dyspeyr; 37 vertuis] werryours; 99 schape] shame.

(iii) H2b (MS Harley 6615, ff. 142v–52r)
This copy, as with the copy of ME1b contained in the same manuscript, is characterised by a large number of errors. These include mechanical errors arising from carelessness, including the frequent repetition of words, as well as misreadings, which are sometimes incoherent. Some examples are 22 *every synne is in wil every synne þat is in wil*; 42–42 is boðe mede and gilty boðe mede and gyletesse; 78 *deth an heese deth þe and eese*; 109 mytilly; 126–27 *no man may withstande þe feend withoutyn þe helpe of god no man may withstonde þe feende wiþ helpe of god*; 134 as is a myhti cite he ys as myȝty ȝet; 150 vnreste on reste; 178 dispit he dysseyth. There are a fair number of other variants in addition to these errors. They include several substitutions, such as 6 *goode thewys vertuys*; 14 *mede medicyne*; 25 *rithful soule symple soule (Lat. iusti mentem)*; 36 to *fantasiyn in falle in to*; 97–98 be *mounys not be synnyth nezt*; 142 syngyen say, and reversals of word order, such as 13 to *take non heed non hede to take*. Additions are few and minor but include 141 *fantasijs wyl ne fantasye*; 187 *herto þereto yt encresiþ*; 191 *trauailis trauaylous thouȝtys*; 203 to *non thing to goddys servyce and to non oþir þinge*. Omissions that are probably deliberate include 57 in *his berte*; 171 mekyly; 216 trewe; 217 vile. Eyeskip probably accounts for some other small omissions, as it does for the longer omissions at 12 of *schrewyndnesse of þe fend er*; 40–41 is *þe beleew of rithfulnesse vp quiche wordis seyth þe glose alone in a mannys wil*; 71 for *þer was neuere man disseyued of þe fend*; 139 and *swiche a man þat is þus trauaylid*; and 192–93 and *þis doth he nouth for þat he wolde þat a man were oftyn schriuen*.


(iv) A (MS Add. 37049, ff. 91v–93r)

A is an incomplete redaction of ME2, omitting approximately the last quarter of the text (ending with line 188, . . . for *heere is þe blisse of heuene*), as well as lines 64–73 and 116–63. Some text has also been lost due to damage to the corners of the leaves. There are a fair number of variants, which typically represent efforts to clarify or improve the text in minor ways. There are frequent small alterations to the word order and substitutions: for example, 35 *fondynge of þe fend] fendas temptaciouns; 57–58 mow perceyuen in his berte no verru repentauce] may noght perceyfe verru repentance in his bert; 85 qwemful] dere; 87 wel þanne it is knowe] it is
known wele; 173 daliaunce] commynycacioun. Instances where A’s changes affect the meaning are 9 fals leuyng] fals leynge; 42 gilt] payne; 47 herte deem] fantesyes and temptaciouns has bene; 105 mychel] mekly. There are a small number of minor expansions, including 13 trauylis] trauels and angyr; 110 þero[ of þe comforte of god; 168 purgyn hym] purge hym and clense hym. More frequently, A’s changes involve small omissions that make the text more concise, such as 10 see hem] om.; 16 duellyth ransakyng and thenkand] ransakes and þinkes; 90–91 þese clerkis of kendis seyn] clerkes. A phrase is apparently omitted to improve the flow of sense at 173–75 and if it falle in here berte þat þei schul be lorn for þei wil not beheldeyn þem þei o wyn non heed takyn to swyche thouhtis.

A is written in a current hand, but while there are frequent mechanical errors, these have been corrected by the main scribe, so that the resulting text is accurate.

Isolative variants: 3 olde om.; 10–11 of gret mede] om.; 47 herte deeme] fantesyes and temptaciouns has bene; 49 a verr[ om.; 58 byddith his bodys] says his prayers; 168 purgyn hym] purge hym and clense hym.

(v) Br (Bristol PL, MS 6, ff. 121v–27v)

Though recognisably a text of ME2, this copy has been substantially altered. There are constant changes to the phrasing, some material has been added, and some has been omitted, including all of lines 156–63, 170–77, and 189–230.

It appears that this copy of ME2 has been conflated with a Latin DR text, in a similar manner to the conflated W1 copy of ME1b. The redactor improved his text of ME2 by retranslating in parts and by carefully adding in translations of missing material. The existence of a Latin copy-text is shown by a direct quotation, ‘voluntate delibera grata et rata’ (line 53), that is written by Br’s main scribe, evidently to clarify the sense of the passage, in the margin of f. 124v. This note further suggests that Br is itself the original copy of this version, though it is also possible that the note was copied along with the text from Br’s exemplar.

The aim of Br’s redactor is to rework and improve ME2 with reference to the Latin source, though without following the source strictly or incorporating all of the Latin material. The longest passages added from the Latin are the following:

4
and whom he kanne not bryng from the grownde of the feyth of holy chyrche, at the
lest he contynuelly ys abought wyth hys deceytes to trowbel

quam non potest a soliditate fidei deicere, saltem suis astucijis conatur indesinenter
perturbare

Corde creditur ad iusticiam; ore autem confessio fit ad salutem. ‘The beleue of a
mannyys hert ys necessarye yef he will be ryghtwese’; and farthermorer he sayth: ‘The
knowlege of our fayth wyth our mouth ys helthful to the soule.’

Corde creditur ad iusticiam . . . ore confessio fit ad salutem.

[For þer was neuere man disseyued of þe fend] withoutyn assent of his owyn wil, and
swyche a wil þat is ful avised and qwemful with verr assent of herte, for a werous and
a traualious wil purtit not a man froo God.

And full feble may our enemy the fend be callid that ouercometh wyth temptacyon no
man but oonly hym that wyll yeue full assent to hyme and þat wyth such a wylle that
cummeth by a delyberacion of a mannys hert frely and wyllfull wyth very assent of
hert.

Et debilis est hostis qui non vicit nisi volentem, et hoc voluntate deliberata, grata, et
rata.

For þe fend knowyth home he shall meue with the synne of couertyse; to home
glotony; to home lechery, wrath; to whome with enuy; and some he meuyth wyth
[CQ sic] and some with fals yoy. For he discussyth wherto euery man is most dysposyd
and to what there affeccyons ben dysposyd too, and yn those thyngis he sekyth the
menes to deceyue a man yn þe which he fyndyth a man most besly ocupeyd.

Nouit enim cui adhibeat cupiditatis estus, cui gule illecebras suggerat, cui apponat
incitamenta luxurie, cui infundat virus inuidiae; nouit quem merore conturbet, quem
fallat gaudio, quem metu opprimat, quem admiracione seduccat: omnium discutit
consuetudines, ventilat curas, scrutatur affectus; et ibi causas requirit nocendi, ubi
And Iob sayth: ‘My lord hath proued me wyth trouble as the fyre doth proue gold.’

Et Iob dicit: ‘Probuit me quasi aurum per ignem transit’.

quemque videt studiosius occupari.

And alwey among þei auhtyn to thenkyn on þe greet mede þat longith to pacience and how oure soules spouse Ihesu hymself so mychel putt to þe mater of pacience þat he seyde: ‘Mi soule is sari to þe deed.’

And what merueyl ys it thou a man that ys mortall and ful of wrechydnesse suffer troubl yn thys vale of wrechydnesse, seyng that oure sauyour hymself suffred so much trouble, sayng by hymself yn the gospell: ‘My hert ys sorowful to goo to the deth’.

The troubl present ys but short and momentany and also ys but lytyll, remembryng þe euerlastyng payne þat we trust to be delyuyrd of þerby and also remembryng the yoy þat we trust to be made partakers of by þe pacyent suffryng of them.

The more þat he his trauayled ageyns his wil, be it in feith or in hoope or in charite, þe more he is afore God strengthid and saddid in alle goode thewis

whyll þat hys good wyll doth abyyd, he ys nother put frome hys fyeth fro hope nor fro charyte þerby, but he ys þe more growndly mad stedfast yn all vertue
permanentem bona voluntate, nec a fide nec a spe vel a caritate deicitur, sed solidius in
omni virtute roboratur.

Lat. permanente bona voluntate, nec a fide nec a spe vel a caritate deicitur, sed solidius in
omni virtute roboratur

134–35

Ca he ḣat is sori and trauailyd qwanne he heerith ḣe goode comfort of his brôjer or his
sostyr

Br he ḣat ys confermyde and made stedfast by hys neyghburos techyng and so made
perfyte yn cryste

Lat. Confirmatus autem a proximo et perfectus in Christo

236

Br And whan ḣe enemy kanne by no menys wakyng departe the soule fro God, than
suffurth our lord hym to vex them whyle they ben slepyng, and ḣat ys of ḣe gret mercy
of our lord that not oonly hys troubuls wakyng to hym shuld be merite, but as well ḣe
troubuls suffred yn tyme of slepe.

Lat. Hostis insidians quo electos vigilantes minime superat, eos dormientes grauius
impugnat. Et hoc permittit deus benigne ne in electorum cordibus ipse saltem a
passionis premio somnus vacet.

As well as these longer additions, Br occasionally rephrases the text in small ways to
better follow the Latin. Examples are 15–16 ne sekyn be qwat skyle be is so trawwayyled] nor too
dyscuse the cause of the commyng of them (Lat. nec discutere seu causas talium multum investigare);

67–68 in dispit of ḣe fend to ben aknowe his beleue and his hoope with his mouth] to mete hym
spekyng hys hyleue wytth hys mouthe to ḣe contrary of thy temptacyon ḣat be ys mewyd wytth (Lat. per
modum abiuracionis et contrarie assersionis fidem suam ore exprimendo objecto errore obuiare); and

101 Job] Jobe which ys the myrrour of pacynce (Lat. Job forma paciencie). There is a particular
effort to better follow the Latin section VIII throughout lines 103–34.

Besides adding Latin material, Br generally reworks the text of ME2 throughout, with
the aim of smoothing and simplifying it. The rewording ranges from individual words to
longer phrases such as 74–75 lat hem thenkyn qwat care goddis chosyn servauntis han suffrid in
erde] but let men thynke what sorowe holy fadres before vs yn diuere maners haue suffred by the
ordinaunce of god, and long rewritten passages at lines 87–97, 119–26, and 177–88. ‘God’ and
‘Ihesu’ are frequently changed to ‘our Lord’ or ‘our Saviour’.
There are occasional omissions to ME2, which can generally be attributed to the simplification of repetitive material. In a few instances, Br omits material even though it is found in the Latin. These include the following: 6–7 and 83–84 and 88–90 and 170–73

And for as mechil as hei þat ben þus trauayli dreedful and sori of complexioun, þere thyngis been needful to hem. Þe first is þat þei ben nowt mekyl aloone. Þe secunde is þa ðe þeynyn ne sekyn non þingis depli, but fullyche rewlyn hem be þe counseil and þe daliaunce of sum good man and wys. At lines 142–44, the reference to singing the divine service (Lat. psallat) is omitted, nor does the reductor translate the reference to reading holy scripture; this may indicate that a lay or general readership was in mind.

Lengthy omissions occur at lines 156–63, 170–77, and 189–230. The first two of these passages, concerning serving God in times of peace and trouble and that those suffering temptation should not remain alone and should follow the counsel of wise men, were perhaps judged to be repetitive. The reason behind the omission of lines 189 to 230 is less clear. This section concerns the deceptions sent by the devil under the appearance of good: the inappropriate and overscrupulous desire to confess, intrusive thoughts of past sins in divine service, neutral things appearing sinful and venial sins appearing deadly, and the importance of not trusting to a false conscience.

There are no significant additions other than those derived from the Latin, as described above, with the exception of one long added passage at line 66. This addition takes up the advice from section I that disturbing thoughts ought to be ignored, not engaged with:

But the best way ys whan he begennyth to feel þat vnlefull thought, myghtyly to occupy hys mynd with some vertues thought contrary to that wykkyd thought, and soo shall he best and lyghtlyest overcom the temptacyon. For it faryth wyth vs of such thoughtes or troubullys whych bene vnleful as it doth wyth a doge that barkyth at a man as he passyth by hym: yef soo be the man turne ayene and stryue wyth the doge, the more þat he stryuyth with hyme, the more feruent wyll the doge be to hurt hym; ye, and not oonly that, but yef any other
dogges be nye it shall also cause them to cumme and to barke at hym and to hurt hym, wher yef at the begynnyng he hade taken no heede to the barkyng but haue goon forth on hys way, þe doge wold full sone haue left hys barkyng, and he haue gon without jeopardy as wel of þe furst dog as of þe remenant. Ryght so ys it wyth vs: yef it fortune vs wyth one vnlefull thought alone to be meuyd in the begynnynge, yef we stryue wyth it as and we wold by vyolens put hyt away, we than do cause the thought mor ferfly to troubl vs, and not oonly we than doo tangyll ourself wyth þat thought alone but it causith oodur troubls also, whych parauenture ben much worse to come to vs and sore to hurte our soule. For the condycyons of a mannys mynd ys that the more he troubulth hys mynd or ys sory for anysthyng, the lengar that thyng wyll abyde wyth hyme. And therfore we should peasyblyly goo forth yn our way and not s tryue wyt thoo thoughtys but by good warkys and holy thoughtys, let the euyll passe, and not rekke of them. (ff. 123v–24r)

Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick note that there is a similar comparison of sinful thoughts to the barking of a dog in Hilton’s Scale, Book I, chapter 38, but the ultimate source of the simile is St Anselm’s De humanis moribus per similitudines, chapter 40: ‘Similitudo inter suggestionem, delectationem, consensum et canem’. The same extended simile also appears as an addition in the interpolated A2 copy of the Latin DR, CUL, MS Ii.6.3 (f. 36r). However, the passage in Br is not an exact translation of either the version in CUL, MS Ii.6.3 or the original from Anselm, but is a paraphrase, and furthermore, in CUL, MS Ii.6.3 it appears at a different place in the text, at section XII. None of the other numerous interpolations in CUL, MS Ii.6.3 appear in Br and it could not have been Br’s source. Nevertheless, it is quite possible, given the association of the passage with the DR tradition and the lack of any other original material in Br, that a version was present in Br’s Latin exemplar.

(vi) G (Glasgow UL, MS Hunter 520, pp. 315–335)

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287 Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 227.
This is a carefully written copy with few errors and few variants besides the group variants that are shared with Lo, as discussed below. There are a small number of substitutions and changes to word order, including 31 freelic] wilfully; 145 belthe] belpe; 151 and pees of soule] of body and of soule; 214 booliche] to obleche; and 233 medful] nedful. Errors occur at 74 caren] take; 98 peyne [ei ban] payne [ei; 158 maistrey] may stire. Omissions, possibly deliberate, occur at 11–12 [at comyn of schrewydnesse] om.; 75 goddis chosyn seruauntis] seruauntis; and 231–32 of he love and of he cumfort of god] of god, and there is one omission due to eyeskip at 234–35 and perchore he been moore medful [an bodily]. There are no additions.


(vii) Lo (Longleat, MS 29, ff. 69r–73v)

This copy contains a fair number of variants, mainly substitutions and small omissions, resulting from scribal efforts to clarify and smooth the text. There are frequent changes to the word order: for example, 14–15 ne be ouith nouth] and no man ought; 130–31 thourb myt of Cristes grace and his preyere verryli donh [e deyyl] [rogh the myght of [e grace of criste bereth donh [e deyyl] [rogh his preyer. Substitution is common, often with the purpose of modernising the vocabulary: for example, 9 non fals leuyng] falsheed; 52 apertly] openly; 91 cernel] brayn; 129 recchende] takynge hede; 216 wolde leetyn] shold hold. Instances where these changes affect the meaning include 18 veyn dyuers and non ende ban] veyn and none bene bath (Lat. vane sunt et varie ymmo quasi infinite); 108 let not a synful man merueylin [oowb his berte be sory] let nat a synful mannes bert he sory (Lat. quid mirum si homo mortalis et miserabilis in presenti turbetur); 165 is stabilisbed] setithe bym deped in loue; and 202 al ibing bath tyme] al men baue tyme.

Instances of error occur at 17 more deepe] more deseire and 56 be wil] [at be wold. Lo also omits the only Latin scriptural quotations remaining in ME2, at lines 103, 136–37, and 227, leaving only the translations.

Additions are very few and minor, such as 15 merueyl] meruail of such, except for the following small expansion: 114–15 ne merueyle no man how a gostly man and a good snglerly be temptid for he more [at he his trauaylid ageyns bis wil be it in feith or in hoole or in charite] ne meruayle no man agons goddis wil be it in feiþ or in hope or in charite for he more a man is tempted in hem and proued G, ne gurche no man agays goddys wille ne merueil be nat of hys maner of
temptacion for the more hat a man or a woman is tempted in his maner or in any other and be mekely and paciently withstond bit nat assentinge therto Lo. More frequent are small omissions, which usually simplify redundant phrasing: for example, 32 driue and turmentid] dryuen; 99 wiln ben] ben; 150 vnlikyng and vnreste] vnlykynge; 152 in he bil; 224 in consience ageyns his wil. There is an omission due to eyeskip at 76–77 he feend, sumtyme be steryng of.


7.3.2 Groups of Manuscripts

(i) GLo

The constant agreement of G and Lo throughout shows that they must share a common ancestor, $\alpha$. These shared variants are frequent and generally minor. They reveal occasional efforts to simplify the phrasing: for example, 43 be his fre wil] wilfulliche;\textsuperscript{289} 56 quat oure hat] whan; 122 quete he moore it is castyn] for he more hat whete is caste; 174 non heed takyn] to take noon bede; or to otherwise improve the reading: for example, 16 ransakyng] in sechyng; 62 oftyn tofore; 120 fonden] affenden; 235 with good avisement] wiþouten ony auysement; and perhaps 80 asayith] aspieþ. In section I him is used instead of a man to address the reader directly. At 45–46 goode deedis schewyn a good wil, and euyl deedis an euyl wil (Lat. opera bona bonam voluntatem probant, et mala malam) is altered to goode deeds schewene in a good wil, and yuel dedes schewen in an yuel wil. In addition, the following three scriptural quotations are altered to follow the Vulgate more closely: 138 to hym wil i ben aknowe] ȝut i schal knoweliche to him; 188 blisse] kyngdom; 228–29 schal delyueren] hþæþ delyuered. Accidental errors may occur at 94 resonable] resoun ne able and 94 demyn] mene. There are no additions in $\alpha$, but there are a number of minor omissions, including 6–8 wisly and gostly owyt a man to withstanden he fondynggis and he wrenchis of he fend he first rewle of wythsettyng he fend in fondynggis is to ȝeue] wisly rewle hee first to withstonde he fend and suche fondyngis and yf; 31 fals ȝernyngges and] om.; 36 to manyns soule] om.; 59 caryn ne demyn] deme; 75 chosyn] om. (Lat.: electos); 102 stedfastly] om.; 114 how a gostly man and a good synglerly be temptid] om. (Lat. quod homo spiritualis

\textsuperscript{289} The variant in these examples is taken from G. In all cases Lo is in substantive agreement.
spiritualiter et quasi singulariter temptatur). There are longer omissions due to eyeskip at 49–50 for it is a gret synne a man to demyn and 223–24 in his soule and swiche a man hat bath fals doomys and tarijs.


(ii) Other Groups

There are frequent further agreements between two or more of the witnesses, but the agreements are conflicting and none are persistent or significant enough to attest to any further groups. Only the agreements between G and Lo are clearly numerically significant: a count reveals that GLo agree 48 times, while the next most frequent are H2bA at 14, ALo at 12, and LeA at 10. The most significant of these further agreements are as follows:

4 a meruelious maner] merueylous manerys LeH2bGLo
11 angwyschis] angrys LeA, angry H2b (rewritten in Br)
17 angwyssis] angrys H2bA (rewritten in LeBr)
20 bis] hys owne BrGLo
22 ageyns] angwesbes of BrG, angwisbes agayn Lo
30 of þe self of þe soule Le, om. H2bA, of oure self Br, of þe self soule GLo
31 zernynge] desyryn Le, (styrnynges canc.) desyres A
32 bileus] velegys LeLo, violence H2bG, and volecular A (wykkydnesse Br)
35 weeryn] erryn LeBrGLo, waxe weery H2b, dowte A
39 weerful] fals H2b, doweful ALo, ferful G
44 fortrauaylid and forleyd] traueld and ouerlayd AGLo, farre trauayllyd and ouerlayd Br
48 weeros] om. Le, false H2b, dowful ALo, erreurs Br
50 weer] douyte H2bALo, a doughte Br
52 any werous] a veyn Le, false H2b, a dowful þoght and A, an erroneous Br, doubtous Lo
63 fantasys] þougtyys and fantasyes H2b, fanteys A, fantasys and thoughtys Br
88 vice] wyse Le, weies G, wey Lo
91 cernel] femerell Le, (brayne canc.) attrel A, brayn Lo (rewritten in Br)

As based on the variants noted in the textual apparatus only, excluding sections where A or Br are incomplete.
96 skilful enchesoun] skylful cause Le, encheson skylful H2bG, cause skylfull A
102 stedfastly] om. H2bGLo, also Br
107 arn] was LeAGLo, ys H2b (om. Br)
107–08 al maner] om. LeH2bA, al Lo
109 myhtily] mekely LeGLo, myylely H2b, myghtyly and mekely A (wyth a good hope pacently Br)
112 many] my many LeH2b, my Br
119 as seith þe gospel, in hat it is schewyd] as seynt iohn shewyth yt Le, as seynt austyn seith yt symyth H2b, as Seynt Poule sayth Br, as seint luke it schewep G, as seynt layk seith bit sheweth Lo (om. A)
131–32 to god in pacience] (to Le) (be H2b) pacyens to god LeH2b (missing in A)
136–37 quoniam adbbc confitebor illi] et cetera LeG, om. Lo (missing in A)
153–54 Ihesu among his turmentouris] bim in his turment Le, bym in turnent Br (missing in A)
161 be tbar] let bim LeH2bGLo (missing in ABr)
162 be may] let bim LeH2bGLo (missing in ABr)
199 doon] onys do LeH2b (missing in ABr)
201 quiche] suche LeH2b (missing in ABr)
228 tribulaciouns] traveylys Le, tribulacyouns and trauayles H2b (missing in ABr)

It is possible that the slightly persistent agreements between Le, H, and A indicate a genetic relationship, but there is no clear evidence for this. Rather, all of the agreements, besides GLo, are potentially the result of coincidental scribal changes. Some of these are errors or minor variations in wording, while others are attempts to normalise unfamiliar or difficult readings. Lo, A, and Le are particularly liable to normalise readings, and it explains Lo’s agreements with other manuscripts independently from G. For example, Lo and A tend to replace Ca’s weer with doubt, and Lo, A, and Br replace Ca’s fondynggis with temptations. Normalisation may account for such examples as 96 skilful enchesoun] skylful cause Le, cause skylfull A; 107–08 ful of al maner grace] ful of grace LeH2bA; 153–54 Ihesu among his turmentouris] bim in his turment Le, bym in turnent Br; and 44 fortrauaylidyd and forleyd] traueld and overlayd AGLo, farre trauayllyd and overleyd Br, in which an original fortrauaylidyd could have been shortened in AGLo and an original overlayd (‘overcome’; Lat. obnubilando) changed under its influence to forleyd (‘amazed’) in CaLeH. The synonyms angwyschis and angris perhaps both appeared in lines 11–17 of the original, leading to their varied use among the witnesses. There is also the possibility of conflation, or the use of more than one witness. Potential conflation of A with a
source like Le is suggested by A’s duplication of synonymns at 31: *sernyngges* desyring Le, *stryynges* canc. desyres A; 91: cernel femerell Le; (brayne canc.) attrell of he bede A; 109: mytily mekely Le, GLo, myleely H2b, myghtyly and mekely A. Other apparent agreements may represent the preservation of original readings. For example, *houȝtys and fantasyes* may be the original reading of 63: *fantasiys* houȝtys and fantasyes H2b, fantasies and thoughtys Br, and either of *he self* or of *he self soule* may be the original of 30: *of he self* of he soule Le, om. H2bA, of he self soule GLo, of oure self Br.

7.3.3 Stemma

The following basic stemma is therefore suggested, but this should not be regarded as conclusive. Further textual affiliation or conflation may exist.

7.3.4 Choice of a Base Text

Br may be disqualified as a base text due to its conflation of ME2 and the Latin source, which separates it from the standard tradition of ME2 as preserved in the other witnesses. Among the remaining copies, A may be disqualified first because it is incomplete, missing a large amount of text due to redaction and damage. H2b is an unreliable copy, with frequent errors. Both Lo and Le have relatively large numbers of individual variants, as do G and Lo as a group. Ca has significantly fewer variants than these other witnesses, suggesting a close relationship to the archetype. Ca was therefore chosen as the base text.

7.4 ME3
7.4.1 The Source of ME3

ME3 is related more closely to the ME2 manuscript Lo (Longleat, MS 29) and the group GLo than to any other surviving witness of ME2. ME3 preserves nearly all of the variants found in the GLo group. For example:

18–19
ME3    And þerfore wysely reule þou to withstondyn the fend in eche foundynge or v yolent tempytynge of temptacion
ME2 (Ca)    And þerfore wisly and gostly owyth a man to withstanþ þe fondynnggis and þe wrenchis of þe fend. þe first rewle of wythsetting þe fend in fondynggis
ME2 (G)    And þerfore wisly rewle þee first to withstonde þe fende and suche fondynggis
ME2 (Lo)    And therefor wysely rule the first to withstond the fend in such temptacions

This suggests that ME3’s source text descended from α, the reconstructed ancestor of GLo. In a small number of cases ME3 agrees with the other ME2 witnesses but not GLo, which complicates this picture: these include 113 asayeth, Ca asayith, GLo aspieth; 54 to a manys soule, Ca to manmys soul, GLo om.; 68 fore þer schulde non demen, Ca for it is a gret synne a man to demyn, GLo om.; and 504 and þerfore howeþ a man haue neuere so many teryenges, Ca and swiche a man þat bath fals doomys and tariis, GLo om. However, these may possibly result from coincidental errors such as eyeskip omissions in G and Lo, or from correction and normalisation in ME3.

ME3 very frequently follows reading s in Lo but not G, as in the following passage:

288–92
ME3    And þerfore grutche no man aȝens the will of God, ne merueile not of þese maner of temptacions. For the more a man or woman is tempted in this maner or in ony other maner aȝens here wil, and thei withstonde it, þat is to seye not with a quemeful wil consentynge þerto but mekely suffereth it, þe more thei ben sadded in good vertues and profyten in the syghte of God.
ME2 (Ca)    Ne merueyle no man þow a gostly man and a good synglerly be temptid, for þe more þat he his trauayled ageyns his wil, be it in feith or in hoope or in charite, þe more he is afor God strengthid and saddid in alle goode thewis.
ME2 (G)  Ne meruayle no man aȝens Goddis wil, be it in feiþ or in hope or in charite. 
For þe more a man is tempted in hem and proued, þe more he is afofn God 
strengþed and sadded in alle goode þewes.

ME2 (Lo)  Ne gurche no man agayns Goddys wille, ne merueil he nat of þis maner of 
temptacion. For the more þat a man or a woman is tempted in þis maner or in 
any other, and he mekely and paciently withstond hit, nat assentanyl therto, 
þe more afor God he is sedded in good thewes.

Similar examples occur throughout. Occasionally, however, Lo diverges from ME3: for 
example, 346 vttirly schende, Ca vttirly schendyn, G vttirlyche sendiþ, Lo entierly shendeth.

The source of ME3 can therefore most likely be placed in a line of descent between α 
and Lo. In the following discussion, wherever readings from ME3 are directly comparable to 
equivalent readings in ME2, the ME2 readings have been transcribed from Lo rather than 
from the text of Ca as edited in this thesis, for greater accuracy.

7.4.2 Individual Witnesses and Isolative Variants

None of the six witnesses of ME3 is directly descended from any other, as each has 
isolative variants which all the other witnesses agree against, and which are not likely to have 
been independently corrected.

(i) Cb (CUL, Hh.1.11, ff. 100r–16r)

There are very few variants in which the other witnesses agree against the base text, 
Cb. An omission due to eyeskip has been emended at 156–57. Three further omissions may 
also be the result of eyeskip, but have not been emended because Cb makes acceptable sense as 
it stands: these are 47 soule] withouten ony wylle of the selue soule add. H3, without any wil of the 
same man add. Wo, withoute eny wil of ibis ilke soule add. Ho, without the consente or wyll of the 
sayd selfe soule add. W2D (ME2: suffreth þe fend to worche in the soule withouten eny wille of the self soule); 128 and] and howe dyseesy ys the wey to heuenwarde and H3, and thynke that to suffre 
dysease paciently is the waye to heuenwarde and W2, then thynke for to suffer temptacyons or sekenes 
paciently is þe next way to heueynwarde and D, om. WoHo; and 385 world] þat he in no wyse be 
longe from hym in þe toþer worlde add. H3WoHo, that in noo wyse he be from hym in the
euerlastyng worlde add. W2D (ME2: þat he shold no wise be lange from hym in the toþer).

Deliberate omission may occur in the following places (but see account of the group H3W2D below): 196 alegaunças allegaunce or lytter to suffre H3, allegaunce Ho, alygeaunce or lytter payne to suffre W2, throughe his mercy lyghter paynes to suffer D, om. Wo; and 244 here owne synnes þat accused here, so þat accuseden her þer owne synnes were so vopenly sbewed afor þem H3, that accuseden bir bir owne synnes so WoHo, whiche accused her that they so largely (and so oppynly D) perceyued theyr (awne D) synnes W2D.

There are also a small number of minor substitutions and additions, including 67 verse] weersum H3Ho, wersioum Wo, om. W2D (ME2 [Ca]: weerous); 70 swich] that H3WoHoW2D; 197 bis] the H3WoHoW2D; 267 growe] to growe H3WoHoW2D; 466 comendable] conuenyable H3WoHo, due W2, om. D; 698 a ful ysement] fulle avysement H3WoHoW2D (ME2: aysement); 45 afore the sighte of God] afore God H3WoHoW2D (ME2: byfore God); 271 blisse] om. H3WoHoW2D; and 617 other] om. H3WoHoW2D. Readings that are likely erroneous include 205 infynyte] infyrmyte H3WoHo, infyrmytees W2D; 263 self] lyfe H3WoHoW2D; 427 or werysom] om. H3WoHoW2D; 447 tyme] synne H3WoHo, thyng W2D. At 338 myght sent] myȝtty cytee H3W2D, myȝt set Ho, a comforte Wo (ME2: myȝghty citee), Cb and Ho (or WoHo) have probably independently misread ‘city’. A small number of further mechanical errors, such as 108 righteful] rghteful Cb, have been emended in the edition.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 47 and 385 as above; 70 swich] that WoHoH3W2D; 197 bis] the H3WoHoW2D; 698 a ful ysement] fulle avysement H3WoHoW2D.

(ii) H3 (MS Harley 1706, ff. 115v–39v)

H3 is textually very close to Cb. There are unusually few variants between these two, compared with the usual high incidence of variation among DR manuscripts.

The variants in H3 are typically very minor. The scribe has aimed to copy the exemplar faithfully, as is illustrated by the correction of a minor variant at 37 no more] (neuer mo canc.) no more. There are nevertheless some small additions, substitutions, and changes to word order, such as 27 materis] mater; 82 more baue] baue more; 87 wil] mynd (ME2: will); 116 purgeth] purij; 391 good discret persone] dyscrete man; 588 dee] halfe; and 692 þe feende, enemye to al mankende, tormenteth þe feende baþe enuye to alle mankynde tormentynge (ME2: þe wronge addyr, enemy to mankynd, tormenteth). The full citation given at 37 de summo bono] de
summo bono tercio libro (ME2 [Ca.]: de summo bono in þe thridde book) is probably an original reading retained by H3, but the scribe may have recognised and added it independently. More frequent than substitutions and additions are omissions of single words, such as 71 fantasies, which are probably largely accidental. There are also several longer omissions due to eyeskip:

60–61 Pat is to seyn, a man aforn God bath neuer meede ne gylt (ME2: Pat is to seyn, a man byfor God bath neýer mede ne gylt); 263 for a gardener; 574–75 muste nedys purysche synne, and þerfore I drede his rightwynese; 602–03 whanne be seeth tyne. And þouȝ be sende not to a man comfort; 613 and oure lord answerde hym; 672–73 and þerfore if we putte alwey oure wil in his wil. An omission at 688 and beth glad þat þe feende bath enuye onto ȝou is not accountable to eyeskip, but is probably accidental as the sense of the passage is lost. There are a small number of mechanical errors, such as 145 forȝeuen] forȝeuensse.

On f. 116v there is a marginal note in Latin, in a different ink and possibly by the main scribe, of the quotation from Augustine at line 35–36 (‘peccatum est adeo voluntarium, quod si non sit voluntarium, non est peccatum’); as the quotation would have been a familiar one, this does not suggest any knowledge of the Latin DR.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 60–61, 263, 574–75, 602–03, and 613 as above; 87 wil] mynd; 207 or wytyngly] om.; 692 þe feende, eneme to al mankende, tormenteth] þe feende bape enuye to alle mankynde tormentynge.

(iii) Wo (Worcester CL, MS F. 172, ff. 33v–44r)

Wo is characterised by frequent paraphrasing. There are numerous minor and casual variants, and some rephrasing of longer lines such as 47 be oure owne wikkid wil fully don] do wiked syynne wilfully (ME2: by wikked wille don fully). These do not usually affect the sense of the text, but one notable change is a greater emphasis placed on belief at 227–29 Crede in deum patrem omnipotentem; beleve, seyd oure lord Ihesu, þat God þe fader is almyghtyful, as who seyb, þer is no þing impossible] credo quia omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Bilieve quod our lord ihesu for to hym that bilevith ther is noþyng impossible, and 229 may forȝeue] may and wil foryeve to hym that bilevith or is of trewe feith. There is a tendency to change references to ‘man’ to ‘man or woman’, suggesting that the scribe of Wo or of its source wrote for a female readership.

Citations of authorities are also added to the text in the following places: 108 leo þe pope seith] leo the pope seith in his omelies; 145 whiche] as seith seynt augustyn de verbis domini; 250 knowe]
knowyng as saith seynt augustyne, showing that either this scribe or a previous annotator was well versed in DR's source material.

The variants in Wo occasionally involve small expansions, such as 150 myspaied withal some more significant additions are 491 be some good discret persone sum fadir that is a goode man and a wise that is expert in the fiendis disceites temptaciouns and subtiletes; 631–32 also his holy vertues vpon his most mervailous mekenes and vpon his contynual fervent love that he hadde and ever bath to yow and to al mankynde and vpon his chastite pacience and other vertues; 688 and say thus. Lord your wil ever be do and nat my wil but mercifullly kepitth me as I truste verily in yow. And if ye fynde in yow greate dulnes strong temptacioun and litil deuocioun or non so ye take it mekely as I saide before beeth glad so ye have a goode wil for dulnes. Less frequently, there are minor omissions probably made for the sake of simplification, including the longer examples 17–18 be is ful besy to dysese and to disseyve mannes soule; 196 and of þe peynes ȝeueth alegegaunces; 290–91 thet withstandith nat with ful consentynge. Further omissions most likely due to accidental eyeskip occur at 122–23, 126, 213–14, 519–20, 578–79, 600–01, and 628–29. Throughout Wo there are numerous errors or defective readings arising from misreadings or carelessness, such as 23 they ben trauelous they travilous; 388–89 thre thynges; 494 wit betyr ían] withoute bettir and; and 657 houȝt, and seyd. Glorious trinite, sende me clennesse of herte of hertly pride, and the accidental omissions already noted. There are also several instances, e.g, 147, 486, and 493, where phrases are erroneously repeated.


(iv) Ho (MS Holkham Misc. 41, pp. 99–193)

This manuscript is damaged throughout with small holes and stains caused by damp, leaving some words only partly visible. As a rule, the text is at least legible enough to be recognised as the same either as the base manuscript or the textually related Wo. It is possible, however, that in some cases these identifications have been mistaken and that variants in Ho have been missed. Any uncertain readings from Ho appear in the apparatus in angle brackets, with question marks.
A single folio of text is also missing from the manuscript. This missing section begins with line 599, 'synful man', and ends with line 616, 'he seyde þat alle'.

Outside of the group variants that it shares with Wo, Ho is textually quite close to Cb and H3. Its unique variants consist mainly of omissions of single words, most of these probably deliberate in order to slightly simplify the text. There are occasional substitutions and changes to word order, such as 69 oncertyne\[ in none certein or 104 ment\] takyn, and some erroneous readings, such as 275 oonly\[ ony. At 445–46 there is an omission due to eyeskip. There are two longer omissions at the end of the text, 688–90 for whiles þe lyf is in the body be wil entarye alway Goddis seruauntis, for be is ful set aȝens hem, with al malice and velanye to disse hem in diuers maneris in al þat be kan and may and 692–94 And Seynt Gregory seith þat þer is noþing in whiche we owne to ben so seker of God as for to haue taryenges and tormentes, the reason for which is unclear.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 688–90 and 692–94; 186 preyseynges\[ om.; 238 mercy and] om.; 326 þe more þat\[ it farith be.

(v) D (Dublin TCL, MS 154, ff. 3r–82r)

D represents a free adaptation of γ, the source that it shares with W2. There are constant changes to phrasing and some additions—including a lengthy interpolation from Richard Rolle's *Form of Living*—and the text is rearranged in part, placing D even further textually from γ than γ is from the archetype of ME3.

D is characterised by frequent substitutions and changes to word order. Typical examples are 6–7 Seynt Iame the apostele thecbeth vs] þe appostell sanct Jamys sayth; 26 tyl God do remedy\[ to it please god at sende a remedy (ME2: til God wil do remedy); 337 onkende] vnkynd and out of true charite. D will typically expand slightly upon the text to give it further emphasis. The words ‘doutless’, ‘evermore’, and ‘great’ are interpolated throughout, and ‘that’ is frequently changed to ‘which’, ‘Ihesu’ to ‘sweet Ihesu’, ‘evil’ to ‘ill’, and ‘though’ to ‘if’. A number of short phrases in Latin are added in places suggested by the text: e.g., 38 do wel\[ do well in as meche as we may in quantum possimus, 145–46 whiche may not ben forȝeuen here ne elleswhere\] quod non remittetur in hoc seculo neque in futuro. Uniquely among the witnesses, D also prefaces each chapter with descriptive headings. D rarely omits or shortens material, but there are occasional examples, e.g., 90 mater of grace and. Notably, at 103–04 and elsewhere D
does omit or alter the addresses to a ‘sister’, implying that the scribe of D or of its source wrote for a male audience. Eyeskip probably accounts for omissions at 174–75, 367–68, and 374.

Most of the additions in D are simple expansions upon the text, but a few are more significant. These include: 170 truste to goddis mercy] trust in he mercy of god and leue there synnys; 207 to synne] to synne upon trust of thy mercy W2, to synne upon a trust of hi he gret mercy for doutles all suche may knawe that for truthe he pope may nott absolue them D; 238 forseyuenesse] mercy beyng in perfitte wyll neuer to fall agayne; 250 mercy and grace] mercy and grace, yff hat they be in perfitte wyll and mynd to amende without he wiche neuer one may be saued; 787 or negligent and recbeles in vertues] and thynke hym selfe to be as holy as a angell. And so for gret goostly pryde and vaneglorye be schulde do as lucyfere dyd wiche fell from he beghte of bewyn vnto he depest pytte in hel; 390 ne seche no þing deeply] ne study to depely in ony one thynge W2, nor studye to depley in any thynge, most specially in hye thynge whiche þat be aboue theyr understandynge D; 491–92 be bene confessor, or be some good discret persone, and rule hem fully aftir hym and not aftir her owne blynde myrulyd consciens] by theyr confessor or some other dyscrete persone and fully put them to theyr rule as aforé is sayd and no thynge folowe theyr owne blynde conscience W2; by theyre confesser, yf so be þat be a gostly man and bayth experyence of suche gostly temptacyons ellys it is perlouse as holy scriptur sayth. Si cecus cecum ducat ambo in foueam cadunt. And so then they are bondon to inquire counsell of sum other dyscret person wiche þat knawys and hayth experyence to gyue theym gud and true counsell and so then they are truely bone to folow theyre counsell and leve þe fantesys of þer owne selfe wyll and blynde conscience D. There is a lengthy addition at line 696, as follows:

And verraly þer be sum men in þe varlde þat doth labore gretly all þer lyue for þe gostly love with swettenes of deuocyon, and yet can they neuer geyte it. And whye for, þe good lorde kepyts it fro them for þe more mede and reward in hewyn. For doutles his ryghtwysnes is so þat he wyll neuer lett a man lyf here in pane all his lyve for his love bott he wyll rewarde hym dowble in hewyn, above them þat are fede all in swettenes of deuocyon, wiche is vnto them gret ioye and comforth and vnto þe other gret payne and vexacyon. And sum doctors sayth þat they wiche be here in thyvarlde so comfourth with þe swettenes of contemplacyon shall haue þe lesse ioe in hewyn, wiche doth compare them vnto a seruand þat hayth taken his wage before hande and þen verraly he hayth þe lesse to resayve at þe yere ende. And therfore it is called a
spyruyall glotony. Neuerpelesse I say nott bott euyre true goostly man is bone to
labour for it pacently yf it please god to send hym it, euermore preferryng þe wylyys of
god beforeoure desyrys, for þat is þe moost hye perfeccyan in all maner of thynys. (ff. 79v–81v)

These additions are cautious and admonitory, emphasising the need to renounce sin rather
than simply trusting to God's mercy, and warning against spiritual pride. D addresses the
reader as a 'true goostly man', who nevertheless requires warning against 'hye thynges whiche
þat be aboue theyr vnderstandynge'.

There is a significant alteration to the seventh chapter. Here the text describes three
temptations of the devil that appear to be positive—to confess too often, to neglect regular
divine service to pursue personal devotional feelings, and to feel that 'honest solace' is sinful—and then describes the three remedies for these. D precedes these with a long passage
describing a fourth temptation, that of either indulging too much or abstaining too much in
food, drink, and sleep. The rest of the chapter follows, but it is rearranged so that the original
three temptations are placed together with their remedies for greater clarity (see apparatus at
line 423). This long added passage concerning indulgence and abstention, beginning at line
415, is taken entirely from The Form of Living by Richard Rolle. This addition would have
been suggested by the fact that in the W2D tradition DR is accompanied by other extracts
from the Form and is itself attributed to Rolle. It corresponds to approximately lines 184–202
and 439–60 of the EETS edition, quite heavily paraphrased.291 As the Form of Living addition
is too lengthy to reproduce in the apparatus, it is given here in full:

The first is when he counceellys vs to our moche eyse and ryst of our body and plesure
to our fleshe vnder þe coulore of rede to vpholde and susteyne our kynde. For suche
thoughtys he putte in vs, sayng vnto vs bott yf we ette well and drynke well and sleppe
well and kepe vs warme, we may nott serue God truely nor last in þe travell þat we
haue begone. Bot þere/ had þou rede to beholde wysely hys falshed, by wiche he
intendeth to bryng vs to our myche lust and lykyng of our bodys to mayke vs slawe
and colde in gostly loue and our bodys apte vnto dedely syn. Also, vnder þe lyknes of

291 S. J. Ogilvie-Thomason, Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts, EETS, OS 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Ogilvie-Thomason notes the presence of the extracts in D (p. xliii), though variants from the extracts are not included in the edition of Form of Living.
goostly loue and fervent dyssyr he intyces vs to veray scharpe harde and ouer myche penance for \(\text{to}/\) dystroye oure selfe, and says thus vnto vs: ‘\(\text{If}\) wote well \(\text{th}\) he or sche wiche suffers most pennaunce for \(\text{he}\) loue of God, they shall haue most meyd and rewarde in hewyn. And \(\text{perfort}\) se \(\text{hat}\) \(\text{hou}\) ete lyttyll and febyll meetys and drynke lesse and offtymes watter, wiche is good enoughe for \(\text{he}\). Take bott also lyttyll sclepe, weyer sharpe hayre next \(\text{hi}\) bare skyne, or haberione; all thyngrs wiche \(\text{hat}\) be affliccyon vnto \(\text{hi}\) fleshe, se \(\text{hat}\) \(\text{hou}\) do it, so \(\text{hat}\) ther be none \(\text{hat}\) may passe \(\text{he}\) in penance.’ I counsell \(\text{he}\) specyally to be we [sic] war of thys suttell decepcyon. For he \(\text{hat}\) says thus to \(\text{he}\), doubtles he is abowtwarde to slee \(\text{he}\) (w with canc.) with ouer myche penaunce aboue \(\text{hi}\) strenghe of \(\text{hi}\) nature, lyke as \(\text{he}\) other wolde slee \(\text{he}\) with ouer lyttyll penaunnce. And therfore yf \(\text{hou}\) wyll be ryght disposyd accordyng to good discrecyon, \(\text{hou}\) most sett \(\text{hi}\) mynde and wyll to lyfe in a meyne maner; \(\text{hat}\) is to say, take nawther to myche than to lyttyll penaunce. And therfore yf \(\text{hou}\) do it, so \(\text{hat}\) ther be none \(\text{hat}\) may passe \(\text{he}\) in penance.

142
weyt nor knawe. Verly true wysdome in gostly lyue is nother in fastyng nor in eettyng, bott þou þat art ryght wyse and vertuose, yf al thyngys be vnto \he/ equall, os luffyng pouerte as well as ryches, hunger and thurste as well as dylycate meettys or dryngkys. Yf þou take thes pacently wi thankys and gyff lowyng to God wi þi hart, þen doubtles I holde þe blessed and hye in þe syght of swet Iheu. (ff. 41v–46v)

Isolative variants: Omissions at 103–04, 174–75, 367–68, and 374; 18 wysely] se þat ze discreetly (ME2: wysely); 34 peyneful] euermore (ME2: peyneful); etc.

(vi) W2 (Wynkyn de Worde, The remedy against the troubles of temptations, 1508, ff. A2v–D2v); later editions W2b (1519); W2c (1525)

W2 has few variants besides the group variants that it shares with D. In the majority of instances where W2 and D differ in their readings, W2 is clearly closer to the original. This indicates that de Worde’s manuscript exemplar for W2 was textually close to the archetype of W2D and that it was little changed in printing.

There are nevertheless a small number of unique variants in W2, shown by the fact that D preserves readings from ME3. They are largely very minor additions or omissions, e.g., of articles or the words ‘that’ or ‘to’, or substitutions such as ‘but’ for ‘and’. Further small omissions, serving to smooth the text or to facilitate typesetting, include 233 for ȝou] om. W2, for your saluacyon D; 239 wil] mynde W2, mynd and wyll D; 240 mache and so gre] grete W2, myche D; 364 mad hym afered] fered W2, mayd hym so ferde D (ME2: mad hym so aferd); and 511 answere hym þus] answere W2, answer hym and say D. There are possible additions at 121 and] so lyke wyse (temptacyon W2) as W2D; 227 omnipotentem] omnipotentem creatorem celi et terre et in iesum christum filium eius; and 681–82 as for] a D, in þe syght of god for a good W2. Further variants occur at 93 dispite] the spyte (ME2: dispit); 520 vertuouse] vertuouly; 647 ȝoure] our; and 697 medeful] nedefull (ME2: medeful). There are few mechanical errors but these include 284 mafolde; 488 loue; 567 sady; and 693 gau. At 138 and afrayeth some sely creaturis] so ferynge synne good creatures W2, makys mony good creaturys so ferde D, W2 erroneously changes ‘some’ to the expected word ‘sin’.

W2b

W2b, the edition of 1519, introduces a small number of errors of composition as well as minor corrections to W2. Errors include 224 wordes] worlde; 261–62 in he welle of his] with the water of his [well W2, wyll W2b] of; 306 may] way; and 511–12 put fully] fully put W2, rully put W2b. The remaining variants consist mainly of minor improvements to readings in W2. Several of these follow D’s readings, indicating that for this edition W2 was checked and corrected against a manuscript belonging to the W2D family. These corrections include 20 of daughtes] ony douhte W2, no doute DW2b; 25 travels] trauayle W2, traweld DW2b; 38 a good wil to wilne weel] a good wyll to wyll well W2, a good wyll to god DW2b; 189 good] good and vertuous W2, god and vertuose DW2b; 543 suffered] suffreth W2, suffered DW2b; 639 moment] mynyte DW2b; 672–73 herfore if we putte alwey oure wil in his wil] than W2, when DW2b.

W2c

W2c, the edition of 1525, follows the text of W2b. It corrects W2b’s obvious errors and adds a small number of errors of its own, such as 151 it] is and 502 awey] alway. There are a small number of further minor variants, of which some are likely casual and some accidental, including 36 wilful wil] his wylful wyl; 48 ben drawen] drawen; 169 and] and in; 438 soule] soulis; and 697 medefid] medefull W2, medefull W2c.

7.4.3 Groups of Manuscripts

(i) W2D

W2 and D share significant variants throughout, showing that the two have a common source (γ). The fact that CbH3WoHo and not W2D as a group represent the original version of ME3 is clear because in all cases where W2D’s variants affect readings preserved from ME2, W2D alter these original readings while CbH3WoHo retain them more closely.

In W2D there are constant changes to word choice and phrasing, affecting nearly every line of the original. The changes are generally thoughtfully made and serve to clarify

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292 In the following examples the variant is taken from W2. D is in substantive agreement, unless otherwise indicated.
meaning or improve the flow, without significantly affecting the original sense. They include numerous minor variants; normalising of vocabulary such as 29 duell[a]laboureth (ME2: dwelleth); and longer substitutions and changes to word order such as 19 withstandyn the fend in ecbe founedyng or vyolent tempytynge] withstande bis vyolent sterynges (ME2: withstand the fend in such temptacions). There are occasional omissions of phrases or sentences, which tend to eliminate unnecessary repetition: these omissions include 68–69; 110–11; 113–15; 132–33; 180–81; 334–35; 353; 359–61; and 374–75. At line 348, a reference to ‘liȝt occupacion’ is omitted and ‘singing’ the divine service is altered to ‘saying’, and at 547, W2D omits a reference to religious persons being tempted by despair by the ‘deep ymagynacion of predestinacion’. Additions are less frequent and typically limited to small expansions such as 48 synne we] we commyte synne actually (ME2: we synne), though there is a short added line at 334 wberby be may be called a [savanquysber W2, conquerer D] or overcomer. At 124 W2D also specifies that melancholy people are tempted by ‘remptacyons of ire’; this is not found in any other version of DR.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 9, 68–69, 110–11, 113–15, 132–33, 180–81, 334–35, 353, and 374–75; 5 skeles] causes; 12–13 Seynt Austyn seyth þat þe perfeccion of euery vertu is] and it is necessary; etc.

(ii) WoHo

Wo and Ho share quite frequent variants, showing that the two derive from a common altered source (β). The variants reveal efforts to smooth and simplify readings, and include minor substitutions such as 60 whiche may not be] that is nat293 (ME2: whiche may nat be); changes to word order; omissions such as 37 de summo bono] om.; and infrequent additions such as 10 good] goode before god. At 336, WoHo simplifies the reading but if jou helpe to counsell and conferme thi brethern to counsaile thi bretheren; although this resembles ME2’s conferm[te the bretheren (cf. Luke 22.32, ‘confirma fratres tuos’), it is more likely an omission in WoHo than an addition in CbH3W2D. Longer additions occur at 51 that it may nat see it ne have the trewe knowlachyng of it; 87 a man or a womman shal nat be deemed after that he feelith but after that he wold feele with a ful advised wil; 180 for trustith fully that the passioun of our lord ihesu

293 The variant in these examples is taken from Wo. Ho is in substantive agreement, unless otherwise indicated.
crist and the precious bloode that he shedde wil clense and hele the sikenesse of al the soulis that mekely
twil take for medicyn; and 575 and deeme every man after that he bath deserved.

There are also several longer omissions throughout, which are likely made deliberately for simplification. These include the following, all of which are original readings preserved from ME2: 53–54; 109; 357–61; 403–04; 410–11; 440–41; and a long omission at 473–81.

There are no chapter headings in this group, and the textual divisions do not follow the normal chapter breaks.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 53–54, 109, 403–04, and 410–11; 10 suffre] let; 113 asayeth and proueth bis chosen frendes be temptacyo
ns and angres] bien bis [preved Wo, priue Ho] and chosen chieldren and special friendis.

(iii) H3W2D

Colledge and Chadwick state in their edition that ‘collation has produced some evidence to suggest that the common ancestor of [W2D] is more closely related to [H3] than to the other three’. There are only a small number of agreements between H3W2D, but some of these are indeed significant, including the following: 76 now] H3W2D, om. WoHo; 89 knowleche] of hem add. H3, of suche fantasies add. W2D; 117 proueb and pureth] preuen and purgen H3, purgeth W2D (ME2: prouen; likely independent substitution, as in the previous line, 116 purgeth] purīf H3WoHo); 228 almyghty] almty H3W2D, om. Wo; 338 myght sent] mystty cytee H3W2D, myzt set Ho, a conforte Wo (ME2: myghty cite; possibly a correction in H3W2D, but probably a preservation of the original reading); 525 vertuously] H3W2D; and 615 jugement] dome H3W2D [missing in Ho] (original reading likely ‘jugement’, as at line 158).

At line 128, there is a possible addition in H3W2D, but it is likely that this is rather an original reading that was omitted due to eyeskip in Cb and WoHo: 128 and] and howe
dyseesy ys the wey to heuenwarde and H3, and thynke that to suffre dysease pacyently is the waye to
beuenwarde and W2, then thynke for to suffer temptacyons or sekenes pacyently is þe next way to
beuenwarde and D. At 201, or lytter to suffre may be an addition in H3W2D or an original reading omitted in Cb and Ho or WoHo: 196 allegeaunces] allegaunce or lytter to suffre H3,

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294 Colledge and Chadwick, p. 217.
allegiance Ho, alygeneunce or lyghter payne to suffre W2, throughe hys mercy lyghter paynes to suffer D, om. Wo. Similarly, at 244, H3 and D share the reading ‘so openly’, but this was possibly an original reading simplified in Cb and WoHo and then rephrased in W2D: 244 here owne synnes þat accused here, so þat accuseden her þer owne synnes were so vopenly schewed afor þem þat H3, that accuseden bir bir owne synnes so that WoHo, whiche accused her that they so largely (and so oppynly D) perceyued theyr (awe D) synnes that W2D.

The following agreement is the most significant: 162 beren speke or reede] by beerynge spekynge wrytynge or redynge H3, bere by spekynge or elles [of W2, by D] wrytynge or redynge W2D. It is possible that the agreements of either H3W2D or CbHoWo could be arrived at coincidentally, but it seems unlikely.

The textual evidence therefore suggests a group, but does not clearly show whether the group concerned is H3W2D or CbHoWo. Of the last four examples, H3W2D seem more likely to show changes from the original readings at at line 162 and possibly 196, but CbWoHo could do so at 128 and 244. Also of significance, however, is that in both H3 and W2D, ME3 is prefaced by the same ‘Four Profitable Things’ extract from Rolle’s Form of Living. It therefore appears that H3 and W2D do derive from a common source (δ), in which ME3 circulated with the Form extract.

(iv) Other Groups

There is no definite evidence of any other groups, but agreements among WoHoW2D, WoW2D, and WoD (or conversely CbH3) are significant enough to require further attention.

It is possible that these agreements—which occur in similar numbers in each grouping of WoHoW2D, WoW2D, and WoD—attest to a shared ancestor or to conflation. However, the fact that the groupings among the four witnesses vary shows that some or all must be the result of coincidence rather than any single textual affiliation; a shared ancestor behind WoHo and W2D would not account for the many instances where Wo and D agree but Ho, W2, or both preserve an original reading. The agreements are probably best explained by coincidence resulting mainly from independent changes made in the W2D archetype, the WoHo archetype, D, and Wo. As has been shown, these four redactions all frequently paraphrase,
omit, and smooth the text in similar ways. Wo and D do so to the greatest extent, and therefore would be expected to coincide more often than Ho and W2.

Most of the agreements among WoHoW2D are minor variants, most often the omission of nonessential words, which could easily occur independently: e.g., 3 Capitulum primum] om. WoHoW2D; 30 bothe] om. WoHoW2D (ME2: bob); 36 it is not] is no WoW2D, it is no Ho (ME2: bit is no). The following longer omissions could likewise have occurred independently, since all are somewhat repetitive passages of the type that WoHo, Wo, and W2D tend to omit: 132–33 For trusteth weel þerto þat quan ȝe felen ȝou in suche plynge, þat grace is veryly with you] om. WoHoW2D; 417 and in reste of soule] om. WoHoW2D; 557 in ful grete sorwe] om. WoW2D; and a long passage derived from ME2 at 473–81, And in as myche as all þing hath tyme in Goddis seruyse . . . taryenge of his lyf and of his soule, which is omitted in WoHo and partly omitted and partly rewritten in W2D. There are also a number of substitutions and additions, which can be more difficult to account for. Some which appear to show affiliation may result from coincident smoothing, clarification, or normalisation suggested by the context: 41 soule] soule of man WoD; 82 herof] therafter Wo, ther of aftir HoD (ME2: of hem); 139 þat] and set to hym that WoD; 243 stoned] stoned to the deth WoW2, stoned to dethe D; 346 wilde] wil ne their wilde Wo, wyllys and D (here the context suggests the phrase ‘follow their own will’); 420–21 eftesones schreuen] schriven agyn Wo, newly sbryuen agayne W2, newe confessyd agayne D (ME2: eftones sbrywen); 584–85 seyde be] quoth the sqyuer WoHo, than sayd the sqyuer W2D; 590 vanyschid] vanysshed away Wo, sodanly vanysbed away D; 591 cauȝte] toke to hym Wo, toke W2D; 592–93 wenten clene awey] were cleene awey and agoo Wo, were clene departed W2D; 593 a blissed leuere] lyffyd blyssydly mony yerys after D, a blissed liver al his lif after Wo.

The following agreements may show the substitution of synonyms that were naturally suggestive of each other, as for example with the set phrases ‘diverse and sundry’ and ‘form and likeness’: 107 sondre] sundry and dyuers Wo, divers D; 414 many sondre] many dyvers Wo, dyuers and many W2D; 527–28 sondry . . . sundry] dyuers WoD . . . dyuerse W2D (om. Wo); 176 yerel] rodde WoW2D, rodde or yerde Ho; 178 yerde] yerde or rodde W2, rode D; 278 worchip] glorie WoW2D (perhaps suggested by the following line ‘worchip and glorie’); 554 ny] nere hand WoD; 558 fourme] likenes Wo, forme an lykenes D.

Many of the apparent agreements in WoHoW2D could just as easily be agreements, or coincident changes, in ChH3. The textual similarity between Cb and H3 certainly raises the
possibility that they were copied from the same exemplar, or at least derived from the same source with few intervening copies. When we can tell which of the readings between the two groups is original, however, it is always that of CbH3, and it is reasonable to suppose that most of the further variation results from the scribal adaptation of the WoHoW2D copies. The only readings in CbH3 which may not be original are the following: 49 own wil WoHoW2D (ME2: wille); 58 werful thoughtes or doubteful contrary thoughtis Wo, werisum thouȝtes Ho, ferefull thoughtes W2D (ME2: dowlful thoughtys Lo, werful thoughtis Ca); 80 grace the grace WoHoW2D (ME2: ge grace); 332 redily redy WoHoW2D (ME2: redy). Cb and H3 may both have simply descended from the archetype of ME3 with little intervening variation.

7.4.4 Stemma

The following stemma is therefore suggested. The key points revealed by the analysis and comparison to ME2 are that Wo, Ho, W2, and D are all textually further removed from the archetype than Cb and H3, because the WoHo archetype, the W2D archetype, D, and Wo have all undergone fairly extensive deliberate alteration.

![Stemmm](image)

7.4.5 Choice of a Base Text

Cb and H3 appear to be the most suitable candidates for the base text because they are closer than the other witnesses to the archetype of ME3. Both are also clear and complete copies with little need for emendation, unlike Ho, which is damaged and incomplete, or Wo, which has frequent errors. While there is little to distinguish H3 from Cb, H3 does have a
slightly higher number of accidental omissions. For this reason, Cb was chosen as the base text.

Cb was also used as the base text for Colledge and Chadwick’s edition of 1968, which presents similar conclusions about the textual relationships to my own. The fact that ME2 in the present edition has been edited from the same manuscript, CUL, MS Hh.1.11, allows for an interesting opportunity for a comparison of the two versions.
8 Editorial Principles

8.1 Middle English Editions

The editions of ME1a, ME1b, ME2, and ME3 each follow a base text, with full variants from all of the witnesses recorded in the critical apparatus. The method for the editions was to present a best text, minimally emended. The base texts were chosen on the principle that, all things being equal, they should be related most closely to the archetypes of each version. This was investigated through the analysis of shared variants and of deviations from the sense of the Latin source. Equally, consideration was given to the quality of each copy in terms of completeness, clarity, and freedom from error, so as to require the least emendation. There is in general a great deal of variation among the witnesses of all four Middle English versions, involving not merely accidental error but deliberate editorial activity, and each witness is regarded as having its own value within this tradition of scribal adaptation. Moreover, it is not often possible to determine which readings are original to the now lost archetype of each version. The base texts are therefore treated with minimal intervention and emended only where there is an obvious error in sense or syntax as shown by the context, or where the manuscript is damaged. They are not emended where a reading is judged to be unoriginal, unless the above holds and the emendation makes better internal sense.

In general, the editing conventions follow the recent practice of the Early English Text Society. Emendations to the base texts are shown in square brackets. The rejected readings are

shown in the apparatus. Where an emendation consists of the removal of text, this is recorded only in the apparatus. The spelling of emendations is editorial but follows as far as possible the customary spelling of the manuscript.

Modern punctuation, capitalisation, word division, and division into paragraphs are supplied, for readability. The punctuation of the base manuscripts has been used to guide the supplied punctuation and sentence division, especially where there is any ambiguity. There are numerous direct and indirect quotations in the texts, and it is not always clear where the quotations are intended to begin and end. Quotation marks are supplied with reference to the sources, though this sometimes means they are placed in the middle of a thought. The letters þ and ȝ and the manuscript use of u/v and i/j are all retained; a capital I/J is always recorded as I. Double f is recorded as a single letter when it begins words, but as a double letter within words. The letters y and þ share the same form in some witnesses, and have been recorded as either y or þ according to phonetic intention.

Expanded abbreviations are indicated by italics. The spelling of expansions follows the customary spelling of the manuscripts. Titles and chapter headings are given in bold type.

The apparatus is set out in the standard form of a lemma from the base text followed by a variant or variants along with the sigla of the manuscripts containing the variant. All substantive variants that affect meaning are recorded. This includes changes to word order, verb tense or person, and noun number. Generally, though not invariably, words that have separate entries in the MED are taken as variants. Differences in spelling are ignored, as are certain variants of dialect, including each/ilk, much/mekil, other/tother and similar, and the forms ar/ben of the verb ‘to be’.

Manuscripts whose sigla are not listed are in agreement with the base text. Different variants of the same lemma are divided by a comma. Where a variant is followed by more than one sigil, the spelling is that of the first sigil cited. Where a lemma is three words long or more, only the first and last words are given, with ellipses in between. Where a lemma consists of a word that is repeated in a given line, it is distinguished by a superscript number: e.g., ‘þe’.

Where the non-base manuscripts differ in minor ways within a long variant, unnecessary repetition is avoided by the use of round brackets enclosing the relevant words for additions, and square brackets for different readings: for example, forȝouen . . . saued] saued nor (ȝet D) forgyuen of theyr [trespace W2, synnys D] W2D.
Scribal corrections are recorded for all witnesses. Insertions are indicated in both the text and variants using forward and reverse slashes. Marginalia in all of the witnesses, including nota signs, are also recorded in the apparatus, next to the appropriate line number. Annotations by hands that appear post-medieval are not recorded in the apparatus, but may be noted in the manuscript description. Editorial punctuation is occasionally supplied for clarity in long variants. Expanded abbreviations in the variants are italicised. Italics are also used for all editorial comment.

Difficult words or readings are selectively glossed in textual notes below the apparatus of each edition. Finally, the editions are followed by a common set of explanatory notes which identify sources and analogues, and are linked to the corresponding passages in the Latin and English texts by superscript numbers.

The following conventions and abbreviations are used in the text and variants:

- \[ \] separates a lemma from its variants
- [ ] enclose editorial emendations to the base text
- 0, [ ] indicate, respectively, additions and different readings between individual witnesses within longer shared variants
- \// enclose scribal insertions, whether interlinear, marginal, or over an erased word
- <> indicates missing, illegible, or partially legible material. Uncertain readings may be given within the brackets.
- | indicates folio divisions (always recorded in the base text; recorded in the apparatus only when this sheds light on a particular reading)
- add. added
- canc. cancelled, either by subpunction or by crossing through. Where only some of the letters or words within a variant are cancelled, these are given within round brackets.
- db in a different hand than that of the main scribe
- eras. erased
- om. omitted
- rep. repeated
- rev. word order reversed

8.1.1 A Note on the Text for ME1a
The edition of ME1a reproduces the text from B, with variants from H1.

B is written in an Anglica media hand. Most of the abbreviations are standard. The abbreviation w has been expanded as with, as this is the most common spelling in B. P with a stroke through the descender is expanded as per-, par-, par-, or par- following the usual medieval usage; it is never spelt out in B. The pronoun ßu is expanded as þou, more common in B, although ßu also occurs. Macrons are used interchangeably with connected strokes curving back over the word to indicate a missing n, ne, m, or me, or a missing i in -cion. Sometimes these macrons appear otiose. The connected curving stroke is usually added to words that already end in an n or m; in this case either a final -nel/-mel-ε is added (e.g., synne) or the word is left as it is (e.g., hym) depending on the spelling elsewhere in B. The ending -ion usually has a macron, which may indicate that the spelling -iou is intended; however, because the -ioum ending is never actually used in B, in these cases the macron is ignored and the spelling is left at -ion. The abbreviation mark of a looped curl downwards at the end of a word is expanded with B’s usual spelling of -es, except for cases where the -is spelling occurs elsewhere. Words with a final -g will often end with a similar mark, but without a loop: this does not usually appear to indicate an abbreviation, so it has only been expanded as -es or -is where the sense dictates (e.g., thinges, 219). Where the abbreviation for -ur is used for the word our, this has been expanded as our rather than ouur. Ibu is expanded as Ibesu. The Tironian et is expanded as and.

The most frequent punctuation mark is one resembling a modern colon; the next most frequent is a punctus, placed in the middle of the line. Both are used for either full or medial pauses. A punctus elevatus is also occasionally used, especially when the mark falls at the end of a line. Corrections are made by the scribe either by subpunction, crossing through, or erasure, and additions written either interlinearly or in one case in the margin, with the addition’s place marked by a symbol like an ‘a’.

Throughout B ß is indistinguishable from y, except that y is sometimes dotted. This has been transcribed as ß or y as appropriate. The word yef (all) is transcribed with a y by analogy with if all, also used in B. 3 is sometimes used in the middle of words as equivalent to gb/y, and sometimes at the end, as equivalent to z; it has not been changed.
8.1.2 A Note on the Text for ME1b

The edition of ME1b reproduces the text from F, with variants from H2a and W1. Witnesses are cited in the order FH2aW1.

F is copied in a carefully written and accurate Anglicana formata hand. It is not heavily abbreviated and the abbreviations that do occur are standard. The ending -ion with a macron is expanded as -isoun, the usual spelling in the MS. The abbreviation mark of a looped curl downwards at the end of a word is expanded with -es or -is depending on the spelling elsewhere. P with a stroke through the descender is expanded as per- or par- following the usual medieval spelling. The abbreviation ut, occurring once, has been expanded as with. Þu, also occurring once, is expanded as hou. Ihu is expanded as Ihesu. In the manuscript the prefix y in past participles is typically written separately from the verb, e.g., y temptid, but is transcribed without a space.

Paragraph marks with capital letters are used several times per page to indicate the strongest breaks of sense. A punctus above the baseline followed by a virgule, or sometimes two virgules, is frequently used for strong pauses with the value of full stops, semicolons, or colons. A punctus by itself, above the baseline, has closer to the value of a medial pause or comma. A punctus elevatus is occasionally used, typically at the end of coordinate clauses. Cancellations are made by crossing through and additions are written in the margins by the scribe.

Because F is now in private hands, I have worked from a microform copy for this edition. Therefore, faint marks on the manuscript could have been missed.

8.1.3 A Note on the Text for ME2

The edition reproduces the text from Ca. Witnesses are cited in the order CaLeH2bABrGLo.

Ca is written in an Anglicana media hand, with some Secretary forms. The abbreviations are standard, and include a macron for a missing n or m and the usual forms of with, -re, -ur, þat, pro-, per-/par-, and Ihesu. Macrons over an n are always expanded as un or nn. A looped curl downwards at the ends of words indicating a plural is expanded as -is. A long r extended and looped at the end has been expanded as -re. A crossed b at the end at words is
sometimes taken to be otiose, but sometimes expanded as -th, e.g., thouth, datpartith.
Punctuation in this text is by a punctus placed above the baseline, punctus elevatus, and
double virgule. Cancellations are made by subpunction and crossing through.

8.1.4 A Note on the Text for ME3

The edition reproduces the text from Cb. Witnesses are cited in the order
CbH3WoHoW2D. W2a and W2b, the sigla designating the two later printed editions of W2,
are also cited, but only on the rare occasions where their readings differ from W2. Wherever
not cited, they should be understood to agree with W2, not the base text. The single surviving
copy of W2 is missing its last folio, containing the text from line 688, ‘onto you, for whiles þe
lyf. . . ’ to the colophon, so the variants from this missing section have been taken from W2b
instead, but for simplicity continue to be marked with the sigil of W2.

Cb is written in an Anglicana media hand. There are frequent abbreviations, including
the standard forms of with, þat, þou, -ur, -re, sir/ser, pro-, pre-, per-/par-, qua, Ihesu. Other
abbreviations present some difficulties. Macrons, in the form of a straight line, a loop
backwards from the final letter, or a line curved over a dot, are frequent and often appear to be
otiose, as they are habitually added over n in words elsewhere spelt the same way without a
macron (and once mistakenly over the u in ‘suster’). For this reason macrons are ignored
except where they clearly indicate a missing n or m or a missing i in the ending -ion. A macron
over an ambiguous on/ou is taken as on. The word worchepe with a macron is however expanded
as worchepe, and noght is expanded as nought. The letter -d at the ends of words is sometimes
continued into a line angled right then sharply downwards. This may be otiose, but because of
its consistent use for certain words, notably fend, it has been expanded as -de. Where the end
of a long r is extended and looped this has been expanded as -re. A looped curl downwards at
the ends of words indicating a plural is usually expanded with -es, but -is is used for some
words that are spelt as such elsewhere in the manuscript, including Goddis and maneris. A
crossed b is expanded as -ber in berte, but has been ignored when it appears at the ends of
words, as has the habitually crossed double -ll.

The normal mark of punctuation is a punctus placed above the baseline, but there are
also a small number of punctus elevati and marks like a modern colon. Corrections are made
by subpunction, with missing text added by the scribe interlinearly or in the margins. The letters y and þ are identical in form. The letters þ and ȝ are confused in a few instances, including 219 yøy, 314 (ya can.) þøy, and 454 for þøyen, suggesting some unfamiliarity with the forms.

8.2 Latin Edition

A fully critical edition of the Latin _DR_ was beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, this edition aims to supplement the Middle English texts by presenting a Latin text with selected variants, chosen for their bearing on the Middle English.

As shown above, p. 9, the Latin manuscripts can be divided into an A-group and an adapted B-group, and the A-group into the slightly varying sub-groups A1 to A4. ME1b and ME2 (and therefore ME3) are based on an A3 text, and ME1a is based on an A4 text. An A3 manuscript, CUL, MS Ff.6.44, was therefore chosen as the base text for this edition, because it most closely resembles three of the four ME versions. Moreover, A3 appears to be quite faithful to the archetype of _DR_. It is very similar to A1, the copy that preserves the attribution to Flete; the largest difference consists of two original lines that are dropped from A3 and A4 in section II.

Variants are provided from A1, A3, and A4, but not from A2 or the B-group, because these are not textually related to the ME versions. Not all variants have been included, but only those judged both to be textually significant and to have a bearing on readings in the ME versions. The following manuscripts were collated:

CA3 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.44 (A3)
CA1 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.30 (A1)
HA3 London, British Library, MS Harley 4887 (A3)
BA4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 43 (A4)
CA4 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.14 (A4)

None of the surviving manuscripts correspond exactly to the source texts used by the translators. BA4 is generally closer to ME1a than CA4. CA3 and HA3 have few differences, but CA3 was chosen as the base text because it required the least emendation.
The base text has been emended only where an error is evident in the context. Modern capitalisation and punctuation are supplied and abbreviations are expanded with italics. The manuscript spelling, which is typical of medieval Latin (for example, e is used for the classical ae and c for t, especially in the ending –cio), has been retained. Ellipses are used in the variants to indicate that the quoted material is the same as in the main text.

The section divisions from I–XXI are editorial and have been supplied in order to facilitate references to DR throughout this thesis. They have been informed by different divisions used in various Latin and English manuscripts, none of which are evidently authorial.296 The sections are continuous in the Latin, ME1a, and ME1b editions, but not in ME2 or ME3, where the original text of DR has been rearranged.

296 Note that these divisions differ from the chapter numbers referred to in Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, which follow those of the A4 text MS Bodley 43.
De remediis contra temptaciones
De remediis contra temptaciones

Qualiter obuian duum est temptacionibus illusorius.

Quia sicut ait apostolus, sine fide imposibile est placere Deo, hinc est quod antiquus hostis, aduersarius noster, ipsam que petra fundamentalis ecclesie et origo est omnium virtutum falsis inmissionibus et erroneis ymaginacionibus multis ac miris modis nititur impugnare; et quen non potest a soliditate fidei deicere, saltem suis astucijis conatur indeinenter perturbare. Cuius machinamentis ac temptacionibus caute ac spiritualiter est obuian: videlicet, omnia fantastica ymaginata concepta, erroea vel feda, id est blaphemias, visa vel audita, non curare, et quasi leuiter dissimulare et non reluctando resistere. 'Cognitaciones hominum quoniam vane sunt', et varie, ymmo quasi infinite. Ideo enim fantasticis erroribus fidei vel mores impugnantibus, non debet homo admirari vel in hijs conmorari nec illis insistere nec discutere seu causas talium multum investigare, quia quanto quis magis erroneis et falsis discuciendo insistit, tanto magis se in errore profundat.

Nec debet homo pro talibus obiectis seipsu angariare vel increpare vel sue culpa imputare, quia temptacio est quo ad penam et leuissima est quo ad culpam. Est enim homini fidei omnino inuoluntaria et displicens, et ideo penalis est et nullius pecci. 'Omne' enim 'peccatum est voluntarium, et si non voluntarium, non peccatum', secundum Augustinum. Quia sicut ait Ysidorus De summo bono, libro quarto, capitulo nono: 'Qui passionibus anime insidiante aduersario cruciator non idcirco se credat alienari a Christo qui talia patitur, sed magis laudet | Deum'. Et

f. 140v
De remediis contra temptaciones

How illusory temptations are to be resisted.

[I.] Because, as the apostle says, *without faith it is impossible to please God*, hence it is that the ancient enemy, our adversary, strives to attack that very faith, which is the foundation stone of the church and the origin of all virtues, with false suggestions and erroneous ideas, in many strange ways; and when he cannot bring someone down out of the firmness of faith, he endeavours, with his tricks, to disturb him incessantly even so. His stratagems and temptations must be met cautiously and spiritually: namely, by not worrying about any of the fanciful ideas conceived, whether erroneous or foul; that is, blasphemies, whether seen or heard, and by ignoring and resisting them, as it were gently, not struggling against them. *For the thoughts of men are vain,* and various, indeed almost endless. Therefore, with regard to these fantastic errors that attack faith or morals, one should not wonder at nor dwell on them, or pursue or examine them or investigate much into the causes of such things, because the more he pursues things that are erroneous and false by inquiring into them, the more he casts himself away into error.

[II.] Nor should he distress or rebuke himself for the sake of such objects or ascribe them to his own fault, because temptation is painful but most slight in regard to blame. To the faithful person, indeed, it is entirely involuntary and displeasing, and therefore painful and not a sin. For all sin is voluntary, and if it is not voluntary it is not sin, according to Augustine. For as Isidore says in *De summo bono*, book three, chapter four, ‘One who is tormented with sufferings of the soul by the insidious enemy should not believe himself, who suffers such things, to be estranged from

Permanente enim in Dei timore anima et amore, ipsa eciam talis angustia ad meritem proficit. Talis igitur non separatur a Deo, sed coniungitur, qualibet angustia torquetur. Multa enim adversa iustus in anima patitur instigacionem demonum, sed talibus temptamentis perire vite eterna non potest, quia pius Dominus ad temptacionem culpe non reputat quod, sue maiestatis permissione, nolens patitur. Nam peccamus ibi, vbi in cupiditate vel voluntae deflectimur, miseria tamen est pena et non culpa.’ Hec Ysidorus.

Videtur tamen aliquando sic temptatio talis diffidentia seu hesitacio, estimata per illusionem demonum, timorem incuenciencium, non modica esse culpa, cum tamen sit hesitatio fidei; qu[a] culpa est voluntaria vel saltem cum ignorancia affectata et grata, [que] magis tendit in errorem quam veritatem. Et ideo cum fides sit habitus voluntatis, velle credere est credere; et velle sperare est sperare; velle non hesitare est non hesitare. ‘Corde creditur ad iusticiam’. In voluntatem enim, que sola cogi non potest, sistit esse meritum et demeritum. Obnubilatur tamen mens aliquando, quod non potest quis videre voluntatem suam; | nec est curandum, quia opera bona bonam voluntatem probant, et mala malam, et semper presumitur bona quousque rationabiler probetur mala.

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31 temptacionem [dampnacionem CA1BA4CA4 | nolens] volens CA3 32 voluntatem
voluptatem CA3 33 Ysidorus [isodorus vbi supra sparsim capitulis quarto et quinto BA4CA4
34 temptato] temptacio CA3HA3CA1, temptato BA4CA4 36 sit] non sit CA3HA3CA1BA4 | quia] que CA3CA1 37 que] om. CA3HA3CA1 39 Corde vnde apostolus ait corde BA4CA4
42 presumitur] presumuntur CA1BA4CA4 43 probetur] probentur CA1BA4

34 Videtur...37 veritatem] The readings for this difficult sentence are provided from A4, which gives the closest sense to the ME versions.
Christ, but should praise God the more.’ And in the same book, chapter five: ‘The devil does not tempt the elect more than the consent of God permits. Even if the devil does not wish it, nevertheless he is defiant to the advantage of the saints.’ Likewise in the same chapter, at the end, ‘The enemy never ceases to oppress the just man’—nor to stir up contests of temptations—‘for he either increases the tribulations of his heart, or incites pains in his body. Indeed, the power of evil spirits often torments the mind of the just man with various pains through which it is sometimes constrained to the point of despair and excessive distress. But indeed if the soul remains in the fear and love of God, even this very distress earns merit. Such a person therefore is not separated from God, but joined to him, however much he may be tortured by distress. For the just man suffers many afflictions in his soul at the instigation of evil spirits, but he cannot perish from eternal life through such trials, because in temptation our merciful Lord does not account as a crime that which, with the permission of his majesty, one suffers unwillfully. For we sin when we turn aside with desire or purpose; when we are led aside by force, our distress is painful but not sinful.’ Thus Isidore.

Nevertheless it sometimes seems to one who is thus tempted that such unbelief or hesitation—judged by the illusion of devils, striking in fear—is no small sin, though yet it is a hesitation of faith; for a sin is voluntary, or at least pursued and welcomed with ignorance, which tends more to error than to truth. And therefore, since faith is a disposition of the will, to want to believe is to believe; to want to hope is to hope; to want not to hesitate is not to hesitate. *With the heart one believes unto justice.* For in the will, which alone cannot be compelled, stands all merit and demerit. But the mind is sometimes clouded over, so that a person cannot see his own will; nor should one worry about this, because good works prove a good will, and evil works an evil will, and it is always presumed to be good until such time as it may reasonably be proved evil.
De remediis contra temptaciones

Si autem predicta temptatio inualuerit nec propter dissimulacionem factam secundum regulam prime caulete cessauerit, immo per malicam antiqui serpentis loquitur fantasticala, momentis ac multipliciter diuariancantis, falsa pro veris asserendo, vel mentem complexionabiliter obnubilando et grauando, quasi continue turbauerit—debet aliquando, sed ra[ro], per modum abituriones et contrarie assersionis, fidem suam ore exprimendo obiecto errore obuiare, et si erronia concepcio in hoc non consenserit. Scriptum est enim: ‘Ore confessio fit ad salutem’.13 Non enim fallacijs aduersariij decipitur qui deliberate et aperte, tam verbo quam facto, contradictor inuenitur. Et debilis est hostis qui non vicit nisi volentem,15 et hoc voluntate deliberata, grata, et rata.

Nec quisquam in talibus debet angariari qui inimicum electos varie videt temptare. Explorat enim vniussuisque compleccionis prouitatem, et quem viderit malencolico humore nimis respersu te malencolico humore nimis respersu te.16 Dicunt enim naturales quod fumus nigre colere, ad cerebrum ascendens, ad locum mentis peruenit et lumen eius obscurat et turbat, prohibens animam discernere.17 Tales igitur sunt tristes et timidi sine causa racionabili, pusillanimes et aridi ex complexione. Nec est talis timor vel tristicia culpa cum sit penalis et inuoluntaria et frequenter a diabolo incussa. Et tales opinantur falsa esse vera.

Impediuntur enim propter nigrum fumum operientem eorum cerebrum ne possint ce[r]nere verum. |

Considerat igitur maledictus hostis vniussuisque statum; quia, secundum Leonem Papam, In circumcisione domini: ‘Non desinit hostis antiquus decepcionum laqueos ubique pretendere, et, ut fidem credencium quoquomodo corrupat, instare. Noruit enim cui adhibeat cupiditatis estus, cui gule illecebras suggerat, cui apponat incitamenta luxurie, cui infundat virus inuidiae; noruit quem [merore] conturbet, quem fallat gaudio, quem metu opprimat, quem admiracione seducat: omnium discutit consuetudines, ventila[t] curas, scrutatur affectus; et ibi causas requirit nocendi, ubi quemque videt studiosius occupari.’ Hec Leo Papa.18

Hinc est quod frequenter immittit tantam amaritudinem mentibus fideliem, complexionem agitando et timorem incuciendo, quod viure eis credatur supplicium et

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But if the aforesaid temptation grows stronger and does not stop because of the disregard given to it according to the rule of initial caution, but rather disturbs one almost continuously, through the malice of the ancient serpent, who speaks of fantastic things, suggesting and spreading them in many ways, by asserting that false things are true or by clouding over and burdening the mind by means of the physical constitution—then sometimes, but only seldom, one ought to meet the opposing error by expressing one’s faith in speech, by way of repudiation and assertion to the contrary, even if one’s erroneous understanding does not agree in it. For it is written: 

With the mouth confession is made unto salvation. For he who deliberately and openly, both in word and in deed, shows himself to be an opponent, is not deceived by the tricks of the enemy. And that enemy is weak who has conquered only one who is willing to be conquered, and that with a will that is deliberate, welcome, and fixed. 

Nor should anyone who sees that the enemy tempts the elect in many ways be distressed by such things. For he tests the worth of each one’s constitution, and whomever he sees to be excessively dampened with the melancholic humour he vexes and disturbs with spiritual temptation in many different ways. For the natural philosophers say that the smoke of the black choler, rising to the brain, comes to the locus of the mind and obscures and disturbs its light, preventing the soul from discerning. Such people are sad and fearful without a reasonable cause, and fainthearted and dry, because of their constitution. Nor is such fear or sadness a fault, since it is painful and involuntary and often inflicted by the devil. And such people imagine that false things are true. For they are impeded because of the black smoke spreading over their brain, so that they cannot discern the truth. 

The accursed enemy accordingly examines the condition of each one; because, according to Pope Leo, In circumsisione domini: "The ancient enemy does not cease to spread his traps of deceptions before us everywhere or to work hard to corrupt the faith of believers in every possible way. For he knows to whom he should apply the fire of greed, to whom to suggest the enticements of gluttony, whom to offer the incitements of lust, to whom to impart the venom of envy; he knows whom to dismay with grief, whom to deceive with joy, whom to oppress with fear, whom to lead astray with wonder: he inquires into the habits of all, searches out their cares,
morí remédium, ita quod de vita corporis et animae sepe desparere contingit. Credunt
enim se a Deo esse derelictos, qui electos suos sic permittit esse probató. Quia ut
dicit Ecclesiasticus: 'Vasa filiú probat fornas: homines autem iustos temptacio
tribulacionis.' Et Iob dicit: 'Probuit me quasi aurum per ignem transit, quia scit
omnes viae meas.' Vnde et apostolus: 'Modicum si oportet contristari in presenti, ut
probacio vestre fidei multo preciosior sit auro quod per ignem probatur.' Et angelus
Tobie: 'Quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse erat ut te temptaret.' In hoc igitur
casu, opus est fortitudine spirituali: videlicet, predictam amaritudinem seu inmissam
tribulacionem pacienter et humiliter sustinendo, et dicere cum Iob, forma paciencie:
'Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non suscipiamus?' Immo
recolendo meritum paciencie in presenti et premium gaudij in futuro, oret cum Iob
Dominum quartinus dolori non parcat, et dicat: 'Si occidat me, sperabo in eum.'

Et quid mirum si homo mortalis et miserabilis in presenti turbetur et tribuletur,
ex quo Salvator noster in euangéliò ait de seipso: 'Anima mea turbata est, et quid
dicam?' et alibi: 'Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem;' immo in passione sua
clamat se esse derelictum, dicens: 'Deus meus, deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?'
Recolat etiam illud Ysaie dictum in persona Domini: 'Ad punctum in modico
dereliqui te et in momento indignacionis mee abscondi parumper faciem meam a te,
sed in miseracionibus multit congregabo te et in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum
am isti.' Modicum autem est et momentaneum quidquid in presenti patimur, etsi omni
tempore tribulemur, respectu tribulationis eternae quam misericordi ter vitari
speramur. Nec miretur aliquis quod homo spiritualis spiritualiter et quasi singulariter
temptatur; permanente bona voluntate, nec a fide nec a spe vel a caritate deicitur, sed
solidus in omni virtute roboratur. Huius temptacionis modum et remedium
De remediis contra temptaciones

scrutinises their feelings; and he seeks out opportunities of harming them in just those places where he sees them more earnestly occupied.’ Thus Pope Leo.

[VII.] Hence it is that he often sends such great bitterness into the minds of the faithful, by exciting their constitution and striking in fear, that they believe that life is torture and death is a remedy, so that it comes to pass that they often despair of the life of body and soul. For they believe that they are abandoned by God, who permits his elect to be tried in this way. Because, as Ecclesiasticus says: The furnace tests the potter’s vessels; but the trial of tribulation tests just men. And Job says: He has tested me as gold that passes through the fire, because he knows all my ways. Whence the apostle: Even if it is necessary for you to be afflicted for a little while at the present time, so that the trial of your faith may be much more precious than gold that is tested through the fire. And the angel to Tobias: Because you were acceptable to God, it was necessary that temptation should test you. In this plight, therefore, spiritual fortitude is necessary: namely, by patiently and humbly enduring the aforesaid bitterness or the tribulation that has been sent, and to say with Job, the figure of patience: If we have received good things from the hand of the Lord, why should we not receive evil? Indeed, recollecting the merit of patience in the present and the reward of joy in the future, let him pray with Job to the Lord for as long as he should not spare him from pain, and let him say: If he should kill me, I will trust in him.

[VIII.] And what wonder is it if a mortal and wretched person should, in the present, be troubled and afflicted, when for the same reason our Saviour says of himself in the gospel: My soul is troubled, and what shall I say? And also elsewhere: My soul is sorrowful even to death; and indeed in his passion he cries out that he is forsaken, saying: My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? Let him also recollect that saying of Isaiah in the person of the Lord: For a short time I forsook you and in a moment of my anger I hid my face a while from you, but in great compassion I will gather you and in everlasting kindness I had mercy on you. Everything that we suffer in the present, moreover, is small and momentary, even if we were to be afflicted constantly, in respect of the eternal pain which we mercifully trust to escape. Nor should anyone be surprised if a spiritual person is tempted spiritually and almost exceptionally; if his good will remains, he is not cast out of faith or hope or charity, but strengthened

167
De remediis contra temptaciones

innuebat Saluator cum diceret discipulis suis: 'Ecce Sathanas expetiuit vos ut cribaret sicut triticum.' Cribratur enim aliquis quando intime et perfinite examinatur; roboratur autem et perfectur quando per paciencie et oracionis virtuement et proximi salubrem admonicionem in bono confirmatur. Et ideo sequitur: 'Ego autem rogau pro te ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu aliquando conuersus, confirma fratres tuos.' Confirmatus autem a proximo et perfectus in Christo dicit cum psalmo: 'Quare tristis es anima mea et quare conturbas me? Spera in Deo, et cetera.'

Interim igitur oret et psallat et bona que potest faciat, Scripturam Sacram inspiciat, eloquia prophetarum recolat, et maxime dicta euangelica memorie commendet. Etsi nulla deucionem sensibilem percepiat, huimiliter sustineat; habet tale deuocionem voluninam, que sola sufficit ad salutem. Utiliter enim subtrahitur actualis siue sensibilis deuocion ut magis meritoria fiat oracio. Ait enim beatus Bernardus super illud 'Quesiui et non inueni'; Abscondit se sponsus dum queritur ut audius queratur. Et Augustinus, De verbis domini: 'Cum aliquando tardius dat, sua bona commendat, non negat. Diu enim desiderata dulcius optinetur; cito autem data vilescunt. Pete, quere, insta; petendo et querendo crescas ut capias. Seruat tibi Deus quod non vult tibi dare, ut et tu discas magna desiderare.'

more firmly in every virtue. Our Saviour hinted at the manner and the remedy of this
temptation when he said to his disciples: *Behold, Satan has desired to have you, to sift
you like wheat.* For someone is sifted when he is examined inwardly and thoroughly;
but he is strengthened or perfected when he is confirmed in good through the virtue
of patience and of prayer and through the wholesome advice of his brother.
Therefore it follows: *But I have prayed for you, that your faith should not fail; and once
you have turned back, strengthen your brothers.* But one who has been strengthened by
his brother and perfected in Christ should say with the psalm: *Why are you sorrowful,
my soul, and why do you trouble me? Hope in God, et cetera.*

[IX.] So in the meantime let him pray and sing the psalms and do what good he can,
let him look into Holy Scripture, let him recall to mind the speeches of the
prophets, and most of all let him commit to memory the words of the gospels. Even
if he should not feel any devotion of the senses, let him endure this with humility;
he still nonetheless has devotion of the will, which is enough in itself for salvation.
Indeed, actual or sensible devotion is withdrawn to one’s advantage, so that one’s
prayer may be made more meritorious. For Saint Bernard says on that verse *I sought
and did not find:* ‘The bridegroom hides himself while he is sought so that he may be
sought more ardently.’ And Augustine, *De verbis domini:* ‘When at times he gives
somewhat slowly, he is commending his goods, not denying them. For things long
desired are obtained with more pleasure, but things that are quickly given grow
worthless. Ask, seek, pursue; in asking and seeking you may grow so as to receive.
God is keeping for you what he does not wish to give you quickly, so that you may
learn to desire great things.’ And Saint Gregory: ‘The saints are better heeded when
they are not heeded according to their immediate prayer.’

[X.] Moreover, God gives to some in the beginning of their conversion a devotion
that is sweet to the senses, so that they may be converted and made firm in divine
love, and afterwards he takes it away, so that they may earn greater merit and in
doing so may be crowned the more highly. For since ‘virtue is about what is
difficult’, according to the philosopher, that which is obtained with more difficulty is
held with more virtue. And signifying this, our Saviour said to Saint Peter: *When you
De remediis contra temptaciones

vobis, non escam.\footnote{123 suavitas} Tanquam enim pueri erant lacte nutriendi suasuitatis, sic nutrit Deus aliquos primo lacte suasuitatis et deuocionis; postea roborat esca accusacionis et tribulationis. Dulce enim et suaue sequi Deum cum habita cordis iocunditate et mentis suaui tranquillitate, sed arduum et perfectissimum est sequi Deum cum cordis omnimoda desolatione et fidei vel mentis continua impugnacione. Dulce enim erat Petro et suaue esse cum Christo in eius iocunda transfigurazione, quando dixit: 'Bonum est nos hic esse.'\footnote{125 f. 143r} Sed valde durum et terrible erat Petro esse cum Christo in eius crudeli passione, quando dixit: 'Non noui hominem.'\footnote{130} Et tamen qui illum tunc voce ancille territus negauerat, ipsum postea spiritu sancto roboratus in conspectum principum usque ad mortem firmiter confitebatur.

Et quia huiusmodi passio partim oritur ex compleccione frequenter, caueat sibi talis ne nimis solus moretur nec nimis quicquam profunde cogitando scrutetur, sed consilijus et collacionibus discretorum, eis suas concepciones exprimendo, salubriter uttatur. Scriptum est enim: 'Ve soli, quoniam cum eciderit non habet subleuantem se'.\footnote{135} Et quia sic tribulatus est tristis et timidus ex compleccione vel temptatione, gaudeat et exultet violenter ex animi fortitudine et virtute; et quanto magis impellitur ad dolendum et timendum, tanto magis animet seipsum et excitet ad gaudendum et exultandum. 'Ibant', enim, 'apostoli gaudentes a conspectu consilij'; et cetera.\footnote{140} Et si modicam vel nullam senciat consolacionem spiritualem, humiliter et meritorie sustineat. Ac interim honestam et licitam recipiat consolacionem temporalem, 'ne forte', sicut ait apostulus, 'ampliori tristicia absorbeatur qui huiusmodi est'.\footnote{145} Non enim fit causa vanitatis et lasciue quod agitur causa utilitatis et salutis recuperande.

Transfert etiam se angulus Sathane inuisibiliter in angelum lucis,\footnote{150} vicia sub specie virtutis suggerendo, errores colore veritatis palliando. Sicut ait Gregorius: 'Vt deuotis mentibus preualeat, vicia sub specie virtutis palliat.'\footnote{155} Aliquando enim offerit
were younger, you girded yourself and walked where you wished. But when you grow old, another shall gird you and lead you where you do not wish. The apostle says in the third chapter of Corinthians to the newly converted: I gave you milk, not food. So God feeds some at first with the milk of sweetness and devotion, just as if they were children to be fed with sweet milk, and afterwards strengthens them with the food of disturbance and tribulation. For it is sweet and pleasant to follow God when one has joyfulness of the heart and sweet tranquility of the mind, but it is difficult and most perfect to follow God with every sort of desolation of heart and a continuous attack on faith or on the mind. It was sweet and pleasant for Peter to be with Christ at his joyful transfiguration, when he said: It is good for us to be here. But it was very hard and terrible for Peter to be with Christ in his cruel passion, when he said: I do not know the man. Yet he who then denied him, frightened by the voice of a maid, was afterwards strengthened by the Holy Spirit and steadfastly acknowledged him in the presence of princes even to his death.

And because suffering of this sort often arises in part from a person’s constitution, he should take care not to remain alone too much or to scrutinise any matter by thinking about it too deeply, but rather make profitable use of the advice and conversation of discreet persons by telling them his thoughts. For it is written: Woe to him who is alone, because when he falls he has no one to lift him up. And because the one who is thus afflicted is sad and fearful because of his constitution, or because of temptation, he should press himself to rejoice and exult from the strength and courage of his soul; and the more he is driven to sorrow and fear, the more he should enliven himself and stir himself to rejoice and exult. For the apostles went rejoicing from the presence of the council, et cetera. And if he feels little spiritual consolation or none, he should endure this with humility and to his merit. And in the meantime he should receive honest and lawful temporal consolation, lest perhaps, as the apostle says, such a one should be overwhelmed with excessive sadness. For something is not done for the sake of vanity and licentiousness when it is done for the sake of restoring one’s well-being and health.

The angel of Satan also transforms himself invisibly into an angel of light, suggesting vices under the appearance of virtue, covering errors with the colour of
De remediis contra temptaciones

homini in diuino officio occupato et ex debito intendenti peccatorum memoriam, et quasi | necessarium fore consciencie discussionem, et similia, ut sic ab iniuncto sibi officio sub specie boni mentem impedias et conturbet, cum tamen scriptum sit: 'Omnia tempus habent'. Immo summum remedium est expertum, ad fantasticas imaginaciones tollendas et spirituales temptaciones destruendas tempore orationis debite, quantum possibilitas optinet, nullo modo eis intendere.

Aliquando etiam peccata per confessionem veram et contricionem puram prius deleta ostendit iam non esse remissa, vel saltem in dubium reuocat quod aliquando certum esse congnouerat. Et hoc facit memoria prehabet confessionis vel aliorum bonorum operum obnubulando, pusillanimitatem et timorem menti incuciendo. Nec intendit malignus spiritus per illam inmissionem ut anima purgetur a peccato per confessionem, sed ut mens taliter turbata a pacis tranquillitate reuocetur. Est enim spiritus pestilens, cordis pacem odiens et turbacionis amaritudinem affectans. Cuius suggestioni in hac parte subtiliter est resistendum: videlicet, confessionem talem per modum temptacionis et vexacionis suggestam dissimulando et salubriter dimittendo, licet erronea consciencia contradicat. Quamuis enim peccati confession sit utilis et necessaria remorcione veraci et compunctione salubri exigenti, est tamen inutilis et non expedienis opinione falsa et dubitabili, inmissione amara atque terribili, suadente. Nec dimittitur talis confessione contemptu religionis, sed cautela declinande temptacionis. Hoc enim bene fit quod bona intencione agitur, quamuis etiam malum in se videatur; causa enim et intencio finalem dant operi denominacionem et renumeracionem. Hoc enim docuit Christus quando suggestit ei diabolus, dicens: ‘Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum’. Noluit tamen per impetum precipitacionis | in ymum se mittere, sed elegit magis per gradus discretionis descendendo eis

150 impedias] impedia CA3

f. 143v f. 144r
De remediis contra temptaciones

truth. As Saint Gregory says: ‘To prevail over devout minds, he covers vices under the appearance of virtue.’ Sometimes, indeed, when a person is occupied and intent in the divine office as he is obliged to do, he suggests to this person a recollection of his sins, and that an examination of his conscience were going to be necessary, and similar things, so that in this way, under a show of good, he may confuse and hinder his mind from the duty that was enjoined to him, even though it is written: All things have their time. In fact, the highest proven remedy for getting rid of fanciful ideas and destroying spiritual temptations at times of requisite prayer is, as far as possible, not to pay attention to them in any way.

Sometimes he also suggests that sins which have already been erased by true confession and pure contrition are not yet remitted, or at least calls into doubt what one had once known to be true. And he does this by clouding over one's memory of the confession that was made before or of other good works, striking fear and timidity into the mind. Nor does the wicked spirit intend by this suggestion that the soul should be cleansed from sin by confession, but that the mind, disturbed in such a way, should be called away from the quietness of peace. For he is a pestilent spirit, hating peace of heart and desiring the bitterness of turmoil. In this case one must withstand his suggestion subtly: namely, by disregarding such a confession, suggested by way of temptation and distress, and profitably dismissing it, even if one's erroneous conscience contradicts this. Although confession of sin is useful and necessary when it is exacted by true remorse and the wholesome pricking of conscience, nevertheless it is neither useful or expedient when it is urged by a false and doubtful idea, by means of a bitter and terrible suggestion. Nor is such confession left because of contempt for religion, but through care for the temptation that must be avoided. For whatever is done with a good intention is done rightly, even if it should appear bad in itself, because it is motive and intention that give to a deed its ultimate description and reward. And this is what Christ taught when the devil tempted him, saying: If you are the son of God, cast yourself down. Yet he refused to cast himself to the bottom in an impulse of haste, but chose to reject his stratagems, descending instead by discrete steps. By this he gives us an example not to obey at once the devil's suggestions, sent under the appearance of good, but to meet them profitably by way of discretion.
machinamenta declinare, dans nobis exemplum eius suggestionibus, sub specie boni missis, non statim obedire, sed per viam discrecionis salubriter obuiare.

Implicat etiam ali quando spiritus erroris mentem diuersis perplexitatibus, miris et occultis agitacionibus, ostendendo illicitum esse et peccatum quod in se indifferentis est [vel] bonum, et esse mortale quod in se est veniale, et de huiusmodi quasi continue conflatendum; immo magis indiscrete turbandum ut sic terre aft et conturbet, et a bono impedit, et erroneam conscientiam fabricet et inducat; immo aliquando cogit conciencia erronea magis consentire quam alicuius discrecioni humiliter obedire, quod hereticum est. Debet igitur talis ad arbitrium sapientis deponere errorem et sequi veritatem. Si dicat quod non potest deponere, falsum dicit \et/ non verum. Potest enim velle deponere, et si velit deponere, deponitur. Iam enim vult humiliter obedire, esti remaneat error inuolutarius in mente.

Hoc autem docuit apostolus, dicens: 'Nolite credere omni spiritui, sed probate qui spiritus sunt'. 61 Hec autem fuit percutatatio Iosue, dicentis: 'Noster es, an aduers[ar]iorum?' 62 Discrecio igitur omnino est necessaria, quia, sicut ait quidam sanctus, est 'auriga virtutum', 63 ut inter bonum et malum recte diiudicetur, ne quis sub specie boni incueta fallatur. 64 Ait enim Augustinus in libro De spiritu et anima: 'Humanum spiritum aliquando bonus aliquando malus spiritus assumit, nec facile discerni potest a quo spiritu assumatur, nisi bonus instruit et malus fallit. Fallit autem sepe in manifestis bonis, ut cum sequitur in eis creditum fuerit, ad sua se[duc]at. Sic plerumque humanum spiritum rapit qui quidam occulta, ut quasi | idem spiritus videatur, et spiritus pacientis et spiritus vexantis.' Hec Augustinus. 65 Videtur igitur propria cogitatio esse et vera concepcio que fraudulentis et incentiu iniquitate aduersarij inmittitur. Non est enim credendum in hac parte vel proprio sensui insistendum, sed magis veritati et discrecioni regulate obediendum. Est enim serpens antiquus fallax, nequam, et fraudulentus deceptor animarum. Et cum non potest

De remediis contra temptaciones

[174]

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180

185

190

f. 144v
Sometimes the spirit of error also entangles the mind with various perplexities, strange and hidden disturbances, showing that something is forbidden and sinful which is in itself indifferent or good, or that something is a mortal sin which is in itself a venial sin, and that one must almost continually confess these things; and still more, one will be indiscriminately troubled in order to terrify and distress, to hinder one from good, and to induce and build up an erroneous conscience; and indeed, sometimes he drives one to consent to an erroneous conscience rather than humbly obey the discernment of another, which is heretical. Such a person must therefore give his error up to the judgement of a wise person, and follow the truth. If he says that he cannot give it up, he speaks falsehood and not truth. For he can be willing to give it up; and if he wills to do so, it is given up. For then he is willing to humbly obey, even if the involuntary error should remain in his mind.

This moreover is what the apostle taught, saying: *Do not believe every spirit, but test who the spirits are.* And this was the question of Joshua, who said: *Are you for us, or for our enemies?* Therefore discretion is wholly necessary—because, as a certain holy man says, it is ‘the charioteer of the virtues’—in order to rightly distinguish between good and evil, lest one should be incautiously deceived by the appearance of good. For Augustine says in the book *De spiritu et anima*: ‘Sometimes a good spirit, sometimes an evil spirit, takes over the human spirit, nor can one easily distinguish by which one is possessed, except that the good spirit instructs and the evil deceives. But he often deceives in things that are manifestly good, so that when it follows that one trusts to them, he may lead one astray to his own works. Thus he frequently wins over the human spirit through a certain hidden power, so that the spirit of the one who is suffering and the spirit of the one who is troubling him seem to be almost the same spirit.’ Thus Augustine. Therefore what seems to be one’s own thought and a genuine idea has been sent in through the deceitful and provoking wickedness of the enemy. In this case one must not believe or stand upon one’s own feeling, but instead submit to truth and discretion according to a rule. For the old serpent is a treacherous, vile, and false deceiver of souls. And when he cannot cast a mind into error through his deceptions, he strives to painfully embitter it by
mentem suis fraudulenciis in errorem mittere, nitiitur eam timorem falsum inciendo et venenum sue nequicie infundendo penaliter amaricare. Oportet igitur suis 
deceptoris suggestionibus sub specie boni inmmissis omnino resistere et penam 
amaritudinis timide menti inflatam pacienter et humiliter tollerare.

Nitiitur etiam in somno diversi illusionibus et terroribus grauare quando non 
potest vigilando facere peccare. Vnde Gregorius super illud Iob ‘Terrebis me per 
somnpnia’. 

‘Hostis insidians quo electos vigilantes minime superat, eos dormientes 
grauius impugnat. Et hoc permittit deus benigne ne in electorum cordibus ipse saltem 
a passionis premio somnus vacet.’

O quam miris modis et variis impellit et concutit anima hominis Deum 
timentis! Hoc testatur ille ymnps in cuius versus cantatur: ‘O tortuose serpens’, et 
cetera. O quam pium est et vtile, et quam caritatiuum et salubre, sic turbatum et 
afflictum, desolatum et derelicatum, confortare et roborare; inimo transeuntem per 
ingem probacionis et aquam tribulationis adducere in refrigerium quietis et 
consolacionis. Quam quietem spiritus optatam, etsi sic tribulatus non statim optineat 
vel certe per multa temporae careat, speret tamen firmiter quod illam finaliter habere 
debat. Quia ‘multe tribulationes iustorum, | et de omnibus his lib[e]ruit eos 
Dominus’.

[Stimulus amoris:] ‘O mire benignitatis altissime qui nos temptari permittis, non ut capiamur, sed 
ut timentes ad te portum tutissimum fugiamus! More matris bone facis, domine, 
que filium suum, a se elongatum, videre desiderat et amplexari: per aliqoud terribile 
timorem inducit, et expansens brachia filium recipit fugientem cum gaudio, sibi 
arridet, et oscula dulcia elargitur, et ne alias recedat a se hortatur, ut [non] accidat sibi 
malum, consolatur ad se stringens, et demum ubera subministrat. O felix temptacio,
De remediis contra temptaciones

inflicting a false fear and pouring in the poison of his wickedness. Therefore it is necessary to wholly resist his deceitful suggestions, sent in under the appearance of good, and to endure patiently and humbly the bitter suffering filling one’s fearful mind.

Furthermore, when he cannot make a person sin when he is awake, he strives to burden him with various illusions and terrors in his sleep. Whence Gregory on that verse from Job *You will frighten me with dreams*: ‘When the insidious enemy cannot by any means overcome the elect when they are awake, he attacks them more severely when they are sleeping. And God allows this in kindness, so that in the hearts of the elect not even sleep itself should be without the reward of suffering.’

How strange and various are the ways by which the soul of one who fears God is shaken and disturbed! This is testified by that hymn in whose verse it is sung: ‘O twisting serpent’, et cetera. How merciful and profitable it is, and how charitable and healthful, to comfort and strengthen one who is thus troubled and afflicted, desolate and forsaken; indeed, to lead one who is passing through the fire of testing and the water of tribulation into the coolness of rest and consolation. And even if the one who is thus tempted should not receive at once this desired rest of the spirit, or indeed is without it for a long time, yet let him steadfastly hope that he must have it in the end. Because *many are the afflictions of the just, and the Lord delivers them from all.*

[Stimulus amoris:]

‘O highest one of wonderful kindness, who allow us to be tempted, not so that we may be captured but so that, being afraid, we may flee to you, the safest refuge! You act in the way of a good mother, o Lord, who desires to see and to embrace her son, who is far from her: she induces fear by means of some frightful thing, and with her arms spread she receives him with joy as he flees, smiles on him, and sweet kisses are bestowed freely, and she urges him not to go away from her so that no evil may happen to him, she comforts him, drawing him tightly to her, and at last gives him
De remediis contra temptaciones

que diuinos \ad/ amplexus fugere nos compellit! O dulcis Domine, qui nos permittis
vindique effugari, et te semper tribuis refugium salutare, ut tecum in omni tempore
commoremur! Non igitur te temptaciones habere mireris, o homo, [sed] ad Deum
fugias expauesce; ibique, si temptari nolueris, residebis; sin autem, capi poteris et
dampnari.

Si autem a Deo tuo te nimium elongasti nec potes ad eum recurrere pleno
corde, ad Christum tibi proximum accelerabis, et in sui lateris puteo, panno
superposito, abscenderis —et ne times quod te inueniat inimicus.76 Hoc semper
habeas pro regula generali: quod quandocumque volueris Deum ad te profunde
inclinare, in corde tuo vulnera Christi porta, et eius spersus sanguine te Patri tanquam
vnigenitum presentabis, et ipse tanquam pater dulcissimus tibi plenarie providet.

Accede igitur ad Christum et eum fideliter deprecabis, ut, ex quo non decet ipsum
denuo vulnerari, dignetur in [suo sanguine] sua vulnera renouare, tequae
in suo sanguine rubricare. Et sic indutus purpura, poteris introire regis palacium. O
temptate, cotidie hae vulnera meditare, et hae tibi sempere nocument refugiu
solacium. Nec dubites quod si bene ea in corde tuo expresseris, nulli te
mptacioni aditus apparebit. Quis enim videns Dominum glorie pro nostris sceleribus sic grauiter
vulneratum auderet iterum scelera petrare? Etsi pro ipsorum vulnerum reuerencia
et compassionne non desisteret a peccato, saltem quia videret quod sine comparzione
grauer penas debetur peccatori quam in omnibus innocenti, a peccato timere deberet
et eciam abstiner.

Si autem contra te Christum etiam propter tuas nequicias vides indignatum, ad
spem peccatorum confugas, matrem suam, et ipsi tanquam matri Dei reuerenciam
exhibebis, ac fusis lacrimis eius auxilio postulabis. Et si perseueraueris non
quiescens, non dubites quod ab ea quod volueris impetrabis. ‘Secum enim [creuit]
miseracio’,77 et sibi miseris satisfacere ex officio est commissum. Et cum magna
diligencia cum hae exerceret comuniter erga omnes, tibi non poterit denegare.

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225 sed] si CA3HA3CA1 235 in] in tuo corde CA3, in suo sanguine HA3CA1BA4,
suo sanguine CA4 242 timere...243 abstinere] nimo timore desisteret et abstiner deberet CA4
247 creuit] om. CA3
her breasts. O happy temptation, that drives us to flee to the arms of God! O sweet Lord, who allow us to be put to flight from all sides, and always grant yourself to us as a saving refuge, so that we may always remain with you! Therefore do not wonder that you have temptations, o man, but being greatly frightened, flee to God; and there, if you do not wish to be tempted, you will remain; for if not, you may be captured and damned.

[XIX.] But if you have withdrawn too far from your God and you cannot return to him with a full heart, you will hasten to Christ, your neighbour, and you will be hidden in the well of his side, with a cloth placed over, and do not be afraid that the enemy will find you. Always hold this as a general rule: that whenever you wish God to bend down deeply to you, carry the wounds of Christ in your heart, and, being sprinkled with his blood, you will present yourself to the Father just as his only begotten son, and he himself will provide for you fully, just like the kindest father. Approach Christ therefore and entreat him faithfully that, since it is not right for him to be wounded again, he might condescend to renew his wounds in his blood, and make you red all over in his blood. And thus clothed in purple, you will be able to enter the king’s palace. O you who are tempted, meditate on these wounds daily, and they will always be a refuge and a solace for you. And do not doubt that if you print them well in your heart, no entrance will be found for any temptation. For who, seeing the Lord of glory so gravely wounded for our sins, would dare to commit sins again? Even if he should not cease from his sin out of reverence and compassion for the wounds themselves, he at least ought to fear and abstain from sin because he sees that the punishment owed to the sinner is more painful beyond comparison than to one who is innocent in all things.

[XX.] But if you see that Christ is also displeased with you on account of your sins, then take refuge with the hope of sinners, his mother, and you will give reverence to her as the mother of God, and, with tears flowing, you will ask her for help. And if you persevere without resting, do not doubt that you will obtain from her what you wish. For mercy has grown up with her, and it is her duty according to her office to make satisfaction for sinners. And since she performs these things with great diligence towards all people in common, she will not be able to deny it to you.
Quod et si nullo modo te videris consolari, noscas Deum te diligere, et hoc facit ut peccatorum tuorum profunditates cognoscas et tuam miseriam non ignores. Et hoc est maximum donum Dei. Non enim sibi placet presumpcio aliquorum qui se iustos reputant et ad Ihesum altissimum tanquam ad familiaem amicum accedunt. Vult enim ut quantumcumque sit magnus, se miserum et quasi nichil reputans ad ipsum veniat, cum peccatorum suorum confusione, et magna reuerencia et timore. Et magnum et maximum reputo, quantumcumque magnus, si ipsum immensus Deus noster dignatur a longe saltem intueri. Ideoque pleno corde Dei magnitudinem et suam paruitatem confiteatur, et dicit: "Domine, 'non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum',\textsuperscript{78} sed nec ut tibi appropinquare valeo ullo modo; sufficit enim mihi ut in tua pietatis oculis me digneris respicere a remotis." Dico quod si in hoc perseveraueris non quiescens, non solum te videbit, sed ad sua secretissima introducet. Quod ipse facere dignetur, qui est in secula benedictus.' Amen.

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\textsuperscript{78} Ihesum ipsum [HA3CA1BA4CA4] reputet [HA3BA4CA4] paruitatem [CA3] Amen] Explicit tractatus compositus a Fratre Willelmo Flete de remedijs contra temptaciones \textit{add. CA1}, Explicit tractatus de temptacione CA4
**[XXI.]** But if it seems that you cannot be consoled in any way, know that God loves you, and that he does this so that you understand the depth of your sins and are not ignorant of your own misery. And this is a great gift of God. For the presumption does not please him of some who consider themselves just and approach highest Jesus as if he were their familiar friend. For he wishes that however great a person may be, he should come to him considering himself wretched and as nothing, with shame for his sins, and in great reverence and fear. And however great a person is, I consider it a great thing, indeed most great, if our infinite God thinks fit to look on him from afar. And therefore he should acknowledge with a full heart God’s greatness and his own smallness, and he should say: “Lord, I am not worthy that you should come under my roof, nor yet am I able to approach you in any way; it is enough for me that you should think fit to look on me from afar in the eyes of your mercy.” I tell you that if you persevere in this without resting, he will not only look on you, but will lead you into his highest secrets. May he who is blessed forever see fit to do this.’ Amen.
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ME1a
For as mekyll as þe apostell says þat withouten fayth and trw beleue it es
inpossibill to plesa God, 4 þerfore es it þat our olde enmy þe fende enforce3 hym
nyght and day thurgh fals incastynges of errour3 and fals engynes and imaginacions
and oþer swylk maner of wondirfull wyse for to distruy and let our beleue and our
faith, whilk es þe grundstane of all haly kirke and beginner of all vertues. And þa þat
he sees he may noȝt cast doune vtterly fra stabilnes of þis beleue, he cesses noȝt to
cast þame doune be oþer dyuers maner of way3 thurgh his quantise and his wiles and
his temptacions. 5 þerfore we sall werly and gastyly withstand his wiles on þis wise: we
sall charge as noght all swilk maner of fantasies, imaginacions, fals consayte3 of error,
or foule stirrynges, blasfemes sightes or heringes, or any oþer swilk fantasies, and bere
þame mekely and paciently, putand all our hope and our tryste in þe mercy and in þe
passion of our lord Ihesu Criste. For as þe prophete says, mannes thoghtes ar bot
wayne: ‘Dominus scit cogitaciones hominum quoniam vane sunt’; 6 and þa ar variand
and withouoten nowmbir. And þerfore a man sall noȝt ryst ne tary wyth swylk fals
fantasies agayn feighthand and trubeland his beleue; ne he sall noȝt be mekill besy to
discusse or knaw þe causes and þe skilles of swilk fals fantasies. For þe mare besy þat a
man es to knaw þame and encer’reche/ þame, þe mare fast cleue þai on hym and þe
mare blynd and heuy þai mak hym.

Ne a man or a woman sal noȝt ouer mekill angir hym ne blame hymselfe for
swilk maner of ill stirrynges and foule thoghtes, ne vtterly arett þame to his awne
defaute or synne. For swylk temptacions er to swilk a man vtterly vnwilfull and
dispersand, and þerfore it es pynfull to hym and na synne, bot it es a purgyng and a
clesyng of þe saule, and a streng of pacience, and a kepyng of mekenes, and a
stirryng and a raying vp of þe saule to endles lyfe. Saynt Austyn says in a buke, De
uera religione, þat all maner of synne es wilfull and if it be noȝt wilfull it es na synne;7
and Ysidre, De summbo bono, libro tercio, says wha so es tormented and trubled
thurgh stirring of þe fend with foule thoghtes of dispar, blasfemy, and dowtes or
dredis, whilk er passions of þe saule, he sall noȝt trw ne suppose þat he es aliente fra
God and forskayn for he shall suffer swilk, bot he shall thank God and luf hym þat

1 For] here bigynnes a deoute matier be þe drawynge of M. Waltere Hylton. For H1
3 incastynges] incasting H1 4 oþer] on H1 5 grundstane] ground and stonne H1 7 þame] hym H1
8 his] om. H1 9 werly] (verrely canc.) wey B 10 his wiles] om. H1 10 heringes] hering H1
12 passion] grace H1 16 causes] cause H1 17 þat om. H1 20 ill] cuyl H1 24 endles] endes H1
25 wilfull] fal wilfal H1

3 engynes] ‘trickery’ 7 quantise] ‘cunning’ 20 arett] ‘attribute’
30 vouches safe to chastly hym here with swilk a ȝerde so þat þe spire may be safe before our lord God, whilk betis and chastes all his lufed childir and his dere derlynges whilk he has ordand to endlys blys. And if he do þus þan sall his temptacion, his pyne, and his disese þat he suffers be countyd till hym for vertu. And if all he wate noȝt for what synne or whate enchesoun he shuld suffer swilk temptacion, neuerhelesse he sall mekely commend and prayse þe gudenes of our lord, þat dos na thing bot rightwisly and mercyfully, whilk makes his sonne to schyne bath on gude and on yll. For wytt þou wele þe fend may no mare do to þe þan þe will of God suffers hym to do, to gret profett to his trw servant. For þe fend servyes to our prophet whedir he will or noȝt thurgh Goddes mercy; for þe temptacions þat he stirres till our ded and dampancion, our lord turns þaim into vertu and into saule hele. Þe fend ceesseþ noȝt to tary and disese þe rightwis man thurgh stirrynges of diuers temptacions, now tribulacion of hert, grevinges of bodily sares and diseseþ, and ofte tyme tournamentes þe sely saule with dyuers and many temptacions and pynefull felynges bath within and without, þat sum tyme for gretnes of pyne and angwis he es in pyont to fall in dispaye. Bot sothly als lang as he dwelles in drede and luf of God, all swilk diseseþ er turned to gret merit and profite of saule. And þefore swilk a man or swilk a woman es noȝt departed fra God and aliende bot þe ar mekell mare festeþ and aned to hym, what angwis or tribulacion or temptacion he suffers.

f. 123r

50 þe saule suffers thurgh instagion and stirryng of þe enmy. As Dauit sayes: ‘Multe tribulaciones iustorium’; þat es to say, ‘Many ar þe tribulaciones of þe rightwis.’ Bot trwly þe saule may noȝt thurgh whilk temptacions dispersiche ne be lost fra endles lyfe. For sothly our mercyfull lord acownteþ noȝt þat for dampancion of synne þat þe sufferand man or woman thurgh Goddis ordenans here agayne his will. For sothly þan anely synne we when we thurgh our lust falles doun to swilk temptacions thurgh assent and plesance of will; bot when we ar berne doun to be violence agayne our will to felyng of swilk temptacions, it es anely pyne and na synne. Hec Ysodrus vt
supra, sparsim capitulo quadragesimo tercio. 12 Et alibi dicitur: 'Si in te agitur et non agis', et cetera.

Neuerpelesse it semys sumtyme to a man ſat es ſus temped ſat swilk felynges of dispaire [o]r doutyng and hesitacion in ſe fayth—made be ſe illusion of ſe fend, smytand in swilk drede and ferdfulnes into ſe saule—wer gret synne. What is it bot anely doutyng in ſe beleue? For synne is euer wilfully couetted and frely chosyn, at ſe lest thurgh ignorance, whilk mare lenes to errour ſan to sothfastnes. And ſerfore sen ſe fayth es ſe habyte and a dispositicion of ſe will, on whilk whaso will trow he troweȝ, and whoso will hope he hopes, and whaso will noȝt dowte he douteȝ noght, er for e says ſe apostell at w[i]th ou[r] hert, ſat es w[i]th ou[r] will, we trow, 13 whilk trowing is acou[n]ted for rightwisneȝ. And er for e in ou[r] will, whilk ou[r] enmy anely may noȝt bryng to co[n]sentyng of swilk foule stirrynges and felynges, standeȝ all ou[r] m[et] and deme[rit], ſat is to say mede or blame. Neuerþelesse ſe saule es sumtyme so ou[er]layde w[i]t[h] felling of swylk te[m]ptacions ſat he may noȝt clerely see his awne will; and ſat is na force, for his gude dedis prouys his gude will, and his ill werukes his ill will. And he sall ay presume and suppose ſai er gude vnto ſat it may be resonabibly proued ſat ſai ar ill. |

Bot if þis forsayd tem[ptac]i[on cesse noȝt by ſis will and ſis dissimilacion before sayd bot euer dwellys still, and thurgh malice of ſe fend, [who] es euermare iangeland his fantasies ſat he moues and stirres in ſi saule, preferand to ſe falsnes vndir ſe colour of sohtfastnes, or ouerlayes ſi saule and blyndes it by way of ſi complexion and contenuellly angers ſe and diseseʒ ſe and trubles ſe, þou sall some tyme, bot noght bot seldome, as it wer be maner of abiracion and vtt[er]ly forsakyng and contrary affermyng, shew ſi fayth and ſi beleue with ſi mouthe and ſi worde, agaynsayand ſe fend temptacions, and ſat þou will for nothing consent to his errour and his falsnes ſat he pro[fers to ſe, and swilk o[per, yof all ſe fals consayte ſat þou feles in ſi saule agayne ſi will be contrary and noȝt fully acordand vnto þi sayng. For ſe apostell says ſat confession of mouthe and a knawlegynge of ſi beleue by wordeʒ es heelfull and pro[fitabill. 13 For sekirly he es noȝt dissayued thurgh falsnes and sotelte of ſe fend ſat opynly and with deliberacion and avisement bath in worde and
warke agaynesayes swilk ill stirrings and temptacions and will o nawise resayue þame ne consent vnto þaim. Owre enmy es waike and of na powere and he may overcomen no man agaynes his will þat will noȝht frely and avisely consent to hym. 15  

[V.]  

Derfore na man sall thynk heuy ne be angred or greued for he sees þe fend on dyuers maner tempte and disse chosen saules, for thurgh many temptacions and tribulacions nedis vs for to entir þe kingdome of heuene. Þus þe fend sekes and serches þe wayknes and þe condicion of ilk mans complexion, and whem þat he fyndes hase mekyll of moystnes of malencoly complexion, he tempes þaim and taries þame on dyuers maners thurgh gostly temptacion. 16 Men þat tretis of kyndes of thinges tellys þat smeke of blak colour steyeȝ vp to þe brayne and comes to þe lake and depnes of thoght and trubils and mirkeȝ þe light and brightnes of it, and letters þe saule to haue clot hare knewing and discrecion betwix gude and yll, falsnes and trewthe, errore and sothfastnes. 17 Swilk men ar comunly heuy and dedefull with[w] a resonabyl cause, | wayke of hert, dry of complexion. Bot swilk drede and heuynes es na synne when it es paynefull and agayne a mans will, and it comes ofte tymes to hym thurgh þe stirryng of þe fende. And swilk men and wemen wenes þat þe fals fantasies and erroreȝ, desayeȝ of þe enmy, be trew and sothfastnes. For þai ar lettyd be þis blak smeke þat hilles and ouerwelmes þaire brayne so þat þai may noȝt se ne knaw þe sothfastnes.  

f. 124r  

And so þaire cursed enmy behaldis and aspieȝ euer ilk mans astate and complexion, how he myȝt dissayue hym and ouercom hym. For as Leo þe Pape says in a sermon þat he makes of þe circumcision of our lord: 'Oure ald enmy þe fend cesseȝ noȝt for to lay and sprede in ilk a place þe snares of his dissayte, bystand hym nyght and day on what maner he may corrupte and druble Cristyn mans beleue. He knawes wele inogh wham, how, and when he sall proþir þe brynninges of couetysse, whame he shal tempte in glotony, to whame he sall put þe stirring of lychery, and to qwame he sall put þe venymais synne of ire and envi and pride; he knawes also whame he shall dyssayue with vayne joye and ouer mekill gladnes, whame he sall cast donye by drede, and quam he sall dissayue thurgh musyng of fantasies and dyuers thinges. He discusses þe custom of all men; he behaldes besynes and inserches þaire  

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desires and affections and vile stirrynges thurgh bodely countenance and outward beryng, and in þat thing sekes he occasion to hurt a man wherin he sees hym mast occupied.’ Hec Leo Papa.  

And þerfore he puttes ofte tymе and brynges so gret bytternes into a saule, what thurgh stirryng of a mans complexion on þe ta syde, what thurgh smyting in of doutes and dredis on þe toþer syde, þat hym thinkes it a huge tьrment and vnsufferablyll payable þe bering of his bodily lyfe and couettes to dye, as for a souerayne remedy and a leggyng of þe payn þat he suffers, in so mekill þat he es ofte tymе nerehand in poynyt for to dispare both of bodely hele and of gastly. Þai wene þat | þai be forsakyn of God, for he suffers þaim to be so pyned and proues þame be þe fire of tribulacion. For as þe wise man sais: ‘Right as þe birnand fournas assayeʒ and proueʒ þe vessell of þe pott þe fire, whilk ar abyll to mens vse and whilk noȝt, right so suffers God rightwis men to be assayd thurgh þe fire of tribulacion and temptacion.’  

And þe haly man Iob sayeʒ þus: ‘Our lord has proued me and assayed me as gold þat passeʒ thurgh þe fire, for he knawes all my ese’, 20 þat is my dedis, and myne affeccions, by whilk I go to God. And þe apostell says: ‘Vs behoues be heuyed her þe frute of pacience in þis lyfe thurgh tyme ande of endles joy i þe hand i þe vessell of þe pott. And þe haly man Thobi said þe aungell Raphaell þus: ‘For als mekill as þou was accepte and plesand to God, þerfore it es nedefull þat temple þe vessells of þe hand of ou þes and bitternes pacently and merelikly, so þat he may say wyth Iob as he sayd þus: ‘Si bona suscipimus de manu domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus’; 23 þat es: ‘Sen we haue resayued and taken þe gude thinges and prosperitees of þe hand of our lord, why sall we noȝt also suffer aduersitese and disese?’ 3a and v[m]bethink hym of þe merite and þe frute of pacience in þis lyfe and þe mede of endles joy in þe toþer lyfe, and þat hym pray with Iob þat he spare noȝt his sorow ne his disese here, and say þus: ‘3a, lord, if þou wold sla me, ȝhite sall I hope and triste in þe.’  

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125 leggyng] ‘relief’ 142 vmbethink...of] ‘reflect upon’
[VIII.] And what wonde is it yof a wyched man be trubled and angwisched and diseed in his present lyfe when our lord sayd of hymselfe in he gosspell þus: ‘Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem’; 27 þat is to say: ‘Mi saule es trubled and heuyed to þe ded.’ And in tyme of his passion he cried and sayd þus: ‘Eloy, eloy, lamaʒabatany’; 28 þat is to say: ‘My God, my God, why has þou forsakyn me?’ And think | also what Isay þe prophete says in þe person of our lord þus: ‘A litill while haue I forsakyn þe, and in a shorte tyme of my wretche I hafe turned and hid my face fra þe, bot in myne endles mercy I hafe mercy on þe.’ 29 A litill thing and a schorte is all þat we suffer here, 3a yof we were in tribulacion and temptacion and disese all our lyfe tyme, to regarde of endles blys whilke we shall haue for suffering of swilk disese. For as þe apostell says, all þe passions, anguyseȝ, paynes, tribulacions, and all þe temptacions þat we may suffer all our lyfe tyne er noȝt worthi to þe endles joy and blys þat we shall haue hereafter. 30 Aa ma man mervale ne wondr þat a gastly man or woman and a gastly lyfer es þus hugely and singularly temped, when he sees parauentur oper men þat er synners or ill lyfers lesse parftime in lyfe in mekill ese and riste, as it semys both inward and outward. Ne a man sal noȝt be to mekill besy for to knaw and discuse þe preuetes of Godes domes. For als lang as a mans gude will, þe whilke he hase to Godd and to rightwisnes, lastes hale and es noȝt broken thurgh consentyng to synne, als lang es he noȝt casten doune fra faith, hope, and charite, bot he es mare sadly consermed and stabled in all vertueȝ. Þe maner and þe remedy of þis temptacion shewed our lord when he sayd to his discipils þus: ‘Sathanas expetiuit vos vt cribraret sic ut triticum’; 41 þat is to say: ‘Je fend hase asked ȝow for to syfte as whaso syfte whete.’ A man es sifted when he es inwardly and parfitly examined thurgh fire of temptacion and tribulacion, and þan es he made strange and parftime when he es thurgh þe vertue of pacience and deoute prayer, or elles be helefull doctrine and teching of his brother, consermed and strenthed in gudenes. And þerfore sayrs our lord in þe same place to Saynt Petir þus, in þe person of all þaise þat er þus taried and temped: ‘Ego autem rogau pro te vt non deficiat fides tua’; 42 ‘I hafe prayed for þe,’ he


165 sadly] ‘firmly’ 172 taried] ‘troubled’
saies, ‘Þat þi prayer and þi beleue shuld noȝt faile.’ And our lord said þe same tyme to Sayn Peter þus: ‘Tu autem aliquando conuersus confirmata fratres tuos’; 42 þat is to say: ‘Perfore þou, when þou art turned and deluyerd of þis temptacion, conferme and stabill þi brether besyde þe.’ And so when | a man es þus comforted of his broþer and made partite in Criste, þan may he say þis worde felowand: ‘Quare tristis es anima mea et quare conturbas me; spera in Deo’, et cetera; 44 Whi art þou heuy and sary, þou my saule, and whi trubles þou me? Triste and hope faste in our lord and he sall deluyer þe of all þi pyne and disese þat þou suffers.’

And luk þat he in þe mene tyme pray besily and do all þe gude þat he may, and þat he ofte luke in haly wyrte, and namely and principally þat he tak tent to þe teching of þe gospell. And yof all he fel[e] noȝt na sensabill ne feleabill deuocion, luk þat he suffer it mekely and paciently, and neverþelesse luk þat he be besy for to haue deuocion in gude will; and þat suffeȝ þe to þe saule hele. For ofte tymes all actuell and sensibill deuocion es withdrawn for our gret profet, þat our prayer shuld be þe mare medefull. For Sayn Bernad sayeȝ super istud Canticorum ‘Quesiui et non inventi’, 45 he says þat þe spouse hides hyi illud H1 desire to be for to get þame; for þe mekillnes of desire shuld acorde with þe mekillnes of þe thinges behight before. Saynt Austyn sayse: ‘Þan er haly men mast spedefully


183 tak tent| ‘attend’ 184 feleabill| ‘perceptible’ 191 dangerusly| ‘disobligingly’
herd of God when he giffȝe þame noȝt þat þai couet bot eftir þat he knawes þe best for þame.’

God giffȝe vnto sum men swetnes of deuocioun in þe begynnynge of þaire turnynge for to draw | þame owt fra þe luf of wordly thinges and for to mak þame sadd and stabyll in his luf, whilk swetnes aflerward he withdraweȝ þat þai shuld mow get þame mare mede and hegeher to be crowned in þe blys of heuen. For sen vertueȝ, as saise þe philosophir, standes in þat thynge þat a man noȝt com to withbouten strenth and hardnes, 48 þerfor þat þat es most hard to get es mast of vertu when it es gettyyn. Bot for to be stabill and lastand in þe luf of God and sothfaste beleue in tyme of temptacion and withdrawynge of all actuall and sensibill deuocion is mare hard þan it es when a man feles swetnes and deuocion, and þerfore it is mare medefull. Þis betakened our lord when he sayd to Sayn Peter þus: ‘Cum autem esses iunior cingebas te et ambulabas vii volebas; cum autem senueris, extendes manas tuas et alius cinget te et ducet te quo tu non vis’; 50 þat is to say: ‘When þou was þonge þou girdyd þiselfe and 3ode whedir þiselfe lyste, bo[t] when þou waxes ald, anoþer sall gyrd þe and lede whedir þou will noght ga.’ For right as small childir er fyrst nuruysched and brought furth with swete mylke and dauntyng and playing to þe tyme þat þai be abyll to ete sadd meteȝ as men does and do strange dedes, right so our lord nurescheȝ sum men and wymmen fyrst with mylkh of swetnes and deuocion and aftirwardes he makes þame strang and parfite thurgh sadd metes of temptacion and tribulacion. It es swete and dilectabill for to folow Iheu with myrthe and joy of hert and pesfulnes and in sothnes of saule, bot it es full hard and full heȝh perfeccion to folow our lord withbowten any comforth or ese of hert, with continuuelle impugnacion of his mynde and of his fayth. It was swete and dilectabill to Sayn Peter for to be with Iheu in þe mounte of Thabor in his joyfull transfiguracion, when he sayd to Iheu: ‘Bonum est nos hic esse’; 52 þat es to say: ‘It es gude to vs to be here’. Bot it was full hard and full ferrfull to hym to be with Crist in his passion and his persecucion þat was so hard and so fell, in so mekil þat he denied hym and sayd he knew hym noȝt. 53 And ȝhit
neuerthelesse he þat for þe ferdnes of a lytill womans voyce denyed Criste in his passion, eftirward he was made so strang and so myȝti thurgh þe halygaste þat he knawleghed our lord before kinges and princes vnto þe ded.

And for as þis maner of passion comes ofte of a mans awne comlexion, þerfor whoso es þus temped, it es gude þat he be wer and þat he esshue þat he be noȝt mykill by hym ane, ne þat he enserche noȝt na thing ne discusse ouer depely thurgh curiosite or sotelt of his thoght, ne þat he leue noght on his awne wytte ne pere sume ouer mekill of his awne felyngeȝ, bot þat he mekely fall to and folow þe counsell and confortynge of wise and discrete men, shewand and opynand to þame his temptacions and his stirrynges. And þis es bath helefull and spedefull to hym. For haly wyrte sayȝ þus: ‘Ve soli, quia cum ceciderit non habet subleuante mense’; 54 þat es to say: ‘Wae es to hym þat is allane, lyuand anely in his awne wytt and his awne felyng, for when he falles fra grace thurgh pride he haueȝ no lyfter ne halder vp thurgh gastely comforth and counsaile.’ And for als mekill as a man es þus trauailed and taried, he es heuy and ferefull bath of his awne comlexion and of his temptacion; bot he sall mak myrth and ioj violently of force yof þat he may no bett er do thurgh lyfting vp of his awne hert. And euer þe mare þat he es put doune to sorow and drede, þat he take in þe mene tyme honest and leffull bodily comfort so þat he fall noȝt into ouer mekill heuynes or dispaire or mystrest, 56 for swilk maner of bo- | dily solace es noght be cause of vanyte done or luste, bot it es done be cause of profite and coueryng of mans hele.
For ðe fend ofte tymes transfigureȝ hym, vnseablyl, into ane aungell of lyght,57 stirrand furth vises vnder lyknes of vertues and hilland errorȝ vnder colour of sothfastnes, euermare waytand how he myght ouercome a deuoute saule. For some he brynges to a mans thoght in tyme of Goddes serves mynd of his synnes, and says þat hym nedis to ransake his conscience and for to schrife hym, and puttes in his mynd swilk oþer thoghtes, and so vnder colour of halynes and vertu he trubleȝ and drawes away his mynd fra þat he shuld say and think on. For it es wryten: ‘Omnia tempus habent’; 59 þat es: ‘All thing haues tyme.’ Bot sothly a souerayn and assaied medecyn and a remedy for to put away swilk fantasies and vayne imaginacions and for to distroy castele temptacions in tymes of defult prayng is þis: þat a man on na wise, als furth as he may, gif na lystenyng ne behalding ne tak no tent to þame.

[S]ome tymes also ðe fend brynges to þe mynde of a body þaire alde done synnes whilk he has beforære tyme done away thurgh trw confession and pure conscience, and makes hym beleue þat þai ar noeþt forgiffyn hym, or els he brynges hym in dowte wheþer þai be forgiffen hym or noeþt, whilk he knew before sothfastly. And þat dos þe ennemy thurgh a blynding and a wughter of þe mynd of his schryfte made beforære or of oþer gude dedes, smytand sharply his mynd with drede of waiknes of herte. Þe wicked ennemy menes noþt thurgh þis brynggyng to mynde for to clense þe saule fra synne thurgh confession, bot þat þe saule shuld thurgh swilk falsnes be trubled and taried and stirred fra pees and stabileȝ of herte, or els to bryng hym to dispaire. For he es a spirite of pestelence and ouer all thing he hatis pes and quiete of herte, couetand euere mare and desirand byttynes and trublyng. To whase suggestyon in þis caas þou sall warly agaynstand on þis wise: whe þou feles þi conscience trubled and taried for swilk man oþer of co[nfession of þa synnes whilk þou knaweȝ wele þou hase bene schryuen of | before tyme and taken and done penance for þame, whilk conscience es stirred by temptac[i]on and tarying of þe ennmy, mak þan dissimilacion and feynyng welry, as þou roght noeþt þerof, and leue of als sone as þou may and fe away preuely and folow it noeþt in dede, yof all þi fals conscience agayne say þe. For confession of synne, yof it be pro[fitabyll and nedefull to ilk man when trw conscience

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261 schrife] ‘confess’ 283 roght] ‘cared’
and helefull compungcion stirreȝ it, neuerȝelesse it es vnprofitabill and vnspedefull when it es stirred be fals oþinion or dowting and bitter and ferefull insending of þe fend. Bot þou sall vndirstand þat þis maner of confession is noȝt lefte for contempte and dispite of þe sacrement of confession and þe ordenance of haly kirke, bot for a cautele and a warness of esshewing of temptacion of þe fend. For all thing es wele done þat es done with a gude entent, yof all it seme noȝt so sum tyme in þe sight of men. For anely entent and cause makes euery ilk thing for to be medefull or vnspedefull. Þis es þe teching of ouþr lord Ihesu Criste when þe fend temped hym and sett hym on þe pyynnakill of þe teþpill and bad hym if he wer Goddes sonne þat he shuld caste downe hymselfe to þe groun:

Also þe wicked sprete of errour sum tyme vmbelappes þe mynd with dyuers perplexites and dowtes and wondirfull and preuee distractions and waueryng of thought, makand þat thing to seme vnleuefull and gret synne whilk es leuefull and no synne, and says þat es dedly synne whilk is bot venill, and so contenuelly þat hym thinkes he es neuer shryuen ryght. And ouer þat, mare vndiscretely trubles and trauailȝ his hert thurgh ferdnes, dredes, and vgsomnes, and brings to his mynd fantasies of dyuers synneȝ, anely for to lett hym fra gude wirking and profitabill occupacion thurgh swilk disese and also to mak hym a fals conscience, in so mekill þat he sum tyme draweȝ a man and gers hym mare cleue and leue to swilk falsenes and feyned conscience stirred be swilk sotelte and quaynteȝ of þe fend þan for to consent to trewthe and be rewled be descrecion. And þis es a foule errour. And swilk a man nedes by counsaile and dome of a wise man and a discrete to put away all swilk fals errourȝ and nowþer trow ne drede þame ne folow þame, bot to folow sothfastnes. And if he say þat he may noȝt put it away fra hym he says noȝt soþe þerof. For he may wilne to put it away fra hym, and if he wold þat/ it war away, þan es it put away in effecte þat it sall noȝt defoule his saule, yof all þe same errour dwell stille in his

[Plate: 128r]
inward felyng as it did before, if he will mekely ascente and be buxsome to wise mennes teching and counsaille.

[XV.] Dis techeȝ vs þe apostell, saying þus: ‘Nolite credere omni spiritui’; 61 ‘Will þe noȝt,’ he saies, ‘gif credence and beleue to ilk a spirite, bot proues fyrst and asayes be counsaille and descrecion of wise men whilk es þe spirite of Godde,’ and follow it and do eftir it, and luk and seke by descrecion whedir it be ane of þe namely meneȝee of God or it be þe insending of þe emmy, and þerafter wirke. And þerfore descrecion es a[I]way nedefull to euer ilk man; whilk descrecion, as Sayn Bernard says, is þe vþberer of all oþer vertueȝ. 63 Dis descrecion demes rightly betwix gude and ill, þat a man be noȝt desayued vnwarly ne ressayue na ill vndir coloour of lyknes of gude. 64 And þerfor Saynt Austyn says i[n] a buke, De spiritu et anima, þat sum tyme a gude spirite and sum tyme a wicked takes to hym mannes spirite and his thoght, and it may noȝt lyghtly be knawen of what spirite it es taken, bot anely by þat, þat þe gude spirite techeȝ vs and stirreȝ vs to gude and þe wicked disayueȝ vs. He begyles me[n] ofte tymes in opyn gude warkes of kynd as fasting, wakyng, praying, and swilk oþer, þat if þai anes tryst in þame þat þai ar gude and haly, þan he ledes þame thurgh vndescracion or pride or ipocryse to his werkes, and so ar þai | turned into synne. 65 And þerfore it semys hym þat it war his awne thoght and trew consayte, and þat es brought in thwrgh wicked stirryng and desayte of þe enmy. Þerfore he sall noȝt in þis caas trow his awne witt ne leue to his awne felyng, bot he sall meke hymselfe and be buxsome and obedient to sothfastnes and discrecion of wise men. For our ald aduersarie þe fend is a fals and a wicked treacherous dissayuer of men sauleȝ. And when he sees þat he may noȝt lede þe saule into erroour thurgh wiles, neuerþellesse þe enforceȝ to cast it doune be ouer mekill drede, shewand to it fals illusiones and ferfull and hidous thougheȝ, and þwrgh inȝhettyng of venom of his wickednes for to mak it pynfull and better thurgh vnsufferabill heuyynes þat it felys, to þat entent to mak hym cesse and leef off his gude purpos þat he hase begun. And þerfore hym behoues on all wise, in als mekill as freelte suffers, with help of grace, agaynstand his desayuebill
suggestions and to suffer patiently and meekly þe pyne and þe bytternes inſicched in his freſſeſloughth.

Also þe fend, when he sees þat he may noſt ouercom a man wakand ne gar hym conſcent to his wycked stirrynges; he es abowtward in slepe to dreche hym and disese hym thurgh dyuers scornynges of ferdes and vgsomnes of dremes and fantasies.  And þerfore says Sayn Gregour super illud Iob 'Terrebis me per sompniia'; 66 he says: þe fend, when he seeþ þat he may noſt ouercome a man ne mak hym conſcent to synne wakand, he feȝteȝ with hym mare greuoſly and mare felly slepand. And þat es sufferd of þe gret gudenes of God and of his mærce, þat will noſt suffer þat þe slepe of his dere chosyn derlyng be wiþouten frute of gostly mede." 67

A dere lord Ihesu, on how many wondərful wise is a chosen saule þat anely lufes and dredis þe castyn hedir and þider thurgh dyuers temptacions and smytyn togedir and thrungen togedir thurgh dredis and ferſeſlounes on ilk a side! þis bers wytnes haly kirke in ane ympne sayand þus: 'O tortuose serpens qui mille permeandros fœr audesqve flexuosas agitas quieta corda'; 68 he says: 'A, a, þou brukill neddir, þat thurgh a thousand wiles stirreȝ and trubleȝ restfull herettes, ga hyen þi way and melt to noſt, Cristes es with vs þat hase vs boght, þou wicked fend wiþbowten [i]lyght, Cristes cros þe dampeynes and all þi myght.' A, a, how mercyfull es it and how profitabill, how charitabill and how helefull, for to comforth, strenth, and counsaile and helpe a man þat is þus gateȝ to availde and pyned, desolate and as it ware forsaken and all lefte as it war in þe handes of his enmy, and for to lede a man þat on þis wise gaes thurgh þe fire of temptacion owte of þe hete and brynyng of tribulacion into a restfull caldnes and refresching and comforth of þe haly gost. And ʒiþ neuerþellesse yof he may noſt als sone get ne hafe þis restfull comforth and refresching as he couettes, he sall noſt þerfore despaire; 3a yof he forga it lang tyme, ʒa all his lyfe tyme, he sall think þat all þis lyfe is bot a pere son and a place of penance and disese, and fully trist þat þat comfort and joy is profitabill withdrawing fra hym here and reserved and keped to hym in þe blisse þat es endles.

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348 gar] ‘make’  349 dreche] ‘disturb’  350 scornynges] ‘mockeries’ | ferdes] ‘fear’ vgsomnes] ‘horror’  362 lyght] H1’s ‘light’ avoids the repetition of B’s ‘myght’, but either may be the original reading of these unique verses.

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196
[Stimulus amoris] 75

Bonaventur in a buke þat es cald Stimulus Amoris says þus. A, a, þi wonderfull mercy, allmyghty lord Ihesu, þat sufferes vs here to be assaied with dyuers temptacions, noȝt for þat skill þat we shuld be takyn fra þe bot þat we for drede of our enmy shuld mare brynnandly be stirred to fle vnþo þe as to þe mast seker hald and hauen of our hele and a syngulerre refute of our defence. Like to a guede modir, qwilk when sho sees hir child far fra hir and desire þo to se hym sho makes hym fyrst ferd and feres hym by some ferefull thynge, and when he for drede rynnes to hir for socour and beldenes sho opyns hir armys and take þir child to hir with grete joy, and halses hym and warnes hym þat he ga na mare so far away fra hir for drede of harme and disese, sho f. 129v confortez þy him, sho halseȝ hym and giffeȝ hym hir pappe to souke: right so dose þou our blyssed lord with all þi chosyn childir and derlynges, whilk þou ordans to be haireȝ of þine endles kyngdom. O a blystfull temptacion is þat þat constrynes vs to fle to þe swete halsynge of our lordis bosome! A, a, swete Ihesu, þat sufferes vs on er ilk a syde to be drefen thurgh temptacion, tribulacion, and disese, and euermare giffeȝ þiself to vs a maste seker and mast helefull refuyte, þat we may dwell with þe witbowten end. Qwat so euer þou behafe, no wondir þat þou feleȝ temptacions and disese, bot fle to our lord with lufuly drede; and if þou will noȝt be temped, sit þare with hym, elles may þou lyghtly be takyn of þine enmy and perisch.

[XIX.] Bot neuþpelesse if þou hafe made þiselfe so fer fra God thurgh synne þat þou dar noȝt go to hym with full hert, bot þou thinkes þat þou art far fra hym in a cuntre of vnliklynes, ne þou may noȝt atteyne to his godhede, ryn þan with full hert to Ihesu Criste, þat es made þi broþer and preuee neþghur thurgh taking of [þi] \'kynd\', and hide þe þare in þe hole of his blystfull syde, hilland þe þe with a mantill of still marnyng and hertly compassion, and þare þar þe noȝt drede nane of þine enmyse. 76 Mak þis allway for a generall reule, þat when so euer þou couettes to helde and bowgh doune to þe our lord God depely and law, ber þou þe wounds of Ihesu Cristy in þi hert and sprenkyll all þi saule with Cristeȝ blude, and so sall þou present þiselfe to þe fadir of

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heuen as his awne dere sonne, and þan he as þe maste dere fadir sall ordan for þe fully all þat þe nedis. Ga þerfore tristfully to Ihesu Criste and beske hym mekely þat, sen it es noȝt semely þat he eftsonese þe wonden and suffer passion for þe, at þe lest þat he vouchsaue to renew his blyssed woundeȝ in his blyssed blode, and þat he will make þe all fully red in þe same blyssed blode. And if þou be þus cled in þis blyssed purpoure, þou sall þan mow securly enter into þe kynges palace of heuen. [A]nd þou man þat art þus ilk a day temped, behold and haue in | mynde ilk day of þis blyssed woundeȝ and þai sall be to þe contenuell refreschyng and comfort, and withouten any dowt, if þou fest þise blyssed wounds fast in þi hert, þer sall nane entre be lefte opyn to na temptacion. For what man es he þat durst eftesoneȝ synne and fall agayne to wickedneȝ, þat sees þe hie kyng and lord of blys so greuously and hedusly wounded for his synnes and his wickednes? For certeȝ yof he wold noȝht ceesse for reuþerence and compassion of his blyssed wounds, neuerþelesse when he beheld þat mare greuous payn and penance withouten comparison is detted to a synner þan to ane innocent þat neuer did synne, and with þat behald what payne and passion our lord Ihesu Crist sufferd fra þe hour of his byrth to þe last poynyt of his pyynfull passion, whilk neuer synned ne trespast, and think þan what pyne es detted to hym þat has bene a synner all his lyfyme and a wreche: if he think þus, sothly I suppose þat yof nowþer reuþerence ne luf myght lett hym fra synne, þis maner of behaldynge of pyne shuld mak hym abstene hym and leue his synne.

If it swa be þat þou se Criste greued with þe and wrathe agayneȝ þe for þi wickednes, fle þan to his blyssed modir Mary, whilk es made hope and triste and specially advocate to all synfull, and gif reuþerence to hir hono and warship as to þe hie modir of God, and aske of hir helpe wþh wepand teres. And if þou cesse noȝt of lightly bot contenues deuoutly in pryuers and teeres, hafe þou na dout þat þou ne sall gett of hir what þou will. For mercy and pyte has growen wyth hir 77 fra hir youth into þis day, and þat office es gifen to hir specially of God for to be meen and mediatrix betwix hir sonne and all synfull sauleȝ whilk fleȝ or will fle to hir protection to purchase and gett þaim grace, | remission, and forgifnes of þaþ synnes,
and for to mak aseth for þame vnto þe fadir of heue, whilk office sho fullfilles full besily with full tendir affercion and gret compassion to all synfull wrecches þat will fle to hir for helpe and socour. And þerfore sho may on na wise spere hir bosome of mercy to þe allane þat es opyn and fre to all oþer.

[XXI.] And if it be so þat þou may on na wise fynd comforth ne ese, knaw þan wele þat God lufeȝ þe, and þerfore dose he all þis to þo myght knaw þe grounde and þe steyell of þi synnes and þat þou shuld noȝt vnknow þine awne wrechidnes, and þat is a full gret gyfte of our lord. For sothly, presumpcion and pride of many man whilk haldes þaim gude and haly, whilk aprocheȝ and preses of God allmyghty as to þaire hamely and familer frend, it es noȝt plesand, swilk presumpcion, in his sight. For he will yof a man be neuer so gret ne so haly þat he euermare hald hymselfe as noȝt knawand his awne wrecchednes, and þat he come before God with gret confusion and shame of his synnes and with gret reuence and drede, and þat he acount it a gret gudenes of God and think and hald it a gret dignacion, yof he be neuer so gret in hymself ne so riche in gret werkes, þat allmyȝty God will vouchsafe to behald hym fra fer; and þat he be aknawen with full hert þe gretnes and þe gudeneȝ of our lord and þe lyttelnes and þe waykenes of hymselfe, sayand with þe man of þe gospel þu: 'lord, noȝt anely I am vnworþi þa com into my house, þat es to say my saule, whilk es full of synne and wickednes, bot also I am vnworthy to approche or to com nere on any wise; bot it es inoghe to me þat þou will vouchsafe to loke to me-ward fra/ afer with þi eghen of þine endles mercy.' And sothly if þou last in þis and cesse noȝt ne leef noȝt off lightly, he sall noȝt anely loke on þe fra ferre bot he sall lede þe into his house and latt þe see þe maste prevete of his heuenly chambr, hauyng reward to þe wordes of þe gospel: 'Qui se exaltat hu[m]iliabit | et qui se hu[m]iliat exaltabit |; 79 f. 131r þat es: 'He þat hies hymself, he sall be made law; and he þat laweȝ and mekes hymself, he sall be hied in blys.' To þat blis bryng vs he whas merce is to all men fre. Amen.

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432 ß[le] cal H1  439 gude and[|] on. H1  443 a...444 dignacion[|] for a gret thyng and hald it in grete deyne H1  447 [he'] | om. H1  448 vnworþi[|] worthy H1  | com] com to me H1  449 to'[...nere] com negh þe H1  452 he' [...] anely[|] only he sal not H1  453 [he'] | on H1  454 et...exaltabitur] et cetera H1  455 hies] enhyese H1  457 Amen[|] here endis þis tretice aftir M. W. Hylton add. H1

431 aseth] 'atonement'  437 steyell] 'manner'  446 be aknawen] 'acknowledge'
ME1b
Remedia contra spirituales temptaciuones.  

For as moche as þe apostle seiþ þat me nemay not plese God wiþoute stedfast feiþ, 
þerfore it is to wite þat oure olde enemy and aduersary þe deuel ful feiþ, þat is  
grounde and fundament of holy chirche and bigynnynge of alle vertues and of good  
worchynge, wiþ fals suggestionis and diuere ymaginaciones or mysþinckyng in many  
wornderful maneris he bisyeþ hym what he may to anyntischen and destruye. And  
whomso he may not brynge away utterlylyche fro sadnesse of þis feiþ, ȝit natheles wiþ  
his wanlaces and his wilys he is euermore aboute to disturble hem and brynge into  
doute of þe same feiþ suche as wolde mooste bleþeliche stonde stable and sewr. 

And þerfore it nediþ to wiþstonde suche maner missendis and fondingges wiþ good  
warnesse and clene bisynesse of herte and of soule, þat is to seyn al maner fantomis,  
mislikyng, and mysconceytis, and al þe filþe of blasphemye, þat is to mene irreu  
erence or despit aȝens God and his seintis, how so euere þe deuel schewe hem to manys  
soule, wheiþer þat it be bi seeynge or ellis by heryng, for to putte hem anoon away  
and despiše hem and dispute hem not ne struggle noȝt aȝeins hem. And for to  
wiþstonde alle suche temptacionis þe bettre, it is to vndirstonde þe þouȝt and þinkynge of men ben ofte ydel and veyn;  
and as seyn doctoures þerpon, suche þenkyng of men ben diuers and wiþoute noumbre.  
And þerfore a man schal not tary ne dwelle in suche þouȝt ne wondre moche þeron  
ne ensereche hem in his soule ne dispute þe causis þerof. For þe more bisilyche þat he  
medeliþ hym wiþ suche errouress and falsnessis for to anyntischen hem or flaye h[e]m

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1 Remedia...temptaciones] remedyes aȝens spiritual temptacyouns H2a, om. W1  
2 men] we H2aW1  
3 feiþ[!] and byleue add. W1  
4 and aduersary] om. W1  
5 ful...destruye] besieth hym what he may wyth fals suggestyons and dyues ymagynacions to hynder and  
destroy ful fayth that is beginnyng and grounde of all good werkynge W1  
6 anyntischen] anytheren H2a  
7 And...whomso] awhomso H2a, and whom W1  
8 brynge...his] vterli bringe oute of his W1  
9 his H2a  
10 wanlaces] lanlacys H2a  
11 wanlaces] lanlacys H2a  
12 mislikyng] mislikyngs H2aW1  
13 mene] say W1  
14 seeynge] þe sight W1  
15 wanlaces] weytre W1  
16 bettre] soner and the better W1  
17 thouȝt] thouȝtes W1  
18 seyn doctoure] holi  
19 thoughtres W1  
20 ne'ir] neyther W1  
21 falsnessis] falsnes H2aW1  
22 anyntischen] anether H2a, auayde W1  
23 flaye] flaye W1  
24 feiþ
onelyche by soueraynte | of hys owne witt, þe more and furþer he wadiþ into hemward and dewpiþ hymself in hem.

[II.] Wherfore a man schal not for suche falsenessis rennyng into hys soule angre hymself or disese hymself or putte it into his owne witt. For suche manere temptacioun þat it be take meklelyche and esilyche is more to hys punyschynge heràn to encressyng of hys gilt or ellis of hys dampanacion. And why for to a man þat wiliþ to be feiþful suche temptacioun is displesyng and vttërlyche æþein his wille, þerfore it is peinful to hym but not giltful of synne to hym. Siþþe euþer suche synne is wilful or ellis it is no synne, as seiþ Seynt Austyn. 7 Also as seiþ Seynt Isidre: ‘He þat is turmentid bi þe deuell ensawt wiþ gostlyche temptacioun or passiones, loke he trowe not ne bileue not þerfore þat he is euþerlyche alyened or forsake of hys God þat sufferþ hym so be tempyt, but loke eche suche þat he the ofter and þe more herye his God.’ 8 And ðit þe same clerk Ysydre seiþ ferþer in þe same book: ‘Þe deuell temptiþ neiþer þerfore ne more þe chosen of God þan Goddis wille sufferþ and þoliþ, and þouþ þe deuell wolde not it were so ðat naþeles mawgry hym he makiþ hem so þei be goodlich and meke to take profyte by his temptyng.’ 11 Also in þe same book in þe ende: ‘Oure aduersary þe deuell is neuþer wery to greue þe rithful man ne he styntiþ neiþer for to areyse batayl of temptaciouns aȝeyins hym. For eïjer he ful hepiþ hym wiþ angwisschis of herte or of soule, or ellis þys reisþ æþeins hynm bodiliche sorowes.

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For ofte siþe he turmentiþ so wiþ sundry woes manes þouȝt þat oþerwhile he bringiþ man into so moche disese þat man falliþ almost þerby into desparacioun. But ȝit naþeles ȝif suche a sowle dwelliþ þan stedefast in þe drede of | God and in his loue, suche maner of angwisschis schulde moche availe hym and profite to encres of his mede. ȝif naþeles ȝif suche a sowle dwelliþ þan stedefast iþe | God and in his f. 169r loue, suche man er of angwisschis schulde moche availe hym and pprofite to encres of his mede. Þan suche a soule is not twynnyd ne despardar acion | a þouȝt þat man falliþ almost þerby into despardaracioun. But ȝit naþeles ȝif suche a sowle dwelliþ þan stedefast iþe | God and in his mede. 

Napeles it semeþ þat suche maner temptacioune of myswenynge and vntrust put into manes soule bi illusyouyn or scornynge of deuelis were a gret gilt and synne, whanne it is but onelyche an hesitaciouþ of þe feiþ. For iche gilt is do bi wille, or elles of vnknowynge, as if a man wil not knowe ne desireþ not to knowe of his froward wille; þanne suche maner wille lediþ more into errour þan into truþe. Þan siþ it is so þat feiþ is habite of truþe, þanne whoso hæþ wille to bileue bileueþ; whoso hæþ wille to hope hopiþ; whoso wil not dowte dowtiþ not. And in þis wyse þouȝt ðouȝt a man be

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41 For and W1 | siþe| times W1 | wiþ...42 desparacioun| manes thoughte wyth dyseases of suche manere temptacies and that a man falleth almoost in wanhope W1 | woes| wyse H2a 42 man| a man H2a | man| a man H2a 43 dwelliþ| stonden| W1 44 angwisschis schulde| angwissche shall W1 | availe| profyte| cozy W1 | profyte| hym add. H2a | to| in W1 45 Þan| and thenne W1 46 þouȝt| tened| when he is angred W1 | tened| tempyt H2a | angwissche| angwissches soo that that [sic] he kepe hym within the bondes of pacynce W1 47 þe| a W1 | rystful| rightwys W1 | er| and W1 | instagion| and striyng add. W1 48 do hym| make hym to W1 | les| mynyssh he of W1 49 so| om. W1 | gilw| mannes gylt W1 | þer| þat H2a W1 | hoge...50 lordschipe| myghty lordschip and mageste W1 50 man| a man W1 | seyen...doctoures| holy doctoures sayen W1 51 faliþ| fallen and ben overcom| W1 | and wille| or lust W1 | þat| om. H2a 52 it| þat H2a 53 Þis| Ysidir| thus sayth this worthy clerke Ysidere W1 54 and vnsam| om. W1 55 mannes| a mannes H2a | or| and W1 | deueld| þe deyyl H2a W1 | a| om. W1 | gilte...synne| synne and a gylte H2a, gylte or synne W1 56 but...feiþ an excitacyon for to put away doubt W1 | ise| om. W1 57 elys of| om. W1 | of| he H2a | as| and H2a | ne...knowe| om. H2a W1 58 wille| or elles of vncunynge, as is synne add. W1 | þanne| for W1 | ledþ| torneth W1 | more...errour| into errore more H2a | it| þat H2a 59 truþe| wyll W1 | þanne| om. W1 | whoso| so he H2a | bileueþ| leuþth H2a | hæþ H2a 60 wil...dowte| is not in wyll to doubt W1

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45 twynnynyd| ‘separated’ 46 tened| ‘afflicted’ 59 truþe| ‘faith’
dised in maner as I seye tofore, ȝit naþeles ȝif hys hert stonde to bileue wel, he bileueþ wel. For onelyche in wille þat may not be constreyned stant al mede and mawgre. But oþerwhile manneys þouȝt is so derkyd and dysmyd þat he may not see what þat he wilneþ; but þeroþ no forse. For goode werks and goode dedis witnessyn good wille, and yuel dedys yuel wille. And þerfore so men owen to suppose þeroþ til þe reuere be opinliche yschewid.

Ne þer schal no man be diseed þouȝt he see oure enemy þe deuyl in suche diuere maner tempte Goddis chosen. For þis enemy aspieþ þe febilnesse and brotilnesse of euery manneys complexiou, and whom he seeþ most spreyn wilþ þe

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61 diseed[assed W1 | ȝif W1  | ȝif W1  | ȝif W1 | soule W1 | sec W1 | see for the tyme W1 62] manneys W1 63] soule W1 64] manne W1 65] first deuyl, but spekiþ bi malice of þe serpent, moeuynge wiþinne forþ fantasmes and in many manere wyse driuynge fals þing for soþe and derking wiþ malicyous complexioun manþs bout, greuyng it continuelich [and] turblyng, þan schal a man oþerwhile bi maner of dispiþyng and of sad schewyng of þe contrary wiþ speche of mouþ priyliche ouersetþe þilke error, al be it þat þe concept of errore þat man haþ for þe tyme stonde þer aþeyn. For holy writt seiþ: 'Oris confessio fit ad salutem'; 13 'Knowlechyng of mouþ is maad to man' es helpe.' For he is deceyued þurgh þe gilis of hys enemy which not delyuere and apsette God as se be opinliche yschewid. ȝit ouþere þis ȝif it be so þat suche man temptaciou[n dure forþ more harde þan 

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moysture of malencolye, þat is to seyn whom he seeþ most disposid to malencoly, hym he trubliþ and traueliþ most wiþ gostliche temptacioun. For þese clerkis þat treten of kyndes tellen þat þe smoke of blak colre passyng vp to þe brayn comiþ euen to þe place of þe mynde and derkiþ hys lyȝt and turbliþ, lettyng þe soule þat it may not deme as it owghte. And suche as be trauaillid in þis wise ben ofte sory and dredeful wiþoute skilful cause, ferful and drye of complexioun. And suche drede or such sorwe is no synne, siþ þat it is so peyneful and so vnwilly to þe suffrere and ofte yputte in of þe deuel in so moche þat it makiþ many to wene þat false þinges be trewe. For þilke man smoke of blak colre persyng to þe brayn lettþiþ suche mennys doom þat þei seeþ not vtrrylche þe sooþfastnesse of þinges.

This cursid enemy auisiþ hym how euery man is ordeyned or disposid. And \as/ seǐþ þe holy man | Leoun þe Pope in Þe Circumcisioun of Oure Lord: 'Þis olde enemy leuiþ neuer of for to kaste forþ aȝeins man hys grenis of deceytes, þat he myȝt þerby in summe destroye þe feiþ of hem þat bileueþ wel. For he knowiþ to whom þe foule lustis of glotenye, to whom also he schal putte þe steryng of leccherye, to whom he schal powre in þe veny of enuye; whom he schal disese wiþ sorew, and whom he schal bigyle wiþ idel ioye and blisse, and whom he schal also deceyue þurgh wondryng. For he discussiþ alle mens customs and he awayteþ her occupaciouñ and sechiþ out her wilyng and her desires, and þere he bisyeþ hym moost cause for to noye where he fynt a man moost studiouslich ocupyed.' Þus seiþ þis doctour Leouñ þe Pope. 18

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82 þat...malencoly om. W1 83 trubliþ trobelyd H2a 84 kyndes] kynde W1 colre] colour W1 85 to into W1 86 vitys H2a 87 wijoute...complexioun] for ouerthwarne and heuyenesse of her complexon without oni skyle or cause W1 88 such] om. H2a, drede or W1 89] om. W1 90 sooth, and that errour were trouth W1 91 colre] colore W1 92 This] therefore the W1 93 49...man] holy H2a, om. W1 94 grenis] greuows H2a 95 þat] soo that W1 96 glotenye] om. H2a 97 enuye] enemye H2a 98 and blisse] ouercouereth W1 99 discussiþ] takyth hede to W1 100 wiþynnges W1 101 wiþylg ye H2a 102 seǐþ om. H2a 103 doctour] clerke W1
Wherefore oft he puttth in so greet heuynesse and bittirnesse into dyurese menys soules and so ouertrauylyeth her complexioun purgh smytynge in of drede þat hem semith a greet peyne to lyue and an huge remedye to sterne, or be dead, insomych þat ofte it happith of suche þat ðei falle nyȝ into dispeir and wanhope. For ðei trewe þat by enchesoun of suche temptациon þei were forȝete of her God, whiche þat suffriþ ofte hye owne chosun on suche maner to be asayed. For as seip þe wiseman Ecclesiasticus: ‘Vasa fугlii probat fornax’;19 þat is to seyn: ‘Þe ouen assayeth vesselles of erþe, wheþer þei wil lyȝtliche to breke or dure; and ryȝt so þe temptациon of tribulациon assayþ ryȝtful men.’ And Iob seip: ‘He assayed me as gold þat is ȝoten or molte in þe fyer, for he knowith alle my want and my weyes.’20 Wherfore seip þe apostle: ‘Suffreþ a lityl, for it bihoueþ ȝow to be disesed in þis world þat þe assaiyng of þoure feiþ be more pereçoþ than gold þat persiþ þurgh þe fyer.’21 And þe aungel Raphael seip þus to Tobye: ‘For þou were wel told of to þi God, it was nedeful þat he schulde assay þee.’22 | Þerfore in þis cas it nediþ gretliche of goostly strengþe for to suffre suche maner sendynge in of temptациon and tribulациon pesibleliche and mekelyche, and for[to] seyn wiþ Iob in maner of pacience: ‘Si bona suscepimus de manu domini, et cetera’;23 ‘þif we haue take alle oure goodes of oure lord God, why schul we not suffre ðif he wil take hem awey?’ And also moreouer how greet þe deserte of pacience is and what blysse a man schal haue þerfore he seye wiþ Iob, and preye þat God spare hym of disese: ‘And þouȝ he wil ille me, ȝit schal I hope in hym.’24

103 Wherfore and W1 | oft…puttiþ he puttith ofte H2a | puttiþ in] bryngeth W1
104 soules] hertes W1 | in] om. W1 105 hem] it W1 | an huge] grete W1 | or] and to W1
106 into] in W1 | wanhope] wanhope of body and soul W1 107 temptациons] manere temptacyon W1 | were] ben W1 | God] or vterly forsafe of hym add. W1 | whiche…108 ofte] the whiche hathe suffered W1 108 on…be] soo to be tempted and W1 | on] in H2a | asayed] assayeth H2a | seip…
109 Ecclesiasticus] the wyse man sayth W1 109 assayeth] proueth þe W1 110 to] om. W1 | dure] elles dure and last W1 | and…111 assayeth] in the same manere suche temptациons of tribulacion and disease essay and proue W1 111 And] loo what W1 | He…me] God hathe prouyed me W1 | ȝoten…
What wonder is it thou of a deadlie man and a synful be angrid and angwysschid here, sê he hat oure saueour seye þus in þe gospel of hymself: 'Tristis est anima mea', et cetera; 27 'My soule is sorewful and dreedeful to be dead.' And also in his passyoun he cryed and sayde þus: 'My God, my fadir, why hast þou þus forȝete me?' 28 Loke also he brynge to hys mynde þe woord þat Isaye seiþ in Goddis bihalue: 'As for a litil stounde I haue yleft and for a litel moe[u]ingg of myn vnsettyng by of þee [I] haue a litil hidde my face fro [þee], but in my grete mer cy and forȝyuyng I schal gedere þee to me aȝeyn.' 29 It is but litil and passyng what so we suffre here, þouȝ it were lastyng al oure lijf, in reward of þe peyne þat synful man disseruyþ to haue in an oþer world, saf þe mer cy of God. Ne wondre no man þouȝ a good man be gostliche temptid or fondid passyngliche al be þat he haue good wille to hys God. For he nys not by suche maner temptaciou n put out of feiþ ne hope ne charyte, but he is more sadlyche strengþhid þer by in alle goode vertues. The maner of þis temptaciou Crist schewed þer schulde falle to hys owne disciplis whan he saide: 'Lo, Sathan þe deuel haþ coueityd ȝow þat he myȝte syfte ȝow | as ho so siftiþ whete.' 41 A man is ysifte whan he is inwardliche and vttirlyche examyned or asayede; but he is strengþid and maad perfyt whan bi þe virtu of pacience and of preyere and bi þe holsum counsel of hys euene cristen he is confermyd and saddid in goode. And herof folowiþ: 'Ego autem rogaui pro te', et cetera; 42 'I preide for þee þi feiþ fayle not in suche maner

124 synful] sinner W1 125 [at] om. W1 | seyd] sayth W1 | þus...of] om. W1 126 et cetera] usque ad mortem that is to say W1 | be dead] the deth W1 | And...127 me] also in his passion he cryed thus my God, my God why hast þou forsake me W1 127 My] solew is sorewful add. H2a 128 also] also that W1 | hys] om. W1 | seyþ] seyd H2a | Goddis] God the faders W1 | bihalue] to Jhesu Crist his sone and to eche of his lime add. W1 129 ylef] lefte the W1 | moeingg] moeing F, moment W1 | vnsettyng...131 aȝeyn] indgynacyon and littyly settyngye by of the for a tyme I haue hidde my face a while from the but in many thynges I haue hidde by of þee and euerlastyng mercy I shall haue mercy on the W1 | of] om. H2a | F] [at] F | x'] om. H2a 130 [be] om. F 131 passyng] soone passing W1 | [ouþ...132 lijf] om. W1 132 reward] regarde W1 | man] om. W1 133 man']] thynge W1 | good man] chosen of God W1 | or...134 fondid] and assayed W1 134 be] it W1 | nys...135 charyte] is but one [sic] of byleue ne oute of charyte by suche manere of temptacion W1 136 vertues] so that suche one be pacient and take it easely add. W1 | temptaciou n and the remedye add. W1 137 [at...falle] om. W1 | saide] ecce Sathan expetiuit vos et cetera; that is to say add. W1 138 [at...30w] for to syfte you hether and thyder W1 | so] om. W1 139 or...strendid] om. H2a | or] and W1 | asayed] assayed wyth dyuerse temptacions W1 140 perfyt] fals perfyrly W1 | þe] om. W1 | and[2] and also W1 141 euene cristen] frendes W1 | saddid] made sadde W1 | gode] god H2a | herof] herfor we W1 142 te] vt non add. H2a | cetera] that is to saye add. W1 | I preide] but I haue prayed W1 | fayle] fayle þe H2a, fall W1 | maner] manere of W1

129 stounde] 'time' | moewingg] H2a's meunyege, 'action', has been accepted as a possible reading. 134 passyngliche] 'exceedingly'
temptacioun; and þerfore þouȝ sumtyme yturnyd to goode, make stedfast þi breþeryn'

42 to stonde stiflich aȝeyn suche manner temptaciouns, and for to seye þus wiþ þe

prophete Davyd as ofte as he is temptid or eny suche fals fantasye or inclyn[ing] falliþ

into hys soule: 'Quare tristis es aniþa mea', et cetera; 44 ‘Why, my soule, art þou heuy

and why disturblist þou me? Hope in þi God.’

And also among loke he praye and synge ȝif he kan and do oþer goode deedis,

and also lat hym see holy writt and þe spechis of þe prophete Davyd as ofte as he is temptid or eny suche fals fantasye or inclyn[ing] falliþ into hys soule: ‘Why, my soule, art þou heuy

and why disturblist þou me? Hope in þi God.’

of þe gospel. And al be it þat he fele no deuocioun ne swetnesse þerinne, for þe tyme

let hym suffre mekelyche. For þe good wille þat he haf þerto schal be ynow to hym. Ofte þe deuocioun þat a man schulde haue and fele is profitaðað wijdrawe fro hym þat hys preiere mowe be þe bisyer and þe more meritory or medeful. Lo Bernard vpon þe Canticles ‘I haue souȝt and I fond not’; 45 ‘For oþerwhile oure spouse and oure lourer hidǐþ hym whan he is ysouȝt þat me schulde seche hym more bisylyche.’

Also Seynt Austyn in a book, De verbis domini: ‘God oþerwhilis þyfe þe latter for men schulde telle þe more deynte of hys ȝiftis. For þinges longe desyred beeþ þe sweter and likyng to þe asker, and þe gretter; and ofte þingys sone ȝyte but in litil pryse as | to regard. Aske þerfore and seche; bisy þee in þin askyng and holde on and wex in þi sechyng, þat þou mowe take and gete. For God kepiþ to þee þat he wil
not ȝyue þee anoon so þat þou schuldest lerne to desire grete and noble ȝiftis.’ 47
Gregory: ‘Þan be seyntis or halewen beste yherd of her God whan þei ben not herd aftir her desyr.’ 48

God ȝyueþ to sume in þe bigynnyng of her turnyng to hym a felyng of swetnesse in deuociou bi þe whyche þei mowe be saddide in þe loue of her God, and afarward he wiþdræwþ it fro h[e]m, þurgh disese of þe wiþdræwung for þe more mede to hem afarward. [Siþ] it is, so as seþ þe philosophre, þat is to seyn þe louer of wysdom or ellis þe wise man, vertu stant most in þinges þat be gete of hard, 49 þan semþ wel herof þat þing ygete of most hard is wiþ most vertu holde and yhad. Þis schewyd oure saueour, seyinge to Seint Petir: ‘Whan þou were ȝonge and wylde þou girdist þiself and wentist where þou woldest, but now þou art elder and more sad, anoþer schal girde þee and lede þee aftir hys wille and not aftir þin owne.’ 50 Lo what seþ þe apostle Poule: ‘Whan þe were newe yturnyd to þe feiþ, I ȝaf ȝow mylk, noȝt sadde mete,’ 51 for þe nere þo but as sowkyng children on þe swetnesse of deuociou. But aftir þat ȝe were streng er I fedde ȝow wiþ mete of disese and tribulacioun. For it is pure swete and esy to folow God in tyme of tranquillite and of pees and likyng of hert. But it is ful hard and pure perfitt for to folowe God wiþ vrter disese of herte and wiþ a maner fiȝtyng wiþinne forþ bitwene fleische, feiþ, and þe goost. For it was wel esy and swete to Petro for to be wiþ Crist at hys transfiguracioun, whan he seyde: ‘It...
is good to vs for to dwelle here stille.’ But it was pure hard and ferful to Petir for Crist in his cruel persecucioun, when he seyde: ‘I knowe not þat man.’ And naþeles he þat for þe woord of a wenche denyed hym þo, aftirward he was so strengþid wiþ þe holy goost þat before kyngis and princis he knoweþed hym and stood wiþ hym stifliche al to þe deep.

But now for as moche as suche man gostliche temptaciouns fallen sum del of ouerthwertnesse of complexioun, loke eche such man is so ytempid þat he be not moche alone bi hymselfe ne þat he bisye hym not ouerthwertnesse of complexioun, but in counsell and talkynge of wisemen and sadde, and what so þei seye hym in þe matier loke he stonde þerto. For þus seyþ þe wise man: ‘Per falliþ ofte moche woo to hym þat is by hymsilf allone; for whan he falliþ he haþ noon to helpe hym vp.’ And for as moche as [a] man þat is þus trublid is heuy and ferful of complexioun, and also of hys temptaciouns, lat hym drawe to disport and to honest myrþe wiþ strengþe and vertu of soule, and þe more þat he is dryue to sorowe or heuynesse or drede so moche þe more loke he ȝiue hym, as I seyde, er to mirþe and to gladnesse. Þus dide þe apostlis, for þei went ioyeful fro þe doom of princes and of oþer domesmen. Þouȝ he fele litil goostliche comfort, or ellis noon, ȝit loke he suffre mekeliche and drawe hym þerfor he may haue comfort outward wiþ honest folk and clene, lest, as seiþ þe apostle, such on myȝt be destroyed uttelyche wiþ such man temptacioun, for as moche as þat
dom. For H2a | stille om. H2a | pure} full W1 | Petir| hym W1 181 knowe not} knewe neuer W1 182 be a W1 | denied] forsoke W1 | he…183 hym} thrugh yefte and strengthe of the 184 hym} on. F | [deep} therfore} suche ghostly temptacyon come wepe in thyne herte therefore as soone as þou mayst afterwarde and praye besely God of hys grace and thou shalte be strenger in thy bileue after than euer thou were before add. W1 185 But now} ferdermor W1 | gostliche| om. W1 temptaciouns| temptacions H2a | sum del} somwhat W1 186 ouerthwertnesse| ouwerwkeynesse H2a | suche} suche one W1 187 moche alone} rev. H2a | moche2} when he is alone add. W1 þeron| on suche thoughtes W1 188 in counsell| lete him vse wyse counseyle W1 | talkynge| speke W1 | and…189 matier} and as they wyll rede hym W1 189 matier| maner H2a | þerto} thereto in oni wyse W1 | For þus} loo what W1 | þer…moche| om. W1 | woo} disese H2a 190 by hymself} om. W1 | by} om. H2a | nota in margin H2a 191 for…þat} thenne whan a man W1 | a} om F heuy…ferful} angry and heuy and dredeful W1 192 drawe] drawe hym H2a, therfore draw W1 | to2} om. W1 193 dryue…drede} trauele W1 194 mirþe} honest myrth W1 | to2} om. W1 | þus} this W1 | þe} Goddess W1 195 domesmen} thanking God that they myght be worthy to suffre payn and passion for his loue add. W1 196 þouþ} all be it that W1 | litil…noon} noo suche gostli comforte in his sowle whan he is soo troublid as thise holi apostles felten but perauntune he felith liyll or none W1 197 haue comfort} be comforted W1 | folk} companye W1 198 destroyed…199 temptaciou] spyllyd wyth ouermoche heuynes W1

180 186 ouerthwertnesse} ‘contrariness’
temptacioun. 56 For al be it þat suche a man drawe ofter to honest cumpanye þan doþ oþer þat be not so ytemptid, he synneþ not þerinne so he do it for hys heele and not for mislust and vanite.

It is to vndirstondode after þe apostle þat þe þe angeli of debat and of derkenesse turniþ hymself ofte, al be it we see it not, into þe angeli of liȝt, 57 makynge men deme þat vicis be vertues and hidying errour and falsnes vndir colour of truþe; | lo what seif Seint Gregori. 58 Þis angeli of þe deuyl oþer while whan he seeþ þat a man is ocupyed in Goddis seruyce, to whiche he is bounde to of dette, he makeþ hym to leue it and for to þenke on hys synnes and to haue conscience of and for to muse þer on in þat tyme whan it myȝt bettir be ydo or tofore or aftir. For as seif þe wyse man: ‘Al þing haþ tyme.’ 59 And þerfore eche þing schulde be do in his tyme. Þe most souerayne remedye and approuid for to dryue awey suche fantasyes and ymaginaciones of goostlich temptaciouns is for to praye, and in tyme of preier for [to] lete alle suche þouȝtis and alle oþer slyde liȝtlyche awey.

For þouþ he brynge into þi þouȝt þilk tyme wheþer þou art treweliche yschryue as þou schuldist, and also bryngiþ þee in doute wheþer þi synnes be ful forȝyue þee or no, he doþ not þis but for to brynge þee into drede and disese of gost. For it is not hys purpos by sendyng in of suche þouȝtes þat þi soule schulde be þe more clene bi confessiouþ, but truble it and brynge it fro reste and fro pees. For þis angeli and goost of pestilence and slauȝtre he desiriþ and wilneþ þe debat of soule for it is not he purpos by sendyng in of suche þouȝtes þat þi soule schulde be þe more clene bi confessiouþ, but truble it and brynge it fro reste and fro pees. For þis angeli and goost of pestilence and slauȝtre he desiriþ and wilneþ þe debat of soule.

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199 For...man and though suche one W1 | honest cumpanye] companye and to myrth W1 200 oþer] a nother W1 | for] to recouer W1 201 mislust] lust W1 | and] for add. H2a 202 It] also it W1 | after...þat] that the apostle saith W1 | of] debat Sathanas W1 203 hymself ofte] rev. W1 al...it'!] all though W1 | it'!] hym H2a | om. W1 204 and] om. W1 | errour] errors W1 205 falsnes] falsnes is F 206 to'] for W1 207 to'] the whych he is holden to doo W1 208 herof] of hem H2a 209 heron] therof W1 | tyme] vnder colour of good thynkyng add. W1 | whan] wha(t (anc.) H2a | myȝt better| oughte W1 | seif...209 man] the wyse man sayth W1 209 And...tyme2] om. H2a | in...tyme2] tyme his [sic] W1 211 ymaginaciones] conceytes W1 | for2...212 to] for FH2a, to W1 212 and...awey] to slide awaye and tarye not vpon hem W1 | and] and let H2a 213 he] the enmye W1 | into...tyme] that tyme into thy thought W1 214 ful] om. W1 215 he...gost] the whych were foryeuen and done away thorough very confession and contriccion longe before and though he know it to be soo some tyme now is it hid from his mynde and also his good dedes by craffe of the enmye that bringerth in thus to suche a mannes mynde gastnesse and drede W1 216 For...purpos] ne he purposith not W1 | by] ben H2a | þouȝtes] joute H2a, for his sinnes add. W1 | [p] his W1 217 confessioun) or by suche manere of examynacion and ransakynge add. W1 | but] but for to W1 | fro] for H2a | fro] om. H2a W1 218 goost] spyrite W1 | and...he] om. W1 | wilneþ] wyleth alwaye W1

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202 debat] 'degradation'
and hatiþ reste þeroft; whois sleyst and false suggestions in þat partye a man schal
warlyche wipstonde, þat is to seyn for to leue suche maner confessiou[n] [whiche] þat
is brouȝt into mynde bi suche trauail of temptacioun, þurgh whiche þi concience is
þat tyme brouȝt into error and mysdemyng. For al be it þat confessiou[n] be
helpleythe and nedeful which is brouȝt in þurgh verray bityng of conscience, naþeles
þat confessiou[n] is not nedeful ne profitable whych þat is brouȝt in by fals wenyng or
doute. Ne suche maner scryfte is not ylefte in despyt of religiu[n] and | holy churche
but by cause for to putte away suche maner temptacioun. And þat þing is wel ydo þat
is for good menynge, al be it þat it seme yuel to sume, for þe enchesou[n] and þe
menyng bryngiþ mede or peyne to þe doer. Lo what Crist dide whan þe deuyl bar
hym an hand þat he was Goddis sone and þat he myȝte come adouȝn if he wolde: 60
he nolde noiȝer wirke by hast ne come anoon doun for hym, but he chees rãþer for to
come doun by þe greces of vertues and in suche wise for to putte away alle his wyles,
þiuyng vs ensau[mple] þat we schulde not anoon be buxum to hys fals beryng on
honde, put into vs vndir liknes of good, but by weye of discrecioun and good doom
holschamelyche wipstonde.

[XIV.] He bryngiþ in also oþerwhile, þis fals goost of error, suche turnyng hidir and
þidir and pryue trauelynge into ma[n]lys soule þat he makiþ man to wene þat þing
þat is leueful is synne, and þat yuel is good, and þat venyal synne is deadlyche synne,
and þat a man is holde algate to be schryue of alle suche þinges in specyal; not for he
wolde þat a man were schryue þeroft, but for he wolde truble hys soule and disese it

219 and1...þeroft om. W1 | sleyȝt sleyys H2a, deceytes W1 | suggestions] tyȝsiynges W1
220 to seyn] om. W1 | toȝt] noȝt for to H2a | confessiou[n] confessiouns H2a | whiche] wip F
[fat] om. W1 221 mynde] the mynde W1 | trauail...222 mysdemyng] manere of trauyle W1
223 helpleythe] helthfull W1 | in] into F, into þe H2a 224 not] neyther W1 | ne profitable] ne
spedefull ne profytable W1 | [fat] om. W1 225 suche...scryfte] this confessioun W1 | and | and of
W1 227 is] is done W1 | þat] though W1 | enchesoun] entent W1 228 menyng] menyng of
thynges done W1 | bryngiþ] brynge fynall W1 | deuyl] deuyl þat F, fende W1 229 adoun] done
fro the pynacle of the temple W1 | wolde] had wolde W1 230 he...hym] yet
came he not downe in haast at his byddyng W1 | nolde] wolde H2a | anoone doun ren. H2a | he2]
on. W1 | for to] to W1 231 greces] grees H2aW1 | vertues] vertues and dyscrecioun W1 | and...
wyles] om. W1 232 beryng...233 honde] entysinge W1 233 by...234 wipstonde] to withstonde
holsomly by waye of dyscrecyon and of good dome W1 235 He...236 soule] also this fals spiriye of
error bryngeth in otherwhyle and wrappeth þe mynde wyth dyuers perplexytees and douyntynges wyth
wonderfull and preuy sterynges W1 236 pruye] preuyly H2a | into] to H2a | manys] mamyis F
man to] suche one W1 237 leefull] leefull and good W1 | is3] to be W1 | and1...good om. W1
[fat] om. W1 | is] to be W1 238 a...be] he must be W1 | þinges] sinnes W1 239 schryue þeroft
clene W1

227 enchesoun] 'intention’ 232 beryng...233 honde] 'persuading’ 238 algate] 'entirely'
and let man fro goode and brynge hym to errour in conscience and mysdemyng. 3he, in so moche þat he dryueþ mannes soule sumtyme more for to assente to errour þan for to meke hym aftir dewe discrecioun and good demyng, and þis is heresy. Þerfore iche suche schal leue hys errour aftir discrecioun and doom of holy men and wyse, and leue of hys errour and folewe truþe. 3if suche on seye þat he may not put it awey, he seǐf not soþ. For he may wilne to put it awey, and ȝif he haue wille to put it awey, as for þat tymte it is awey; and by þat as ofte as he wilneþ so, as ofte it is awey. For al be it þat þe errour ocupye hys soule, ȝit he may haue wille for þat tyme to be | meke and buxum.

Þis schewid þe apostle whan he seyde: ‘Leuiþ not ne tristiþ not to euer yche goost, but theruyþ an assayeþ first what he be.’ 61 In þis maner askid Iosue wheþer þe goost of prophecye was for hem or ellis for her enymes. 62 And Þerfore discrecioun and good doom is nedeful. For as seyde sumtyme a wyse man, it is nedeful þat þe be a [r]ulere of vertues 63 so þat a man nowe ryȝtwislyche deme hitwene good and yuel, lest a man vndir licknesse of good were bigyled wiþ yuel. 64 Lo what seǐf Austyn, De spiritu et anima, þat is to seyn in þe book of mannes soule: ‘ Ôþerwhyle a good gooste, ôþerwhyle an yuel goost, rauischiþ a man to summe mennes soule wiþ gyles and hys sleiȝtis þat it semþ to hym þat is trauelyde þerwiþ þat hys goost and þilke wickid

240 and1...goode] om. W1 | man] a man H2a | goode] god H2a | hym to] a man into W1

250 theruyþ an] possibly 'one must’ 253 rulere] Emended for sense (Latin: auriga, 'charioteer').
goost be but oon.' And þerfore suche oon wenиф þat þe vnkynde temptaciou
ns þat he haþ come onelyche of hymself, whan þei come [of] stirynge of þe wicked goost. And þerfore a man schal putt suche myswenyng away from hym and dwelle not ne hange not longe þerupon, but suffre pacientlyche and mekylyche as I haue seyd here afore. For þilke serpent is so fals, schrewyd, and bigilynye mannes soule, þat whan he may not brynge man into errour and mysbileue wiþ oþer wylis and wanlacis þan he put into hym a fals feer, and þerwþ heldþ in þe venym of hys wickednesse, whyche [is to] a man bitter and heuy and penyfule to hymself. Þerfore þe most remedye here aȝeyn is pacience and suffyringe.

Also | þis wicked goost, whan he seeþ he may [noȝt] bigile vtterlyche a man

whilis he is wakyng, he doþi what he may to disturble hym and greue hym wiþ dyuere scornes and feris whan þat man is slepyng. Hereof seeþ Gregory vpon Iob, 'Þe olde enemy þe deuyl haþ ferid me by sweuenes': 'For þis wicked goost is euemore awaityng to hyndre man and anithre hym in al þat he may, and whom he may [noȝt] acombre whiles he is wakyng he doþi what he kan to brynge hym þerto slepyng. And ȝit oure God suffrþ hym so do for þat a mannis bodily sleep schulde not be ydil but encresyng to þe soule.'

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261 And þerfore] and H2a, wherfore W1 | [e] suche W1 | [þat] as W1 262 haþ] þat H2a come2 came W1 | of2 ofte F, by W1 | goost spirzyte W1 263 And...265 afore] but it is not to trowe ne stonde to his owne wytte in this partye but rather obeye to truthe and dyscrete rule W1 264 longe] om. H2a | as] and H2a 265 For...269 suffyring] For this olde edder is bothe fals and slye and wyckid and disceyuer of sowles; and when he maye not put the mynde into errour by suche discyeetes, he besieth him to make it paynfully bytter thruh smytyng in of a fals drede and by pouryng in the venym of hys wyckidnes. Therfore it behouyth in euery maner wyse to withstonde his dysceyuable entysinges put into man vnder lickenes of good thynge, and suffre paciently and mekely the payne of bytternesse that he putteth into a ferdefull sowle. And therfore a man shall put suche myswenyng away from hym ne dwelle not ne henge not longe therupon, but suffre paciently and mekely and truste alwaye as he can and maye for the tyme in grace and godenes of his God. W1 268 is to] om. F 270 Also...goost] for this serpent is soo subtil and soo sligh that W1 | seeþ] seþe þat H2aW1 | noȝt] om. F | bigle vterlyche] rev. H2a, vterly make a man to sinne W1 271 and...hym2] om. W1 272 scornes] yllusions scornynges W1 | [þat man] he W1 | Gregory] seynt Gregory H2aW1 | Iob] in this wyse add. W1 273 me] men H2a | goost] spirzyte W1 274 and1...hym] om. W1 | al þat] what W1 | and2...may2] om. H2a | whom] whan W1 | noȝt] om. F 275 acombre] acombre ne overcome W1 | what] þat H2a, all that W1 | to] the more to W1 | hym] om. W1 276 God] good God W1 so do] to do in suche wyse W1 | for þat] for cause that W1 | but...277 soule] to the soule but rather encresinge mede therto W1

261 vnkynde] 'unnatural' 274 anithre] 'destroy'

215
A lord in how many wondirful maneris and wyles is mannes soule asayed and ytrauayled, al be it þat he loue and drede hys God! Also herto þou myȝt be answeryd by an ympne of þe Lente, wherinne is þus iwryte: 'O tortuose serpens', et cetera, which amountethe þus moche: 'O þow eddre so ofte wriþe abowte and turnyng hiþir and þidir, þat bi a thousand holettis and halkis þou sechist þi queynt and crokid guylis for to trauitive and disese hertis þat ben in reste and in quyethe.' Þerfore siþ so many diseses and temptacions move falle to ryȝtful men and wel bileuynge, counforte þee wel in þis and hope wel þat þe holy goost nyl not leue þee wiþouten helpe, al be it þat þou fele it not anoon as þou woldist. Wherfore suffre mekeliche and þenk on Dauyd þat many tribulaciouns fallen to riȝtful men and goode; but what more, good God deliuereþ hem of alle þese tribulaciouns and angwyschis whan he seþ it for hys best. Amen.

[Stimulus amoris:] 75

O þou hyȝest best and of most wondirful goodnesse þat suffrist vs be | temptyd, not for we schulde be kauȝt or ouercome þerwiþ but for we schulde aspye þe ferynges of oure enemies, þat is to seyn of þe world, of þe fleische, and of þe deuyl, and fle to þee as hauen of most sikirnesse. A lord, here þou doist riȝt as a good modir doiþ to hir childe whan sche wil brynge to clippe hir and colle hir, þan sche schewiþ hym sum ferful þing, and whan he cryeþ and fleeþ to hir for fere sche is redy wiþ hir armes spred abrode for to take hym to hir, falliþ on hym and kyssiþ hym and askiþ who

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278 in hou] rep. H2a | many] many maner W1 | wyles] wyles and wayes H2a, wayes W1 asayed] tournedent W1 279 Also] and also H2a, om. W1 | þou...answeryd] I answere W1 280 be] om. W1 | is...iwryte] it is wretten thus W1 | et cetera] qui mille et cetera H2a, qui mille per meandros W1 281 which...moche] that is to meane thus W1 282 [at] om. W1 | sechist] sekyst and castest W1 | crokid] ouerhwart W1 283 ben] ben or wolden be W1 | in] om. W1 284 diseses and] om. W1 | and['] of H2a | to] 285 and...wel['] om. W1 | nyl] wyll W1 286 helpe] his helpe W1 | woldis] A howe pyteous and prouffytable, howe charitable and helthful it is to comforde and strengthe the man that is troublid and tormentid, desolate and forsaken, and to leed oute into refute of reste and of comforde hym that passith thus by the fyre of preuyng and trybulacon! And though he that is thus troublid gete not anone but wante by longe tyme the rest and comforde of spyrte that he desireth, netheles hope he stedfally that he shall haue it at the ende add. W1 | suffre] suffre he W1 287 Dauyd] 288 what...288 angwyschis] were wel what he sayth more anone afterward of all thise tribulaciones and anguysshes our good God deluiereth them W1 289 hy[s] her H2a, the W1 | Amen] om. W1 290 of] om. H2aW1 | be] to H2a 292 kauȝt] tawte H2a 294 as['] om. H2a | hauen...sikirnesse] to the moost siker hauen W1 | riȝt] om. W1 295 wil...hir['] bryngeþ forþe hyre to clyppe H2a | brynge þynge it W1 | clipte] beclippe W1 | þan] thenne yf he wyll not doo it anone W1 | hym] to hym W1 296 he] he seeth it he W1 | sche is] thenne is she W1 297 falliþ] and lawhyþ H2aW1 | and['] askip] and sayth W1

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282 holettis] 'lairs' | halkis] 'corners'
wolde haue slawe hym or aferyd hym, and wiþ þis sche streyneþ hym to hir and ȝyueþ hym souke of hir brest. O þis is a temptacioun of greet wilfulnesse at þe laste whiche þat dryueþ vs to fle and come to þe clippyng of oure God! O blessyd Ih 300 man, ȝif þou fle to God whan þou art so aferd of mysstiryng of temptacioun; ȝif þou wilt not be to moche ytemptid, holde þe wiþ hym, or ellis þou myȝt be ou come þer wiþ and ydampnyd.

[XIX.] 3it ȝif it so be þat þou wiþdrewa þiself so fer fro þi God and þi fadir þat þou myȝt not wiþ ful wille of herte and deuocioun [ren] aȝeyn to hym, ȝit þink þat he þat is þi God is þi neyȝebur and þi broþir; and hyȝe þee to hym and hyde þee in þe pit of hys syde, þenkynge on hys passiou 305 and holde þee stille þere; and þe enemye schal not fynde þee. And haue þis for most souereyn reule and techyng: þat whan so euere þou wolt make þi lord God willy to do for þee and helpe þee, bere his wou ȝit þat he vouche saaf wiþ hys blood to refresche hys wou 310 ndes and make þee al reed and so waysche þee þerwiþ, so þat þou mowe so ycloþed come into þis kyngis paleys where schal be ful ioye and blysse euere withouten ende. O þow man ytemptyd, þenk on þese woundes day [bi day] and þei schul be refute and solase to þee in þi disese; and doute not þan ȝif þou wil biþinke hem in þin herte þer schal no temptaciou 315 n ouercome þee. For ho is so hard hertyd

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299 wilfulnesse] ‘happiness’
that he sawe that he the kyng of blysse so greuousliche hurt and woundide for hys sake that he nolde leue hys synne? And nameliche if he took heed that myche harder peyne wiþoute ony comparisoun or liknesse is dewe to euery synner that wikkidlyche worthip. And hirefore his ryche on hat oo syde and peyne on hat oþer syde schul hugely brynge a man to drede and leue synne.

3it if it be so þat thou fyndest Crist wroþ wiþ thee and set aȝeyn þee for þat wickidnesse, to hir þat is moder of mercy and hope of forsyuenes, our lady Seynt Marye, loke þou praye hertilyche and hisilyche þat sche vouchesaaf as sche is Gods moder to gete of hym reles of her syde and peyne on þat oþer syde schul hugely brynge a man to drede and leue synne.

3it ouer þis whan þou art harde ytemptyde truste riȝt wel þat God loueþ þee, and he suffriþ þis for þou chuldist knowe þi heuynes and depnesse of synne and also þi owne wrecchidnesse and vnymyth to wiþstonde; and þis is an huge ȝifte of God. For þe presupcioun and ouertruste of summe synnres plesiþ hym nouȝt; for þei holde himselþ so riȝtful and comiþ as homelyche as þei were riȝt goode. But he wil þis, þat be a man neuer so yuel or synful, þat he come to hym wiþ dewe reuence and drede and lityl settyng by hymsylf. And hirefore it is nedeful þat a man wiþ all hys herte, what euery so he be, þat he knoweleche Goddis myȝt and hys owne frelete and feblenesse, seyngye þus: ‘Lord, I am not worþi of myself þat þou schuldest come into

myn house, ne dwelle wiþ me, ne also to neyȝe þee ne come to þee; but lord, it is
ynow to me þat þou vouchesaaf to rewarde me afer wiþ a louerede look of þin yȝe and
of þi mercy.' And I seye þee surelyche þat ȝif þou holde on þis maner doynge wiþoute
stynynge, not onelyche he schal loke to þee, but he schal brynge þee out of al maner
disese into hys ful ioye and blysse. Now God graunte it mote so be þat is euere
lastynge in trinite. Amen.

343 ne2] ne to H2a | also...þee2] ouer that I am not worthy of myselle that I sholde come to the
or nyghe the W1 | ne3] or H2a | is] shal be W1 344 þou] om. H2a | afer] aferyd H2a, fro aferre
W1 | louerede] louely W1 | yȝe] eyen W1 345 surelyche] souereyny H2a | maner] manere of W1
doynge] doyng besely W1 346 to] on W1 | þee2...of] from W1 347 into] in H2a | hys] om. W1
it] that it W1 | is euere] rev. H2aW1 348 in] in þe H2a | Amen] om. W1
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A souereyn countfort for a soule dishesyd.

"Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo." For as mechil as þe apostle seyth: 1 [I.]

"Withowtyn feth may no man plese God", 4 þeþore oure olde ennemy þe fend, with wikkyd thowhtis, fantasiys, and errouris, in many a meruelious maner, strenkthith hym to bare doun þe fethy, quiche is þe ground of holy chirche and þe begynnyng of goode thewys. 5 And þeþore wisy and gostly owyt a man to withstanden þe fondynggis and þe wrenchis of þe fend. þe first rewle of wythsettyng þe fend in fondynggis is to þeþe non fors of non fondynggis, of no thouht of non errour, of non dispit, ne of non fals leuyng, ne fantasiys, ne of non trauaylis of þe fend, qwethir so a man heer hem, see hem, thynk hem, or feel hem in his body. For he been mater of
gret mede and on no wyse synne, qweþer þei be trauaylis and angwyssis þat comyn of schrewyndnesse of þe fend er of þe schrewyd disposicioun of a mannys complexiun. 

And þerfore of swyche trauaylis a man owyth to take non heed ne nouth entenden to hem, but mekely suffryn hem til God wil doon remedy as matter of gret mede. Ne he owyth nouth to strywen þerageyn, merueylyn, ne thynkyn, ne sekyn be qwat skyle he is so trawaylyd. For þe more þat a man duellyth ransaking and þenkand in errours and in angwyssis, þe more deepe he fallith bothe in errours and in angris. And þerfore, as mekyl as mannys thouhtis ben ofyn vyen, dyuers, and non ende han, 

And also a man owyth not to angryn hymself, ne blame, ne arectyn to his defaute þat he is so trawaylid. For swiche trauaylis arn peynfull and nonth synful, for
þei arn ageyns a manmys wil. And Seynt Austyn seyth þat every synne is in wil, and qwat so be ageyns a manmys wil, it is non synne.7 And þe holy doctour Isidre, De summo bono, in þe thridde book, seyth: ‘Þe fend temptith non man more þan God sufferth hym doon.’11 It is sumtyyme þat þe feend trauaylith so mychel a rithful soule þat it is oyrleyd with care and druien to dispейr. And al þat tyme þe soule, þowh he perceyue it nouth, duellith stille in þe dred and in þe loue of God, for al þat trauyle is to his mede aforn God. And þouh is care be neuere so mekil, it daptarþith hym not froo God. For oure lord ful of goodnesse and mercy arettith nouth to synne þat he hymself sufferth þe feend to werkyn in þe soule withoutyn any wil of þe self. For qwanne we be fals þernynggis and wikkid lykynge frelich don ageyns Goddis byddyng, þanne synne we. But qwanne we be druiue and turmentid in wikkid bileus and dispeyrynge thoughtis ageyns oure wil thourh violent fondersyng of þe feend, we suffre peyne, but we don non synne.’ And al þis seith þe holy doctour Isidre.12

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22 ageyns] angwishes of BrG, angwishes agayn Lo | a manmys] mannes Br | austan in margin, in db G, nota agayn Le, then in margin Lo | seyth] seyth þus to confort of mans soule Le | is... wyle] that is it stand in mans wyle alon Le, þat is in wil H2b | and] for Le 23 qwat so] whatsomeyr that Le, what þat GLo, what soo euyr Br | be] be þat ys H2b | a manmys] mannis H2bBr | wil] well as theses temptacions byforseyde and also polluc ons þhe maked Lo

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26 ouyrleyd] ‘overcome’
[III.] But oftyn ye fondynggis of ye fend āt makyn ye soule to weeryn in ye feyth and to | fantasyn in dispeyr semyn gret synne to manmys soule, and it is not soo. For as witnessyn alle hooely techers, feith and hope ben vertuys of a manmys wil. Qwerfore qwoso wil rith leeuyn, he is in [rith be]leue aforn God, and qwoso wil trostly hopyn, aforn God he is in ful hope, þouh he be neure he makyn to mekil trauaylid in weerful thoughtis. Þe apostle Seynt Poule seyth: ‘In a manmys wil is þe beleue of rithfulnesse’;

13 vp quiche words ye thyn þe glose: alone in a manmys wil, þe quiche may not be constryen, is bothe mede and gilt. Þat is to seyne, a man aforn God hath neyir meede ne gilt of non deede, but onliche of þoo deedis þat he doth be his fre wil. But sumtyrne a manmys thowth is so fortrauaylid and forled þat he knowyth not his owyn wil. And þouh it be soo, he owyt not caryn. For always goode desid deschewyn a good wil, and euyl deedis an euyl wil. Qwerfore þat man þat doth in deede þe seruice of

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35 weeryn] ‘doubt’ 44 fortrauaylid] 'exhausted'
God, that man hath a good will to God, though his trealous herte deeme he contrarie. And also a man owith not for non weurous fantasiys deemyn his euene-cristene but if he haue a verrly opyn knowynge of that thynge that he schal demyn. For it is a grete synne a man to demyn eyul of his neyhbore for a thynge that is in weere. Rith soo it is eyul and nouth skilfulliche don | a man to demyn his soule in eu’yl plyt and partid fro God for any weurous fantase. And if it falle that a man knowe apertly certeyn poyntis in quiche he hath grewyd God, of þoo poyntes he owyth to crye God mercy and mekyn hym to þe sacramentis of holy chirche and anoone owyth he to leeuyyn trostlyche that he is resseywyd to þe grace of God. For God seith hymself he his prophete Ezechiel: ‘Qwat owre that a synful man sorwth for his synnes, he wil neuer more haue mende of hem.’ And if a man mow perceyuen in his herte no verrry repentaunce, and þowh he thynkith qwan he byddith his bedys or ells crieth God mercy that he doth altogedyr ageyns herte, heerfore he owith not caryn ne demyn hymself graceles. For qwhoso wolde wil sorwe for his synnes, in þe doom of God he hath verrry sorwe for his synnes, and qwhoso wele in herte cris God mercy, verrly...

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47 a] om. LeLo | to God] om. Le | herte] fantesiys and temptaciouns A | deeme] has bene A
51 and...don] Br | soule] owne soul Lo | eu’yl ylle H2bA | partid] departed AB
53 quiche] be whilk ABr | he’il he hymself Br | weyed God] begreued Lo | of...mery] hym oweth to cry god mercy of þoo poyntes Lo | poyntes] thoughtys or offences Br | he owyth] ren. H2bBr, oweþ him G
54 owyth] hev. LeA, oweþ him GLo | to’...55 trostlyche] verrly to truete Le | leeuyyn...55 trostlyche] trostyn and beleue H2b, belef trewly A | leeuyyn] beleue BrLo
crieth God mercy. For as I haue ofteyn seyd, God takith oonly heede at a mannys wil and nouth at a mannys traualous fantasys.

[IV.] Now if it be so þat a man do as I haue tauhte, þat is to seyne, tak non maner heede at his traualys, and deme verrili, as I haue lerid, þat he ben non synne, but mater of gret meede, and neuerþeles þe temptaciounes cesyn nouth but alweyis waxyn more and more, þanne it is good sumtyme, | but seldom, in disput of þe fend, to ben aknowe his beleeue and his hoope wþth his mouth, and thynkyn of Seynt Powell wordis þer he seith þat knowyng of mouthe is doon to helthe of soule. For þat

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man may not be disseyued with þe feendis wrenchis þat in good avisement bothe in word and wil witbstopandith þe fend, [for þer was neuere man disseyued of þe fend] withoutyn assent of his owyn wil, and swyche a wil þat is ful avised and qwenful with verryn assent of herte, for a werous and a trauaful wil puttit not a man froo God.

Ne þer owyth no man to caren þat is so trauaileyd more þan anoþer—lat hem thenkyn qwat care Goddis choisyn seruauntis han suffrid in erde. þe holy doctor Leo þe pope seith þat þer fallyn in goode and rithful soulis, sumtyme be stering of þe feend, sumtyme be steryng of complexioun, swiche angris, taryis, and dredis þat it semyth to hem here liff a torment and here deth an heese, in so mekil þat sumtyne for dishese he beginne to dispeyre boþe of þe liff Goddis choisyn an grisy, and to what there affeccyons ben dysposyd too, and yn those thyngis he sekyth the menes to and some he meuyth wyth dredis, and derknes mynd þy swylk A\textsuperscript{2} taryys\textsuperscript{2} and taryyngis LeALo, taryyingis H2b, sororws Br, taryinge G\textsuperscript{1} dredis … 79 soule say/s A | þat is for þat þat he ys H2b | is he ys LeALo | anoþer lat ane oþer man A | anoþer lat but lat A 75 qwat] \what/ A | Goddis choisyn om. G | choisyn om. Lo | seruauntis childyrn Le | han suffrid] suffreden Lo | leo in margin G | þe\textsuperscript{2} doctor\textsuperscript{2} seynt Br 76 þe pope\textsuperscript{2} papa LeH2bA | seith] say/s\textsuperscript{2} A | þat is 2\textsuperscript{2} 77 of om. LeLo 77 complexioun] a mannes complexioun Br | swiche| (swylk canc.) swykly A | taryis\textsuperscript{2} and taryyngis LeALo, taryyngys H2b, sororws Br, taryinge G | dredis…79 soule dredys, and derykys mynd þat a man kanot discerne good from euyl. For þe fend knowyth home he shall meuyth the synne of couetyse; to home glotony; to home lechery, wrath; to whome wyth enuy; and some he meuyth wyth [sic] and some wyth fals yoy. For he discussyth wherto every man is most dysposyd and to what there affeccyons ben dysposyd too, and yn those thynigs he sekyth the menes to deceyue a man yn þat he which he fyndfyth a man most besly ocupayd. And oft such troubles he puttith in manynes mynd þat they ben wery of ther lyff and wyshshyn deth for there remedy, so that allmost they ben brought to dyspeyre bothe of ther bodely lyff and of there soule. Br 78 to] om. H2b | here\textsuperscript{1} here hys Le | an] and H2b 79 to] for to Lo | þe\textsuperscript{1} om. Lo | and\textsuperscript{1} and/ H2b | þe\textsuperscript{1} om. GLo | of þe\textsuperscript{1} \textsuperscript{—} text missing due to torn page A | þe\textsuperscript{1} her LeH2bGLo 80 þat] om. LeBr | weryn] ar ABrLo | þe…81 writ] whe ther it ys of the gret mercy of oure lord that he sufferrith hys chosen soo to be troubld for ther gret merit Br | trybula\textsuperscript{2} in margin, end of word cropped G | quiche \textsuperscript{—} text missing due to torn page A | asayith\textsuperscript{2} asipie GLo 81 fendis\textsuperscript{2} childyrn Le, fend Le | fondynggis\textsuperscript{2} temptycious Lo and] temt\textsuperscript{2} text missing due to torn page A | þe…writ] which wytnessith holy wyrt, there yt is wretyn Le | Rith\textsuperscript{3} for lyke Br | as] (ag canc.) as A
profuyth þe vessel of þe pottere, rith so fondynggys and angris prouvyn þe rithful.'

And þe apostle Poule seith: 'Vs nedith to ben angrid in þis werd, þat þe proof of oure feith be more precious þan þe gold þat is prouvyn in þe feer.'

The aungel seyde also to Tobye: 'For as mechil as þou were qwemful to God, it was nedful þat fondynggys xhuld proue þe.'

Wel þanne it is knowe þat seekness fallith to a man aftar þe disposicioun of his conpleccioun. And as Leo þe pope seith, þe feend aspyith in iche man what vice he is most disposid to, and þerfor þe conplexioun þat he fyndith ful of humurs of melencolie, hem he tær[ment]yth most with gostly temptaciouns. Also þese clerkis of kendis seyn þat qwan þe smook of þe blake colere comyth to þe cernel, it skyith.

90

Wel þanne it is knowe þat seekness fallith to a man aftar þe disposicioun of his conpleccioun. And as Leo þe pope seith, þe feend aspyith in iche man what vice he is most disposid to, and þerfor þe conplexioun þat he fyndith ful of humurs of melencolie, hem he tær[ment]yth most with gostly temptaciouns. Also þese clerkis of kendis seyn þat qwan þe smook of þe blake colere comyth to þe cernel, it skyith and merkyth þe place of doom, quiche is þe heued, and makith a man to semyn as þow he seye blake and myschape ymagis. And þis blake smook letrith þe soule þat he ne may nouth, for þe yrne, known noon resonable skyl, but it makyth hym demyn
fals for trewh, thyng ageyns hym þat is most for hym. And þese men of conplexioun ben sory dreedful withoutyn skilful enchesoun, drie of conplexioun, and dispeyrnyng of hemself. But heerfore owyn he nouth to blamyng hemself, for he mownys not; payne þei han, but non synne.

But þese men, if þei wyln ben ful medid of God, þei must schape hem as mychel as þei mouu to a gostly strengthe and gostly pacience, and þei owen to seyn with Ioob: ‘Sithen we ha takyn of Goddis hand bounchef, quwy schulde we not suffre myschef?’ And þerfore qwat myschef falle to hem, lat hem seyn stedfastly with Ioob: ‘Si occiderit me, sperabo in eu his soul, to þe deed.’

soule is | sari to þe deed.  
soules spouse Ih  
ation am þei auhtyn to thenkyn on þe greet mede þat longith to pacience and how oure soules spouse Ihesu hymself so mychel putt to þe mater of pacience þat he seyde: ‘Mi soule is | sari to þe deed.’ And anoþir tyne he seyde: ‘Mi God, qwy hast þou

[VI.]  
100  

[VIII.]  
105  
f. 64r
forsakyn me? Sithe noure lord in his manhed seyde þese wordis, quiche arn ful of al maner grace, let not a synful man merueylyn þow his herte be sory and þow hym þinke God hat forsakyn hym, but myghtily he owitb to abyden þe comforst of God, and dredles qwan it verrily nedith, he schal not falyn þeroft. For to swiche men seith God þus be þe prophete Isaye: ‘A litel qwile I haue forsakyn þe, and in a moment I haue hid my face fro þee, but I schal gadre þe ageyn in many merciys, and I schal han mercy of þe in mercy þat ewere schal lestyn.’

Ne merueyle no man þow a gostly man and a good synglerly be temptid, for þe more þat he his trauaylid ageyns his wil, be it in feith or in hoope or in charite, þe more he is afore God strengthid and saddid in alle goode thewis. Þe maner of þis temptacioun and þe remedie þerageyn touchith oure saueour in þe gospel þer he seith þus to his disciples: ‘Sathanas askid þat he myth syfte ȝow as qwho siftyth qwete.’

107 Sithen...110 þeroft and thou man thynk yn such troubl þat our lord hath forsaken hym lett hym wytb a good hope pacently abyd the confort of our lord and wytbout dought our lord yn tyme conuençent wyll helpe hym Br | Sithen and seþen Lo | þese wordis] þus Lo | quiche] the whiche LeH2bAGLo | arm] was LeAGLo, ys H2b | al...108 maner] om. LeH2bA, al Lo | 108 nota bene in margin G | man...his] manees Lo | his...be] he (thynk canc.) in his herte he be H2b | and] althogh Lo | hym] he H2bA | 109 þinke] thynke that Le | myghtily] mekely LeGLo, myleely H2b, myghtily and mekely A | comfort] good confort Le | 110 dreddles] withbotten dowte A | it] he A | þeroft] of þe comforthe of god A | isay in margin G | seith...111 þus] our lord sayth Br | seith] seid Lo | 111 þus] þer H2b, om. A | þe] his LeH2bABrGLo | A litel] <>ot text missing due to torn page A | haue forsakyn] forsake H2b | 112 fro...but] <>ot text missing due to torn page A | fro] jest] om. Le | man] my many LeH2b, my Br | han...113 of] shew my mercy to Br | 113 of...mercy] <>y text missing due to torn page A | of] on LeH2bGLo | mercy] þe mercy H2b, that mercy Br | euere] euere more A | lestyn] rest Le, last and neyr haue end the troubl present ys but short and momentany and also ys but hytli remembryng þe euerylastynge payne þat we trust to be delyuyrd of þerby and also remembryng the yow þat we trust to be made partakers of by þe pacient suffrying of them Br | 114 Ne...116 thewis] and let not a man meuayle [sic] þoue þe man þat ys spirituel be soo troublud with hys spirituel enemy whyll þat hys good wyll doth abyd þat he ys nother put frome hys fyth fro hopre nor fro charyte þerby but he ys þe more growndly mad stedfast yn all vertue Br | Ne...man] no man mevrell A | merueyle] gurche Lo | no] not a Le, not no H2b | þow...temptid] agens godis wil G, agayns godis wille ne merueil he nat of þis maner of temptacioun Lo | gostly man] (gow man canc.) gostly man A | man] om. Le | a2] ¿w/ A | synglerly] singular man Le, syngerly H2b | for...115 wille] om. G | 115 he...charite] a man or a woman is tempted in þis maner or in any other and he mekely and paciently withbost hit nat assentynge thereto Lo | be it] both A | or in1] om. LeA | or in2] and A | in1] om. Le | charite] charite for þe more a man is tempted in hum and proved G | þe...116 is] he ys more rep. H2b | 116 he...God] aforo god he is ALo | afore before H2b | strengthid and] om. Lo | alle] om. Lo | thewis] maners A | þe...163 abidyng] om. A | nota sign in margin Ca | theu in margin Lo | þis...117 temptaciounu] thiss temptacyons Br | 117 he1] om. H2b | touchith...saueour] our sauyour thoghth Br | touchith] techith Le | saueour] lord H2b | in...118 disciplyes] to his disciples in the gospel þer he seith þus Lo | þer...118 disciplyes] sayng to seynt peryr Br | þer] where Le | 118 euangelium in margin Br | myth] my H2b | 30w] the Br | qwho] whoso LeBr

110 dreddles] ‘doubtless’
In as mechil as Sathanas askyd, as seith þe gospel, in þat it is schewyd þat þe fend hath non myhte to fond[en] Goddis seruautis but of his suferaunce. And þat was opynly schewyd in þe fondyng of hooly Iob, þat he wolde syffen hym as qwheete. Qwete, þe moore it is castyn fro syde to syde in þe sywe, þe moore clene it is. Rith so þat was rev. H2b 120 fondyng, þe more it is castyn fro syde to syde in þe sywe, þe moore clene it is. Rith so

[In margin]

In þe foundyng of hooly Iob, þat he wolde syffen hym as qwheete. Qwete, þe moore it is castyn fro syde to syde in þe sywe, þe moore clene it is. Rith so

[In margin]

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In þe foundyng of hooly Iob, þat he wolde syffen hym as qwheete. Qwete, þe moore it is castyn fro syde to syde in þe sywe, þe moore clene it is. Rith so
is as a myhti cite aegyn þe feend.' And þerfore he þat is sori and traualyed, qwanne
he heerith þe gode comfort of his broþir or his sostyr, he owyth to seyn with Dauid:
‘Quare tristis es anima mea et quare conturbas me? Spera in Deo, quoniam adhuc
confitebor illi';44 Mi soule, qwí art þou sory and qwí trublust me? Trost in God, for
to hym wil I ben aknowe', and hym þet schal I serwyn, be I neuere so mycel
traualid. And swiche a man þat is þus traualid, he owith to hereñ and felyn þe
techynge of wyse men þat ben bothe discret and goode, and be non wise folwyn heise
owyn fantasigs, for þat wolde vttirly schendyn hym.

[III.] Also in þe meene tyme, as he may goodly, owith he to redyn and synggyn | þe
seruice of God and doon oþer goode deedis, with prayer to God of helpe, strengthe,
and pacienc. And þow he fynde in hymself no swetnesse ne wil to Goddis seruice, he
owyth not to caren, for it is inow to helthe of soule þat a man wolde haõ reste and
swettenesse in þe seruice of God. For euyr in Goddis doom þe wil stant for deede. And
Seint Bernard seyth þat sumtyme God withdrawit deuocioun fro prayer to make þe
prayere more medful. Aristotil a resoun seith þat vertu, þe more hard and þe more

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134 is1...cite) he ys as mysty get H2b | as...cite] the myghtyer Br | as] om. LeG | sori...135
with) confermyde and made stedfast by his neyghburos techynge and so made perþre yn cryste let hym
in tyme of his trubbl untow wyth þe holy prophete Br 135 or of or of LeH2b | dauid in margin Ca,
propheta in margin Br 136 Quare...137 illi] om. Lo | quoniam...137 illi] et eetra LeG 137 illi] illi or
thus muche to say Br | Mi] o þou my Le | trubblis] troblest how LeBr, turbyst þou so H2b,
troblest þou so GLo 138 to...serwyn] hym wyll y serue and to hym wyll he aknowe Br | to...
aknowe] þat i schal knoweliche to him GLo | wil I] rev. H2b | get...2] i schal GLo | be I] thow y
be Le 139 And...traualid2] om. H2b | And] om. Lo | swiche...141 hym] a man thus troubled
oueth not to folowe his owne ways but he must heere and feel þe techynge of wys men and doo
therafter for yn folowing wyn owen ways he myght destroye hymselfe Br | felyn] to folwe H2b
140 techynge[techynge] Le | þat...bothe] and H2b | wise] wéy Lo 141 fantasij[s] wyl ne fantasye
H2b | þat] it Le | wolde...schendyn] vterlyche sendih G, enterly schendeth Lo 142 Also...144
pacience] Br | Also] and also H2b | meene] om. H2b | owith he] rev. LeH2bLo | he'] om. G
synggyn] say H2b | þe2...143 God] dyuyne seruice Lo 143 iheu in margin Lo | prayer] preying Le
of...144 and] for too helpe and strengthe his H2b | strengthe] of strengthe Le, and streynthe Lo
144 of devocien in prayer in margin Br | in...148 medful] no swetnesse yn prayers or redyng of good
things he shall not reke for euer afores gode þe wyll ys taken for þe deede and þat our lord at seasons
take deuocyon from vs it ys medful Br | in...swettenesse] noo swettenesse in hymselfe H2b | nee
noon H2b, ne no Lo | to] to seye H2b 145 owyth] ne owyt LeG | to]| for to Le, om. H2b | inow
many Le | helthe[helpe] H2bG | soule] (s canc.) soule Ca, mansys soul Lo | a man] he Lo
146 iheu in margin Lo | For] om. LeH2b | euyr] om. GLo | Goddis doom] þe doom of gode GLo
dede] a deede Le, þe dede G | And] as Le 147 bernardus in margin Ca | þat] om. Le, þou that H2b
sumtyme...withdrawit god owt drawyth Le | prayer] þe prayer GLo 148 aristotil in margin Ca | a...
seith] seij a resoun GLo | a resoun] om. Br | a] and H2b | vertu...149 gotyn] with þe more [traualyed
and harde, and the hardre traualid Lo] verrues ben geten GLo | and...149 with] wyth þe more
LeH2b

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141 schendyn] 'ruin'

233
with trauayle þat it is gotyn, þe bettyr it is and þe moore thankworthi. 49 But it is more trauaile with sorinesse of hert and vnlikyng and vnreste to seruyyn God þan wyan a man is in ful swetnesse of reste and pees of soule; querfore dreldes it is moore meedful. It was non maystri to Seynt Petyr wyan he saw Ihesu transfigurid in þe hil in blisse to seyn: ‘Lord, it is good we duellyn heer.’ 52 But wyan he saw Ihesu among his turmentours, a gerlis voyys made hym so aferd þat he seide þat he knew not Ihesu. 53 But aftywrward wyan he was consermyd thourh þe myth of þe holy gost, þer was non turment in erde, ne kyng, ne prince, þat hym myth feeryn. Rith so if a man be in swetnesse of hert it is non maistrie to seruyyn God, but þe maistrie is wyan a man is owt of reste and trauaylých, and þe more trauaile, þe moore maistrie. But swyche a man, if he wele suffrin pacientliche til he is aftyr trauaylis | strenkþed aftyrward| a gerlis voys made hym so aferd þat he seide þat it is gotyn, þe bettyr it is more thankworthi. And more merite is it to hym þat it is for þe beste, þou he knowe not Goddis abidyng. And þus lerith vs þat the greete docto 

wolde aftyrward) ryȝt aftyrwarde H2b, afere hym Le, afere hym GLo | consermyd…of| made stedfast by Br thourh…myth] hys comfort H2b | erde…kyng| herte ne kyng Le | ne’l of Br prince| prynce nor no fend in hell Br | hym…feeryn| myght make hym aferd Lo | hym myth| rev. LeH2b | Rith…163 abidyng| om. Br 157 of her[| om. Lo 158 owt…trauaylyþ] trauailled and out of rest Lo | traualýd LeH2bG | and…[maistrye] om. Le | traualýd H2bG, þat he is trauailled Lo | maistrye] may stire G, maistrie hit is Lo | swyche…159 he[ certis if a man GLo 159 wele] wolde H2b | aftyr…strenkþed| strenghed after trauayle GLo | aftyr] of hys (of hys anc.) H2b | traualys| hys traualys Le 160 to hym to H2b | afeeryn| fere hym Le, afere hym GLo 161 he thar] let he HimLeH2bGLo | not| noo/G | hym om. GLo 162 consermorf] hys comfort H2b he may] let he HimLeH2bGLo | þe] hys LeGLo 163 agustinus in margin Ca, noz a bene in margyn Br, ihetu in margin Lo | And…Austyn} saynt austyn lernes vs þat A | And| for Le | leirith] lernyth Le, techyþ BrGLo | þe…Austyn} saynt austyn the doctor þat Br | þe…doctour} om. Le 164 God] our lord Br | is’] ys þis H2b, is þat Lo | pees] confort pes Le 165 and…loue} om. Br | and…hym| tyl he be stabelyd Le | so stabilyn] susteyne A | stabilyn] to stable Lo | his\’sis/ A | but| and Le | is stabilished| seithe hym deped in loue Lo | stabilished} stabelid LeH2bA
suffreth he hym for to ben al totrauaylid, for too skilles. Oon, for to proue hym and corowne hym moore neer hym in þe blisse of heuene. Þe secunde skill is for to purgyn hym of his synnes in þis werld, þat [he] schul non wyse be longe fro hym in þat oþir.

[XL.]  
And for as mechil as þei þat ben þus trauaylid ben dredful and sor[i] of complexiou[n], thre thyngis been needful to hem. Þe first is þat þei ben nowt mekyl aloone. Þe secunde is þat þei thynkyn ne sekyn non þingis depli, but fullyche rewlyn hem be þe counsel and þe daliaunce of sum good man and wys. And if it falle in here herte þat þei schul be lorn, for þei wil not beheldyn hem, þei owyn non heed takyn to swyche thouhtis, for it may neuere turnyn hem to dampanaciouþ Þe counsel of heere wysere þat is ȝowyn for here sauaciouþ. God seith in þe gospel, [if] þe meenyng of a mannys purpos be good, þe deede is good. Þe thridde remedie is, forasmoche as þe feend traulythyth to makyn a man dredful and sor[i] in dispit of þe feend and þe tröst.
of Goddis helpe owith a man to strenkthyyn hymself to be glad and merie and nowth to dredyn þe malice of þe feend, þowþ it be al ageyns hert. For þe lesse gladnesse he fynt in his herte, þe moore meede he is worthi þat strenkthy be to glad in dispit of þe feend. Þe apostelis, as seith hooly wriþt, qwan þe Iewes, goddis enemys, h[e]m haddyn shamely betyn, hee ȝedyn awey mery and glad.55 Also owyth a man, if he be turmentid of þe feend, to be glad for thre skylis. First, for Goddis enemy turmentith hym. Þe secunde, for [in] swyche turmentis þe feend schewyth þat he is ful enemy. Þe thridde skile is þat be swiche turmentid of þe feend, to be glad for thre skylis. First, for Goddis enemy headdyn schamely beetyn, hee ȝedyn awey mery þe feend. Þe apostelis, as seith hooly writt, qwan þe Iewes, goddis enemyis, þe moore meede he is worthi þat strenkyth to be glaad in dispit of þat he wolde þat a man to beyn schriuen. And þis doth he nouth for be colour of good. Þe first is þowh a man to bewar þat þe deuyl begile hym nowt |

And ȝeet of thre thinggis owith a man to beyn schriuen but fulliche for to tarien hym and þanne makith he þe soule out of reste til it is eftsones schryuen. And þis doth he nouth for þat he wolde þat a man were oftyn schriuen but fulliche for to tarien hym and makyn

hym oleue he were blent for synne and hadde non grace to makyn hymself cleene. Þe secunde gile of Þe enemy is wgan a man is in Goddis seruice or ell in honest solas to strenkthyn hym ageyns Þe tarijs of Þe feend in countfort of Þe soule, þanne bringith he a manys synnes to meende for to tarien hym. But Þe remedys ageyns þese two poynsirs arn þese. Ageyns Þe first, fro þo þyme þat he swych a man hath doun his ful besiness to ben clen schriuen, he owith neuere to dreydn hym of non synne but of þoo þat he woot verrily wiþoutyn weer þat he is gilti inne aforn God. Of quiche synnes, as sone as he crieth God mercy, he schal han it. Anemptis þe secunde gile of þe enemy is quwan a man is in Goddis seruice or ell in honest solas to strenkthyn hym ageyns Þe tarijs of Þe feend in coumfort of þe soule, þanne bringith he a man inys synnes to meende for to tarien hym. But þe remedijs ageyns þese two poyntis arn þese. Ageyns Þe first, fro þo þyme þat he swych a man hath doun his ful besiness to ben clen schriuen, he owith neuere to dreydn hym of non synne but of þoo þat he woot verrily wiþoutyn weer þat he is gilti inne aforn God. Of quiche synnes, as sone as he crieth God mercy, he schal han it. Anemptis þe secunde gile of þe enemy is quwan a man is in Goddis seruice,59 owt a man tendyn to non thing, be it neuere so good, þat schuld lette hym of þe attendauce of Goddis seruice. Þo also a man þat is trauaylid and takith to hym solas in dispitt of þe feend, he owyth not þat tyme tende to þat thingis þat hym wolde tarien, but he owyth to schapyn hym a tyme to crien God mercy and forȝeueness of alle his trespas. And if his synne come out þanne to mende, þe first mende was but a tariyn of þe feend, for he þat is endeles God schuld rathere steryn a man to thenkyn of his synne in helppe of his lifþan in tarye of his lifþ or of his soule.

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194 oleue] 'believe', perhaps a form of eleven. | blent] '(spiritually) blinded'
The thriddle and he wers gile of alle is hat he makith in mannyis conciense so mekyl errour hat hat thing hat is non synne semyth synne, and a litel synne he makith to semyn grewuos and deedly, and thinggis of non charge he makith to semyn as it were doon in þe dispit of God and of his seyntis. But þe remedie ageyns his wile is a man hooliche to rewlym hym afyr swiche men þat han cleer consienciis and goode, and nouht afyr his owyn. For swyche a man, if he folwid his owyn consiense, it were a gret pride þat he wolde leetym his witt betyr þan þe trewe loore of holy chirche. And þefore a man þat wolde so doon must nedyngeis fallyn in vile hereisjs and fulli in þe bondis of þe feend. | And if swiche an errour of consiense seye þat þer men felyn nowth þat he felith, and þefore he can not demyn of hym, and þat he schal be lorn for þat he doth not his owyn fantasie, he is beholdyn to takyn no chirche. And þat weere a gret pis a maȝ as it were doon in þe dispit of God.

f. 68r

[17.

‘Multe tribulaciones iustorum et de omnibus hijs liberabit eos Dominus’; 70 be prophete seith: ‘Many ben þe tribulacions of þe rithful men, and of alle God schal delyueren hem.’ Many, diuers, and meruelious been þe maneris, as seith Seyn Austyn, 230 be quiche þe wrong neddere, enmy to al mankende, turmentith mannyis soule. And as seith Seint Gregori, þer is noo thing in qwiche | we owyn to been so sekyr of þe loue and of þe cumfort of God as in turmentis and tariis. 74 And if a man seie þat bodily turmentis been medful but not gostly, he seith nouth rith. For dredles þe gostly turmentis ben wers þan þe bodily, and þerfore þei been moore medful þan bodily, withowtryn dred. And þat man doth a dispit to God þat with good avisement seith þat þe feend may in þis werd moore turmentyn þan God may meedyn. Qwerfore dredles þer is non þing moore goodly, moore chariteful, moore meedful, þan [to] strenkthyn and comfortyn þoo soulis þat þe feend tarijth. For qwoso comfort hem þat arn desolaat, þe lord of comfort Iheu hymself schal confortyn hem in endeles blisse.

with his fadyr. Þe quiche lord, þourh þe myth of his precious blood, fel þe myht and þe bost of þe feend, and graunt Cristen mannys soule victori owyr þe qweed to worchepe of þat lord. ‘Qui viuit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum’. Amen.

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240 with...242 Amen] and also hym þat so doth suffir paciently wyll our lord refreshe wytbouȝt dowght other yn thys world or ther as much better shall be to hym yn hys yoyn euerylaȝynge to the whych he bryng vs þat wyþ hys precious blode bought vs Br | Þe quiche] qwiche Le | [eō...blood] his precyous passyous Le | [eō] om. H2b 241 graunt...242 Amen] sende vs grace to come to hys euerylaȝynge ioye and solace wytb hym to regne withouten ende Le | mannys] mennys Lo | soule] sowlys H2bGLo | [eō] þat H2bG | qweed] fend Lo 242 worchepe] the worchip G | þat lord] þe lord god G | Amen] om. GLo

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241 qweed] ‘devil’
ME3
Here seweth a souereyn and a notable sentence to comforte a persone that is in temptacion.

Capitulum primum

Oure merciful lord God chastyseth hese childirn and suffereth hem to ben tempted for many proflytable skelles to here soule proflyte,\(^1\) and þerfore ther schulde no man ne woman ben hevy ne sory for no temptacion. For Seynt Iame the apostele thechet vs þat we schulden haue wery gret joy quan we ben tempted wiþ diuers temptacions: for as the goold is purged and pured be fier,\(^2\) and a knyght in hard batail is proued good but if he suffre hymself to ben ouercome, right so is a man be temptacion proued for good but if he suffre hymself to ben ouercome; þat is to seye, but if he consenthe therto be deliberacion. Soothly quan a man is sharply tempted he may thanne hopen of gret vertu. For Seynt Austyn seyth þat be perfeccion of euery vertu is for a man to be meche troubled wiþ temptaciones,\(^3\) for euery vertu is proued be his contrary.

Oure enmy the fend is besy day and nyght to tarye and trauaylen goode men and women wiþ diuers temptacions in doutes of the feythe, and dredes of sauacioun, and other many mo in diuers maneris.\(^4\) And specially now in these dayes he is ful besy to dysese and to disseyve mannes soule. And þerfore wysely reule ȝou to wiþstondyn the fend in eche foundynge or vyoleyn of temptacion, and

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\(^1\) Here...2 temptacion] A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns Wo, these remedies of temptacions þat folwen is named consolacio anime Ho | Here...comforte] Here after foloeth gret comforthe for D seweth| foloweth and enseweth W2 | and a] om. W2 3 Capitulum primum] om. WoHoW2D 4 God] god jh es u Wo, god cryst jhesu W2, god cryst D 5 skelles] causes W2D | soule] om. Wo proflyte] helth W2D | ther] om. W2D 6 ne\(^3\)] or W2D | no\(^3\)] any W2D | temptacion] but rather be glad and joyful add. Wo | For...7 þat] as he appostell sanct Jamys sayth D | For] for as W2 7 thechet] seith and techith Wo | þat] om. W2 | diuers] greate Wo 8 as the] lyke as D | the] om. WoHo | purged...pured] pured and purged W2, purified and purget D | be fier] by the fyre W2, with þe fire D | and] and W2D 9 but...ouercome] om. W2D | man] man or womman Wo | be] in D 10 for] om. WoHo | good] before god add. WoHo | if] om. Ho, yff þat D | suffer] lete WoHo | þat] which D 11 but if] but W2D | be deliberacion] wilfully bi deliberaciuon WoHo | Soothly] for sothely W2, for doultes W2D | quan] when as D | man] man or a womman Wo | be] in D 12 hopen] haue hope W2, haue a special hope D | gret] grace W2, grace and D For...13 is] and (þerfor D) it is necessary W2D | For] om. Wo 13 for\(1\)...meche] þat a man be mych D | man] man or womman Wo | to...meche] moche to be W2 | to be] is Ho | troubled with] trouble bi Wo | troubled] trouble Wo | with] be Ho 15 enmy] goostly enmye D | besy] euermore besy borte D | tarye...trauaylen] traualie and tarie WoHo | trauaylen] to trauayle H3 16 in] and with Wo, and Ho 17 and] with D | now] om. D | he...18 soule] om. Wo 18 dyseyse...soule] deceye many soules W2D | dyseyse...to\(3\)] om. Ho | wysely] se þat ye discretly D | to\(3\)] for to WoHo 19 th...temptyng] his violent steriynges W2D | ech] euery Wo | or...temptyng] om. WoHo temptacion] tempytion D
3eue 3e no fors of alle his assawtes of douhtes, ne of dredis, ne of erreoures, ne of dyspit, ne of false lesynges, ne of fantasyes, ne of no maner trauaylynge of þe fende; whether þou see hem, here hem, or thynk hem, take non heed of hem, for they ben materis | of grete mede and no synne in no wyse, whether they ben trauelous or angwyschiose þat comen of malice of þe feende or of yuel disposic | of mannes complexiou. And þerfore alle suche trauels men ouȝten nouth to charȝe, but suffren mekely and abyden paciently tyl God do remedye þer to. And for as moche as they ben materis of gret mede, no man aughte not to stryuen þer aȝens, ne m | erueyle of hem, ne seeke þe cause, ne þenk be q | uat skyle he is so traueiled. For þe more þat a man duelleth in sechynge and þenkynge of errour | es and angwysches, þe more deeply he fallyth bothe into erreoures and in angwyschs. And þerfore, for as moche as a mannes þought is often veyn and diuers and non ende hathe, it oweth not to ben chargede ne to be taken heed off.

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20 ȝeue ...22 hem'] and for all that take ye noo dredes of his assawtes ne haue ye [ony W2, noo W2bW2c] doubt of [his W2, this W2bW2c] erreoures ne dyspitynes nor of his false lesynges or fantasyes or ony maner of trauayle of that foule fende whether ye here hym se hym or thynke of hym take noo hede therof W2bW2c, se þat ye haue not drede of hys assayyttye ne haue ȝe ȝe no doute of hys false erreoures nor of hys lesyngys fantasyes or any other maner of travel of þe fowe fynde whether þat ȝe here hym se hym or thynke apon hym D | ȝeue ye no fors of alle his assawtes ne of dredis, ne of erreoures, ne of dyspit, ne of false lesynges, ne of fantasyes, ne of no maner trauaylynge of þe fende; whether þou see hem, here hem, or thynk hem, take non heed of hem, for they ben materis | of grete mede and no synne in no wyse, whether they ben trauelous or angwyschiose þat comen of malice of þe feende or of yuel disposic | of mannes complexiou. And þerfore alle suche trauels men ouȝten nouth to charȝe, but suffren mekely and abyden paciently tyl God do remedye þerto. And for as moche as they ben materis of gret mede, no man aughte not to stryuen þer aȝens, ne m | erueyle of hem, ne seeke þe cause, ne þenk be q | uat skyle he is so traueiled. For þe more þat a man duelleth in sechynge and þenkynge of errour | es and angwysches, þe more deeply he fallyth bothe into erreoures and in angwyschs. And þerfore, for as moche as a mannes þought is often veyn and diuers and non ende hathe, it oweth not to ben chargede ne to be taken heed off.

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21 lesynges] 'lies'; ME2 has 'leyng', 'beliefs'
Ne a man schulde not angre hymself withal, ne blame, ne arette it to his owne
defaute þat he is so trauailed. For swiche trauailes ben paynefull and not synful, for as
moche as þei ben grety ageyn his wil. Seynt Austyn seyth þat euery synne lyeth in
wilful wil, and quat þat is aȝens a mannes wil, it is not synne. And þe holy doctour
Ysdre, De summno bono, seyth þat þe fende tempeth a man no more þan God
3euehym leue.11 Perfore lete vs alwey haue a good wil to wilne weal and to do wel,
and God wil kepe vs and ȝeueth hym leue. It is ouereleid with care and dreuen to dispeir. Al þat tyme, þous the soule perseuye it
nought, it dwelleth stille in þe dreed of al p enemy þe fend and God wil kepe us
40
Feith and hope ben grounde of al perfeccion and roote of al vertues; þerfore oure olde
enmy þe fende is ful besy with all his slyghtes to drawe þe soule doun þerfro. And it
fallithe somtyme þat þe fende tempeth and trauaileth a rightful soule so scharply þat
it is ouereleid with care and dreuen to dispeir. Al þat tyme, þous the soule perseuye it
nought, it dwelleth stille in þe dreed and in the loue of God, | and all þat trauaile is to his soule gret meede afore the sighte of God. For oure lord of his endles mercy
45
aretty not to the soule þat synne þat hymself suffereth the fende to wirche in the soule.
But quan we be oure owne wikkid wil fully don aȝens þe wil of God with
44
deleracion, þanne synne we; but quan we ben drawn with wykkyd vilenoys
thoughtes and turmented with debirse and thoughtes aȝens oure owne wil þurgh fondyng or violent temptyng of þe fende, we sufferen peyne, but we don no synne.

12 And yet þe sely soules knowliche is hid be þat turment.

Capitulum secundum

[II.] But often the temptyng of þe fende þat maketh þe soule to erre in feyth and to fantasye in dispeir seemeth gret synne to a manis soule, and is not so. For all holy doctoures seyn þat feith and hope ben vertues of a mannes wil. Wherfore whoso wolde rightfully beleue, he is in right beleue aforn God, and whoso wold trustely hope, he is in trusty hope aforn God, þough he be neuere so moche trauailed with weuerful þoughtes or doughteful. Þe apostle Seynt Poule seyth þat in a mannes wil is þe beleue of rightwysnes, of whiche wordes seyth þe glose þat al only in mannes wil, whiche may not be constreyned, lieth bothe meede and gylt. Þat is to seyn, a man aforn God hath neuere meede ne gylt for no dede, but only of tho dedes þat ben don wilfully. But sumtyme mannnes þoughtes and womannes ben so trauailed and ouerleid þat they knowen nought here owne wil. And þough it so be, thei auten not to care. For goode dedes schewen alwey a good wil, and euele dedes yuel wil. Werfore...
a man heath doth in deed the seruice of God, heath man hath a good wilt to God, heou3 his 
traulouse herte deme the contrarye. Also heur schulde | no creature demen his euen-
cristen for no worse fantasyes or douteful but if thee haue a very opyn knowynge of 
heath þinge for whiche thee schulden deme hem. Fore heur schulde non demen yuel of 
man ne woman for a thinge heath is oncerteyn or in weere or doute. And right so it is 
yuel and not skylfully don ony resonable creature to deme his owne soule in swich 
plyght heath it were parted fro God for ony versum fantasies or douteful.

Capitulum tertium

And if it so be heath 3e haue consentid and fallen in ony temptacion, beth sory 
and crieth God mercy heof and beth not discomforted hefore. Penke wel on he grete 
mercy of God, how he forṣaf Dauid his grete synnes, and Petir, and Maudeleyn, and 
not only hem but also alle the heath haue be or mow bee and schulen ben contrite for 
here synnes and cryen God mercy. hefore, sustir, fle to hym heath al mercy is inne, and 
aske mercy, and 3e shal haue mercy and forȝeuenesse of all ȝoure synnes; and meke 
you louly to he sacraments of holy cherche, and þanne ȝe owen to beleuen trustily

womman Wo | hath[2] doules haythe D | toj vnto Wo | heou3 alof D 66 Also] and therfor Wo 
67 no...douteful ony doubtfull fantasyes W2D | verse...douteful weersum or douteful fantasies H3 
wers[1] weersum W2, weersum Ho | or douteful om. WoHo | opyn om. Wo, true D | knowynge] 
knowle W2D 68 for...Fore whiche (heath D) they sholde deme hym for W2D | hem] hym Wo 
heur...69 doute] om. W2D 69 man a man Ho | ne nor Wo, or Ho | heath heath/Wo | oncerteyn] in 
none certein Ho | weere...doute W2, weer Ho | And...so] than W2D | right so] sey heath Wo 
70 yuel] rep. Wo, yll D | not...resonable] unreasone for ony W2D | skylfully] rightfully Wo 
ony] for any Wo | resonable] om. WoHo | his] her Ho | swich] that H3WoHoW2D 71 it were he 
sholde be W2D | parted] departyd D | versum...douteful doubtfull fantasye W2D | fantasies om. 
H3 | or douteful thei don nat rightwisly Wo, om. Ho 72 Capitulum tertium] om. WoHo, the thyrde 
chaptyre W2, howe a man heath fallsys in syn may ryse agayne and howe a man scholde constantly 
stande in temptacion. Capitulum tertium D 73 And| and than W2D | it so] also H3, so Wo | it om. D 
heath om. W2 | 3e] I Ho, ye/edit | in...temptacion] to syrne by ony temptacions W2D | ininto 
Wo | beth] thou be D, than be W2 74 crieth God] crye to god for D | beth] yet by ye W2D 
discomforted hefore] gretly discomfourth D | hefore om. WoHoW2 | hefke...on but thiynke well 
Marie Magdalenne Wo, heur synys add. D 76 haue...for] bien sory and contrite and shryven of Wo 
be...bee om. Ho | moy] now H3W2D | and] or H3W2D | schulen] schal HoW2D 77 and[1]... 
mercy[1] and meke them lowly and crye our lorde mercy W2, beyng in wyll no more to fall and meke 
themselfe lowly and crye to oure lorde ihesu for mercy D | hefore...to] and therfore good broder or 
suster fle fast vnto D | hefore om. and therfore W2 | sustir] evey man and womman in suche plite 
synne Wo | meke...79 sacramentis] take the sacla/mensys D 79 to he and take the W2 | trustily] 
ono Wo, faythfully W2D

66 [lower marginal note] ‘judge’ 71 versum ‘doubtful’ (wersom; ME2 has werous)
80 Ṣat thei ben forṣouen, and 3e receyued into grace of God. For God seyth hymself be his ṣrofete Eȝechiel Ṣat quan a synful man sorowth for his synnes he wele neuere more haue mynde ṣerof. 14 And if a man may parceyue in his herte no very sorwe, and þouȝ he þenke quan he biddeth his bedes or cryeth to God for mercy Ṣat he doth al aȝens herte, herefore schulde he not deme hymself graceles. For whoso wold haue very sorwe for his synnes, in þe doom of God he hath very sorwe for his synnes, and whoso wolde in herte crie God mercy veryly, he crie God mercy veryly. For as I haue seyd afore, God taketh heed to mannes wil and not aftir his trauelous fantasyes. It is good Ṣat a man take non heed of alle swiche trauelous | fantasies and steringes Ṣat comen on this wyse, for God heydeth fro hem the knowleche for grete skeles, to here prɔfyȝte of soule. Suyche passyons is no synne, but mater of grace and of grete merite, and so þenke alwey.

And if it be so Ṣat þe temptacyons cessen not but waxen alwey more and more, be not aferd, but sey somtyme among, in þe worchepe of God and in dispite of þe fende, ȝoure crede, and knowlyche ȝoure beleue and ȝoure hope be mouthe, and þenk
on þe wordes of Seynt Poule þat seyth: 'knowleche of mouth is don to helthe of soule'. And thei mow not ben disseyued be the fendes wyles þat with a good avysement bothe in warde and wil withstonshed þe feende. For was þer neure man disseyed of þe feende withouten assent of his owne wil, and with suche a wil þat is ful avysed and quemeful, with very assent of herte. For a wersum or doubtelous travelous wil putteth not away a man fro God.

Capitulum quartum

taryenges, and diseys of drede þat it semthey to hþe/m her lif a torment and here deth an ease, in so moche þat somtyme for disese þei begynnyn to dispyere bothe of here | lyf of body and of here soule. And thei wenyn þat þei ben forsaken of God, whiche asayeth and proueth his chosen frendes be temptacyons and angres. But these fondynges or vyolent temptynges and angwisches ben but purgynges and preuynges of the soule, for as I sette and syde at þe begynnyng of þis wyrtynge, right as þe feir purgeth golde, and a knyght also is preuyd good and hardy be bataile, right so temptacions and tubules preuth and purgeth þe rightful man.19 This is preued wel be Thobie, for the angel Raphael seide to Thobie thus: 'For as moche as þou were rightful to God, it was nedeful þat temptacion schulde preuen thi wil.'22

[V.]
It is weel known þat seknesse falleth to a man aftir the disposicion of his complexion. And Leo þe pope seith þat the feende aspyeth in every man in what wyse he is disposed in complexion and aftir þat disposicion he tempteth a man in his complexion, for þer as he fyndeth a man ful of humors of malencolie, he tempteth hym most with gostly temptacions.16 But þese, if thei wiln be meded of God, schape
hem to pacyns, and seye thei with Iob: 'Sethen we haue receuyed of God benefetis, why schulde we not receyue and suffre dize? And þing on the dize/ þat our Lord Ihesu Crist suffred hymself here on erthe, and suffred his blessed modir to haue also. And þenk weel also þat 3e may not in þis frel worlde ben so free as [an] aungel þat is conformed in grace, but while youre body and soule beth togydre in this lyf, 3e most receyue troubles as weel as esys. And þenkne not þat God hath forsake 3ou, but mekely abydeth the confort of God, and dreedes quan it veryly nedeth, 3e schul not failen þerof. For trusteth weel þerto þat quan 3e felen 3ou in suche pylghte, þat grace is veryly with you.

But som men, quan thei haue dreedes of saucion or ben tempted to dispeir, or if thei haue ony vycious gostly sterynge or grete felynges of here owne frelte, thei wenyn anon þat thei haue synned in the holy gost. And þanne þe fende putther in hem þat it may neuyre ben forgouen and þerfore thei may not be saued. Þus speketh þe fende withinne hem, and afrayeth some sely creaturis þat þei wenyn þat thei schuln gon oute of here mynde. But 3e þat ben þus tempted, answere þe fende aȝen þat he is

<125 to> myghtaly vnto Wo | seye thei| lete hem sey Wo | thei| om. W2D | Iob| þe holy man Iob D | manica in margin H3 | benefetis| many goodis and benefetis Wo, so grete benefaytes W2, mony grete benefaytes and plessurs D 126 we not] res. Ho | receyue...suffre| suffre and receive WoHo | ...and...disee] also dyseaces and suffer temptacyon D | diseis| dyseases W2 | ...and...disees/ added in margin Ch, om. Wo | ...And| and in most specyll D | on] apon D | diseis/ grete anguysshes sorewes and dyseaces W2, gret panys and sorow D | þat| of H3Wo 127 Ihesu| swet ihesu D | hymself...128 also] his blessed moder to have in erthe Wo, his blissid modir haue here in erthe Ho | on] in W2D | and| and also (he D) W2D 128 also/ the same W2D | And| and howe dysees ys the way to heuneywarde and H3, and thynke that to suffre dysease pacyently is þe next way to heuneywarde and D | þen| also om. W2D | 3e...not] ther may non WoHo | may...worlde| in thys freyle worlde may not D | an aungell| aungel ChJ3Ho, angel is Wo 129 þat| wiche D conformed| conserved Wo | in'] by W2D | but while| for doubtes as long as D | body...soule| soul and body Wo | soul} your soule H3 | 3e| they W2 130 troubles| trebles and temptacyon D | esys| helthe or plessurs D | not} weel also Wo | hath} haph not H3Wo 131 abydeth| abide yee Wo God| hym W2D | dreedes| veryly Wo, without doubte W2D | quan...nedeth| at your gret nede D quan} what Wo | veryly] om. WoW2 132 For...133 you| om. WoHoW2D 134 men| men or wymmen D | ther be þat D | drede] drede W2D | or}...135 vycious| by vysyons or W2D, vysyons or W2c 135 if} om. Ho | thei| thow Wo | sterynge| stirynges H3W2D | or...felynges| om. W2D grete...fret] feelyng WoHo | thei...136 anon} then they trust D 136 þat| om. Wo | the} the synne of the W2D | gost} quod non remittetur hic neque in futuro add. D | þanne} when WoHo, so D | fende| devil Wo | in'] a thought in D 137 hem} him Ho | it} they W2D | neuer| not Ho forgouen...saued| saued | now W2D, or W2c} (yet D) forguyen of theyr [respaces W2, synys D W2DWayc | þus] for thus D 138 þe...withinne} þe fende withb/ in D | hem} him Ho | and...sely} so felynges synne good W2 | afrayeth...139 mynde} makys mony good creaturys so fende þat they are lyke to go cleyne oute of theyre wytte D | þat/...schuln} to W2 139 mynde} myndes W2 | But... ben} and therefore all suche as be D | 3e| they W2 | answere| aghie to answere D | aȝen} thus agayne W2 | þat} and set to hym that WoD | is} as is he hath be ever and wil be Wo
fals and a lyer; it is his nature to ben soo. For the synne of þe holy gost, as clerkes sayn, is infenyte withouten repetaunce, and þat is quan a man wilfully be deliberacion wole not ben repentaunt, ne aske of God mercy ne forȝeuensesse of his synnes, ne wole not be turned, but wilfully departeth hym from the godnesse of God, and in this wretchednesse abyderth wilfully with ful consentynge of wil, and leueth and deyth þerinne. He þat dooth þus synneth in þe holy gost, whiche may not ben forȝeuenn here ne elleswhere. For he wolde not truste in þe goodnesse of þe holy gost by the vycious sterynges and as many mo as ony herte kan þenke, aȝens here owne free forȝeuensse of his synnes, and a man þat wil no mercy aske may no mercy haue. This is infenyte withouten repetaunce. But though a man or woman haue or feele alle þe vicious sterynges and as many mo as ony herte kan þenke, æzens here owne free wil, and alwey quan reson cometh to hem thei ben myspayed withal and fleen alwey to goddys mercy, it is to hem but preuyng and clensynge of synnes, þouȝ thei been often in the nyght and in the day now vp, now doun, as wrasteleris ben. And þouȝ þe haue | ony tymne vtturly fallen in ony synne gostly or fleshly, and lyen þerinne wilfully to goddys mercy, as clerkes neuer soo ofte it is to | in the and | or a of synnes doubtles it is to | hastely away hastely of | ðe synnes is doubtles he is to | asse wyll he is nat pleasid therwith he is | thei ben | þen they | myspayed withal | sory therof and his kynde | clerkes | gret clerks | with Wo \ 141 is\] it is D | infenyte...repetaunce] that a man wil nat repente hym of his synne never in al hit lif Wo | repetaeunc] any repentance D | be with Wo deliberacion | deliberacion and advisement Wo | 142 not...repetaunt) neuer repente (hym D) W2D ne\] of Wo | mercy ne] om. WoHo | ne\] for D | ne\] 143 not] nor wyl W2D | 143 turned] turned fro them D | hym] om. Wo | godnesse| mercy and the goodenesse of god Wo | God] bothe body and soule add. D | in] om. D | this\] his W2, this W2b not | 144 consentynge] consent W2D | and\] 145 þerinne] om. W2, into þat deshe depart hym D | 145 He] dowtrles he D | þat] þat Wo | whiche...146 elleswhere] quod non remittetur in hoc seculo neque in futuro D | whiche| as seith seynt Augustyn de verbis domini Wo | forȝeuenn | forȝeuensse [sic] H3 H3 146 here...elleswhere] om. WoHo | ne] nor W2 | wolde} wil WoWo2D | in] om. Ho | goodnesse... | hy] om. WoHo | and} nor W2, nor get D 147 forȝeuensse of mercy for D | forȝeuensse foryeveynes of the hol gost and aske foryeveynes Wo | and} for Wo, and therofe W2D | a man\] he W2D | no\] aske] have no mercy WoHo | no\] not H3 | 148 This is| for his synnes be W2D | is} om. H3 | woman| a woman W2D | and} WoHo | alle...149 he] thus Wo | 149 be\] þese H3HoW2D | kan} may D | 150 alwey\] om. HoW2D | hem] hym Wo | thei ben| he is Wo | thei| þen they D | myspayed withal} sory therof W2D | withal] with hem and he is not pleasid therwith Wo | fleen} fleeth Wo | alwey\] alwaye W2D, away hastely D 151 goddys mercy| the mercy of god W2D | manicula in margin H3 | it] dowtrles it D, is W2c | to\] but no peril but it is to them WoHo | preuyng] a preuyng W2D and\] or a W2D | of synnes] om. WoHo | synnes theyr synnes W2D | þouȝ yff þat D | 152 often] neuer sooo ofre W2D | in the\} om. Ho | in\} om. WoWo2D | And} om. H3 | þouȝ} yf D | ye} he Wo | 153 vtturly\} om. W2D | any\} to D | ey| lyen} haught abyde D | 154 consent] assent Wo | þan} ye than ought to W2, doutrls þen aghit ye to D | beeth] if he be Wo | God} of god Wo 155 forȝeuensesse} [forgyeuens W2, mercy D] with [as W2, a W2c] gret contracyon as god wylly gyue you grace W2bW2c | euere more] than W2D | fully} wilfully Wo | þat\} om. W2D
surmounteth all synnes þat euer were doun and euer schul be doun. [For þouȝ a man had don all þe synnes þat euere were don and euere shul be don], þouȝt, and seyd into þe day of jugement, and he were very contrite and asked God forȝeue\ne/sse, and mekely lowned hym to þe sacramentis of holy cherche, he schuld haue mercy and forȝeuenesse of all his synnes.

þe mercy of God is so gret þat it passeth al þeir werkes. And þouȝ somtyme ȝe heren speke or reede in bokes sharpe wordes and harde sentencys, comforteth ȝoureself and þenketh in comforte of ȝoureself þat alle swiche harde wordis ben seyd and wretyn to chastise synneres and to withdrawer hem from wikkednesse, and also to purge and pure Goddis specials, as is the metal in furneys, and of hem God wil make his hous.

And wete it weel, many wordis þat semen ful harde ben ment ful tendirly in good vndirstondyng. And þou some wordes ben ment harde as þe pleyn text spekyth, ȝe shul not taken hem to ȝou-ward, but þenketh in comforte of ȝoureself þat alle harde sentencys moun ben fulfillyd in the Iewis and Saraysyns. For the cristen þat wiln ben
contrite and truste to Goddis mercy, or haue a wil þat it were soo, þei schuln escapæ
alle perels, so þat þei schul not perishe but be saued. And þe Iewes and Sarazyns in þo
perils schuln perishe to perdition, for thei haue not þe strenght of baptym ne þe
precious oynnemt of Crystes passyon þat schulde to here soules yeue hyf and heele.
Off þis we haue gret examplæ and figure in holy writ, where þat Moyses ledde þe
childeren of Israel, Goddis peple, ouere þe Rede See. Moyses went afor his hem and
smot þat þe watir with bis þerde, and þerwith þe watir departyd and the childern of
Israel wentyn ouere saft and sound, and thei of Egypt perisheden and drouchen in the
watir. Be Moyses I vnidirstone oure lord Iheu Crist, and be þe þerde þat
departed the water þat þe children of Israel wern not perished I vnderstone his
passyon, and be the childern of Israel cristen peple. A man þat stondeth in disese, he
his holden to seken alle þe weyes he may to conforte hymself. Oure lord Iheu Crist
cam from his fadris bosom into þis see of tribulacions and temptacions to be oure
ledere. He goth befor vs, and with his precious passyon he smyteth away the perelles
of oure tribulacions and temptacions, so þat we schal not perishe, but it schal brynge vs to safte, þat is eure lastynge blisse. And þerfore syng we to hym þangkynges and herynges or preysynges as the childern of Israel deden. And þough a cristen man were neuere so wikkkyd ne so synful, and stood in the same sentens of hardest wordes þat ben wretyn, yet he schulde trusten to Goddis mercy, for if he wolde forsaken his synnes and giue hym to goó/d liff, he schulde haue grace and forþeuenesse, and the scharpe wordes of dampnacion schulde turne hym to mercy and sauacion. For þus seyth oure lord God in holy wryt be his profe te Ieremy: 'Þough I make gret þretes, I schal repente me of my wordes, if my peple wil repenten hem of here synnes.' 32

O behold the gret goodnesse off oure lord, and how pyte constreyneth hym, wurscheped and þanked be he euere! He is so good and so benynge and so ful of mercy to þe repentaunte þat he chaungeth his sentensis fro scharpe vengeaunce into forȝeuenesse, and of þe peynes ðeueth alegegaunces. He seyth also be his profe te Eȝechiel: 'I schal forȝeten þe synnes of ony man þat wþi with very contricion wil | drawn hym to goode.' 33 And þis gret mercy schewed oure lord
openly be the cyte of Ninuie, and also be kyng Ezechie. _Perfore_ dispere no man for synne, but alwey trust fully to Goddis mercy _bat_ so weel kan redresse alle our meschues and turne alle our woo to wele and our sorwe into joye. O _þou_ glorious myghteful God, _bat_ þus merueilously werkest in thy creaturis, quart þi mercy is brod and large _bat_ maketh þe to chauce thi sentence, whiche is thi wil and thi word! Blessed be _þou_, good lord, in all thyn holy vertues, for _þou_ kanst, mayst, and wilt turne and chauce alle our infyrmyte to oure beste 34 if we wele vs sel flee to þi goodnesse and asken mercy. But God forbede _bat_ ony man schulde ben the more bolde or necligent to syne wilfully or wytyngly by delyberacyon sholde presume to falle to synne by delyberacyon sholde presume to fall to sin.

But _þat_ ben tempted aȝens ȝoure wil, and wolde not be ȝoure good wil for alle _þat_ worl/d displesen God wilfully, but ben yled and taryed with peynful lougtes, beeth not afered of _þe_ fend nor of his affrayes. He his foule discomfited quan seeth

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199 be]| vpon W2D | kyng] the king HoD | dispere...200 synne] lette noo man dyspayre W2D 200 alwey] euermore D | fully] om. Wo | to] in D | Goddi] Goddis Cb | þat] wyche D can] and whyll D | alle] om. W2D 201 myschues] synfulnes D | to] into D | into] to WoHoW2 | þou] yee WoHo 202 myghteful] and almyghtyfull D, and myghytfull W2c | God] lord WoHo | þus] om. D | werkest] worchith WoHo | thy] yowr WoHo | quart] o swete lord that Wo, it is to se that W2D | þi] yowr WoHo | brod...203 large] (verry D) large and brode W2D 203 þat] whiche W2D | þe] yow WoHo | þi] your WoHo | sentence] sentencis Wo | whiche] that W2 is] before was bothe W2D | þi] your WoHo | þi] om. WoHoW2D 204 Blessed] nowe blessyd D | þou|] yee WoHo | thyn] yowr WoHo | holy] om. WoWoW2D | þou|] yee WoHo | ȝe can and may and wil Wo, ye can may and wole Ho 205 oure] yowr Wo | infyrmyte] infynyte Cb, infyrmytees W2D beste] moost prouyfte W2D | if] yff þat D | wele] wiln Wo | vs...flee] not flee from the but (euermore D) tourne W2D | vs] our WoHo | to] vnto D | þi] yowr WoHo 206 asken] om. Wo But] but for all this (thy W2) grete goodnes W2D | man] man or woman WoD 207 bolde...208 curtesy] bolder to synne or wilfully and wytyngly by delyberacyon sholdre presum to falle to syne vpon trust of thy mercy. And therfore our lorde is so myghtyfull I surely trust that every true courtesy soule W2, bolder to synne or wyllfully and wytyngly wythte delicybaracyon sholde presum at fall þe more to synne apon a trust of þi þat get mercy for doules all suche may knawe that for truthe þe pape may nott absolve them. And _Perfore_ oure lorde is so myghtyfull that I surely doe trust þat every true courtese soule D | or wyrynghom. H3 | or] and Wo | deliciaracyon| deliciaracyon and advisement Wo lord] lord god Ho 208 creaunt] creaunte or trewe H3, kynde WoHo | and curtesy] om. WoHo | be] om. D 209 hym] his goodnes W2, hym for wys greth goodnes D 210 But...211 worl/d] and as for all those þat be tempte agynce theyre wylles and wolde nott for al þe gooddes of worlde onys D | But] and as for W2 | ȝoure] om. Ho | wylde...wil not W2 211 þe] this W | ben...with] that ye be thus beggled and encembe by the fend with many W2, þat they be thus dyssaue and troubled by þe fend with mony ferfull and D | peynful] pensifull Wo 212 beeth not] be ye not W2, be not ye W2c | afered] aferayde W2, therof affrayed D | ne...affrayes] nor of his ferefull assawtes W2D | He...discomfited] for he is full sore [dyscomforted W2, accombred D] W2D | quan] whan that W2, when as D | he] om. D

208 creaunt] ‘surrendering’ (i.e., to Christ)
a man or a woman which he tempteth is not aferde of hym. Somtyme he feende cometh and tempteth a soule fiersly like a dragon. Somtyme he assailleth a soule rampandly lyke a lyon. But and a man strenghte hymself sadly in the godnesse of God and arme hym in his precious passyon, an hundyryd feendes, howeuer thei come, schul haue no more poure ouere hym than haue as many flyes or knattis. And herefore strengyt thou alle in God and eschewe ȝe not and beeth not abaysched to strengthe and arme ȝou alle in hym, for he seyth hymself in the gospel that he can for ȝe synful. Also in another place of the gospel he seyth that he cam for the synful and not for vengeaunce. He cam, the good lord, to be oure scheld and oure strengthe, and so letes vs homly with a meke herte take hym. And if ye fele yet ony dredis be ymagynacion or temptacion, or for wordes that ye haue herde or haue rede in bokes be ȝe which ye doweu of sauacion, þanne þenketh on tho wordes that Crist hymself taughte to a man and asked of oure lord who schulde be saued, for hym thoughte hymself it was ful hard to eschewe all tho poyntes that ledyn to perydicion. And oure lord seyd to hym: Crede in deum patrem omnipotentem;
'beleve', seyd oure lord Ihew, 'þat God þe fader is almyghtyful', 37 as who seyth, þer is no þing impossible to God but alle is possible to hym þat alle synnes may forȝeue and alle wronges redresse, and brynge soules to his blisse. And þerfore þenk weel þat his myght may do alle þinge, and his wisdom kan, and his goodnesse wol. 34 And trusteth fully þerto he wole saue ȝou and brynge ȝou to his euere lastynge joye quan he seeth beste tyme for you, for he hath bought you þerto ful dere with þis precious blod and peyneful deth. And I dare safly seye þat þer is non so synful a caytef þat is cristen or wolde be cristen þis day on erthe, and þough he were for synne in the seyght of God dampnable, and in the sighte of alle creaturis also, ȝha and were juged to be dammpned be alle scripture, and ȝhe wolde forsake his synne and be contrite and asken God forȝeuenesse he schuld haue mercy and forȝeuenesse of hym, and if he stode soo or hadde a good wil to stonde soo in þe tyme of deth he schulde be saued.

240 The myghte and þe mercy of God is so moche and so gret þat it surmounteth alle his lawes and jugemetis and alle scripture. And so oure lord Ihew scheweth vs be an example in the gospel of þe woman þat was | founden in avoutrye. 38 By Moyse lawe, þat was ordeyned of God, [sche] schuld haue be stoned, but þe myght and þe

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228 Ihew] god D | God….fader] þe father of hewyn D | almyghtyful almyty H3W2D | as…
230 redresse] and that no thynge to hym is impossyble but that he may forȝeue all synnes and redresse all wronges W2D 229 to[1] vnto Wo | is….hym] possiblite WoHo | may forȝeue may and wil forȝeue to hym that bileevith or is of trewe feith Wo 230 and] and so D | soules] the soules W2, þe soule D | to his] into WoHo | to] vnto D | þerfore…weel] thinke furthermore W2, then thinke moroover D 231 myght[1] myght and power W2D | þinge and] that W2, thynges þe ȝou(e 229 to) stoned to the deth WoW2, stoned to dethe D
Wisdom of God shewed to the Faryseyes here owne synnes that accused here, so that by might not for schame demen here but stolen awaye oute of the temple. Andoure lord theou demed here not, but he of his gracious mercy forsaeth here alle here synnes. And perfore be a man or a woman neure so synful and must thei fele neure so many bodily and gostly synnes al day rysynge and styringe withinne hem, thei schulden neure the rathere dispite of the mercy of God ne be discumforted. For her as meche synne is, her is meche mercy and grace, and the goodnesse of God knowe: that is to seye in the forgyuenesse of synne, quan a man turneth hym fro synne and is very contrite. But God schilde, as I seyde afore, that ony creature be the more recheles or bold to synne wilfully. But for the mercy of God is so large, we owen to ben the more besy and diligent to loue and plese God, for that he is so good and so ful of mercy.

God werketh lyke for a lyche suffereth somtyme the dode flesh to growe on hym that he hath in cure, but afterward he taketh awaye the dode flesh and
maketh the qwyk flesh to growe, and so he heleth þe man. Right so doth oure lord, þat is euere ful of benyngnyte and is makere of heuene and erthe, blissid and þanked mote he be. He suffreth somtyme a man or a woman to falle in dedly synne, but aftirward of his gret pyte and mercy he putteth to his hond of grace, and hem þat weren dedly wounded þoruȝ synne, he heleth hem and wascheth away here synnes in þe welle of his mercy and maketh in hem the quik vertues to growe, wher-þorúþ he þeueþ hem self. Oure lord God is also like a gardener, for a garden suffereth somtyme wikked wedys to growen in his gardeyn, and whanne the erthe þoruȝ reyn is moyste and tendre, he taketh awey the wedys bothe rote and rynde. And in the same wyse doth oure lord God be, for a garden suffereth somtyme in his gardeyn, whiche is manis soule, wikked wedis of synne growe, but quan the herte wexeth tendre be meknesse and moyste þorúþ contricion, oure benynge lord taketh awey þanne alle þe synnes bothe rote and rynde, and planteth and setteth in his gardeyn goode herbes and frutes of good vertues, and wattereth hem wþiþe the dewe of his blissed goodnesse, wher-þoruȝ thei schal com to euere lastynge blisse, joye, and reste. Now sethen þat oure lord God is so good, so piteuouse, and so merciful to synneris þat wilfully haue-offendeth hym in gret horruble synnes, ful moche more, as þe may weel wete, he is
Capitulum quintum

And ȝerfore gurthe no man aȝens the will of God, ne mercyle of þese maner of temptacyons. For the more a man or woman is tempted in this maner or in/ ony other maner aȝens here wil, and thei withstanden it, ȝat is to seye not with a
quemeful wil consentynge herto but mekely suffereth it, þe more thei ben sadden in
good vertues [and] profyten in þe syghte of God, þou3 it be hyd fro hem. But
parauentoer quan 3e stonden scharply tempted 3e þenken þat 3e ben to dulle and to
necligent in goostly exercyse, for þoru3 weikenesse of 3oure spirit þat is fortrauelled
3e seme þat 3e haue in wil consentyd to swynche temptacions as 3e ben tempted with,
but it is not soo. For 3e schuln vnderstonde þat every man or woman hath too willis:
a good wil and an yuel wil.39 þe yuel wil cometh of the sensualite, the whiche is
euere commyth to yow, ye haue alwaye whiles alwey haue alwey in wil co.
þouȝ it be hyd fro hem. But
...
And ȝoure good wil stondeth stille in ȝou onbroke, ȝouȝ the cloudes of yuel þoughtes stoppe aweye ȝoure sight fro þe felynge of ȝoure good wil, as ȝe may see be exampe of the sonne. The sonne schyneth alwey and is in his due place as weel quan we seen | it nought as whanne we seen it, but the reyny cloudes stoppen aweye ȝoure syghte, þat we may not seen it in suche tyme as reyny cloudes ben. And soo it fareth be ȝoure good wil, which stondeth alwey be Goddis grace vnbroken in ȝou, ȝouȝ ȝe fele it nought for trauaileuse þoughtes þat benymeth þe sighte of ȝoure knowleche. O ȝe Goddis childern þat scharply ben vexed wþt tribulacions and temptacions, comforte ȝe þat ben Cristen peple and in goðd wil to do weel, ȝouȝ ȝe go in the feir of tribulacjon and temptacion, drede ȝe not, for it schal be arettid to ȝou for no peryll of soule, but þoruȝ my goodnesse and the merites of my passyon it schal turne to ȝou to gret helpe and proufyte of soule.’

þe maner of alle these temptacions and the remedies þeragens scheweth oure sauyour to his apostle Seynt Petir in þe gospel wher he seyth þus: ‘Petir, Sathanas þouȝ ȝe go in the feir, drede ȝou not, for the flaume schal not dere ȝou;’ as who seyth: ‘Ȝe my chyldern þat ben Cristen peple and in goðd wil to do weel, þouȝ ȝe go in the feir of tribulacjon and temptacion, drede ȝe not, for it schal be arettid to ȝou for no peryll of soule, but þoruȝ my goodnesse and the merites of my passyon it schal turne to ȝou to gret helpe and proufyte of soule.’
asketh þat he myghte sithe the as who sifteh whete.’ In as myche þat Sathanas asked this, it schewed weel þat þe fendes had no myght to tempte þe seruaunt of God in suche troubles but be his suffraunce. And þat was openly schewed in the fondynges or temptynges of Iob, and þat he wold haue syfted hym as who sifteh whete. Taketh kepe: þe more þat whete is cast fro syde to syde in a seve, the more clene it is. Right so þe more þat a man or woman is trauelled with þe fendes aȝens here wil, þe more clene thei ben aȝfor God. And here be we lerned openly þat God suffereth not his seruauntis to be tempted but for here beste, but so þat þei schape hem to

withstonde þe fend as Goddis derlynges schulden do. But for as myche as no man may withstonde þe fend withouten the helpe of God, þefore of his helpe he maketh vs sekir and seyth þus: ‘I haue prayd for the, þat þi feryth faile þe nouth.’ And there þat a man fyndeth in his herte a good paciens redily to suffren all diseses mekely for his loue, not takynge heed of alle the fendis temptacyons and traueles, þat man þorúȝ the myght and þe grace of Crist berith doun þe fend, and he...
hymself preued þerwihith. And to suche men our lord seyth þus: ‘Þou þat art thus turned to God in pacyence, but if þou helpe to counceil and conferme thi brethern and teche hem to suffre as the grace of God hath tauȝt þee, ellis þou art onkende.’

Salomon seyth þat oo brother is a myȝt sent aȝens the fend. And þerfore thei þat ben sorweful and scharply trauiled, quan þei haue herd the good counceil of here brother or suster, thei owen to taken comfort to hem and seyth these wordes with Dauid: ‘O þou my soule, why art þou soo drery, and why troubelest þou me soo? Truste fully to good God þat is ful of merce, and to hym I knowleche þat hym I schal serue, be I never sorne in my lyve.’

Suche men þus ben traueiled and taried with scharpe peynful þoughtes and sterynes, thei owen to taken the councel and techynge of wys men þat ben goode and discrete, and be no weye þat thei folwe here owne wylde fantasyes, for þat wolde vтрirly schende hem.
[IX.] And in the mene tyme of suche troubles, þei musten ȝeu[e] hem to som good liȝt occupacion, and somtyme to redynge and syngynge the seruyse of God, and to other good dedes, and euere among preyeynge to God of helpe, and þat he sende hem strenght and pacynce. And þouȝ thei fynde in hemself no | maner of sweytynesse ne sauour to Goddis seruise, ȝet thei owten not to care ne ben heuy þerfore, for it is jnow to helthe of mannes soule þat he wolde haue reste and sweytynesse in the seruise of God. For in the doom of God, the wil stondeth as for dede, and so seyth holy wryt, which may not ben ontrewe, þat euery good wil is acceptid as for dede. Seynt Bernarde seyth þat somtyme God withdraweth deuocion fro preyer to make the preyer the more medulf. God wold be serued somtyme in bitternesse and somtyme in swetnesse, and bothe to we musten mekely receyue. And Aristotil seyth a resoun, þat with þe more and hardere traueile þat vertues ben goten, þe bettir it arn and þe more þankwurthy.49 But the soule is more trauailed with heuyynesse of herte and vnlkyng to serve God þanne whanne a man is in good lykynge and ful swetnesse and rest of soule, wherfore dredeles it is the more medulf. It was no mystraye for Seynt Petir quán he saw oure lord Ihesu on the hyl in blisse to seye: 'Lord, it is good vs to dwelle
here.’ But afterward quan he saw hym amonges his fomen tormentid, a womans word mad hym afered and soo sore in dreed þat he seye he know hym not. But aftir þat, quan he was confermed þoruȝ the myght of the holy gost, þer was no torment in erthe, ne kynge, ne prince, þut myghte make hym aferd. Right soo if a man be in swevenesse and reste of herte it is no maystrye to seruen God, but it is a maystrye quan a man is trauayled and oute of reste to seruen hym. But qwat trauayle þat a creature haue in the seruyce of God, if a mannes wil be good, and wolde þat it were weel, þe more mede he schal haue. And if a man wolde suffre pacyently til he aftir trauailis be strengthened of the holy gost, þer schulde no þat fende in hell haue myght to affere hym not gretyly. And þouȝ it be longe or he feele comfort, lete hym not drede, for oure mericyful sauayour woteth wel what tyme comfort is most nedeful to hym, and thanne fayleth he nought. And þouȝ þat lete hym trusten veryly þat it is al for his beste, þouȝ þat he knowe not Godd is abydynge. Somtyme the feelynge of swevenesse and of comfort is withdrawen from a man, for ellis he schulde
waxed proud and presumptuous or negligent and richeles in vertues, and ße ßeryor is withdrawn for the beste to helthe of his soule. And also hardensse and chirpnesse sent to a creature is ful profitable to the soule. For Seynt Augustyn seyth þus in techyng of vs alle, þat þe manere of God is þat quan a man is feble and newly turned to hym, to yeue hym pees and sweetnesse and soo to stable hym in his lawe and loue; but quan he is stabled and sadly set and grounded in loue, þan/ suffereth he hym to be al totrauailed, for twoo skylles. Oon is to preue hym and to crowne hym the more hyȝe in the blisse of heuene. And another is to purge hym of his synnes in this worlde.

**Capitulum sextum**


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good discreet persone. And þouȝ it com into here herte and mynde þat þei schuld be lore or in perell þouȝ þei wold beholde here counsell, thei owen to taken non heed in suyche þouȝtis and sterynges, ne charge hem. Take thei non heed of suyche ymagynaciouns or sotyl conseytes, for it may neuere turne hem to dampnacion the counsel of wise men | þat is ȝouen to hem for here sauacion. God seyth in the gospel þat if þe menynge be good of a manis purpos, þe dede is good. The thirdde remedy is this: þat for as myche as the fend eauileth faste to make a man dredful and sory, þanne þat he, to þe worchepe of God and in troust of his helpe, and to schame and confusion of the fend e and right in dispyct of hym, þat he strengthe hymself to be glad and mery, þouȝ it be aȝens herte, and drede noþing the fendis malice. For þe lasse gladnesse þat a man fyndeth in his herte, þe more mede he is worthy, so þat he strengthe hymself to be glad and mery to the worchep e of God and dispitte of þe fend. For holy writ seyth þat þe apostles ȝeden awey mery and gladium the jewes, Goddis enemyes, haddon schamfully beten hem. Also a man oweth to be glad quan the fend tempteth and turmenteth hym for thre skelles. The first is þat he is
turmentid of Goddis enemy. The secunde, for in suche tormentes and temptyng the fende scheweth þat he is ful his enemy, and þefore oweth every man to be glad þat Goddis enemy is his enemy. And the threde is for be suche tormentes a man is not only relested of the peynes of purgatory, but also it maketh hym to wynne heuene blisse to his meede. Iheu seyth in the gospel: ‘Blissed be thei þat sufferen persecution for rightwyssnesse, for here is þe kyn
g/dom of heuene.’

Capitulum septimum

Also oure olde enemy the fend and serpent is often tymes aboute to begyle mannes soule in many sondre maner. He cometh somtyme vndir þe colour of goodnesse to disseyuen hem þat fayn wold doon wel, and specyally of thre þinges I weele speke of. On is this, þat þouȝ a creature, man or woman, be neuere soo wel ne so ofte schreuen and in reste of soule, þe fend maketh hem to beleve þei ben not wel schreuen, and alle he doth to brynge þe soule to heuynesse. And somtyme þe fende be to myche trauayle and noiȝaunte maketh a man fully to forȝete somþing þat
he wolde seye, and þanne he maketh þe soule oute of reste tyl he bee eftesones schreuen. And þis doth he not for he wolde þat a man were often schreuen, but fully to entarye hym and to maken hym beleue þat he were oute of grace and bluyndet for synne, and þerefore he myghte not maken hymselfe clene. þe secunde gyle vndir colour
of goodnesse [at] the fende tempteth *with* is [his]. Whanne somme men or women haue be custom good sterynges and deuoute pouȝtes and felynges of meditacions and of contemplacions, of suyche parauentoire as ben solatarye, he wele þanne tempte hem to lothe here dyuyne seruyse [at] thei ben bounden to, or [be] werysom, and make hem to ben heuy *and* weersum to do it. For he steryth hem to wene [at] it were best *and* more plesyng to God to folwe here owne werkynges withinne-foorth of jinkynges and felynges þanne for to seye [at] þat þis wele þanne tempte hem to lothe here dyuyne seruyse þat þei ben bounden to, þat at somtyme þey ben so taryed and troubled to and fro þat þei weten neuere whiche syde is best to take. And þis ȝe may weel wete is þe fend, for alwey he cometh with taryenges or with false plesaunce. And þis doth he not for þei schulde occupye hem highely in contemplacion or in goode meditacions, but for he wolde lette and disturbæ hem herfro, and also he wolde maken hem vtterly to leue þe seruyse of God þat þei ben bounden to. The thredde colour of gyle þat he tempteth with *is* þis.

Whanne a man or a woman ȝeueth hem to honest solace to strenghte h[e]mself with ægens the fendis tormentes in comfort of h[ere] owne soule, þanne the fende | wele f. 110r

disportys is but synne and vanye. And somtyme he wele bryng to here mynde her fore-don synnes for to tary hem. This he doth for to drawe here hertis to heuynesse, for thei schulde no conforte haue but al care and trouble, and so to tempte hem to dispeir and to bitter þouȝtis.

But the remedies of these temptacions ben þese. As vnto þe firste, þat þe feende tempteth a man or woman, þouȝ thei ben neuer soo wel schrewen, hem semeth þat þei ben not wel schr\e/wen but alwey douȝten þat it is not ariught doon, or som [synne] is forȝete whiche thei seen nought, but take þei right non heed of suyche þouȝtis, no more þan þei wolden of a gnatte þat fleeth before here face, but þenken fully it is þe feende to lette and distrouble pees in here soule. And if so bee þat a man somtyme þoruȝ trauelouse þouȝtis forȝeteth somþing of charge þat he wolde haue sydde, þanne schape a tyme and be confessed þerof. And if he may not lyȝtly haue his confessour, þenke þat he wolde ben confessed þerof quan he may haue his goostly fadir. And in the mene tyme, crie God mercy and aske hym forȝeuenesse of alle his trespace, and troust fully it is for[ȝ]ouen. For a man is not so redy to asken forȝeuenesse and mercy þat þet oure mercyful lord of his grete goodnesse is more
redy to ȝeue it hym. And as touchynge the secunde temptacion, þat þe feende wolde lettre and forbarre a man fro his dyuyn seruyse þat he his bounden to and tempteth hym vterly to leue it, is þat he be þanne þe more diligent to seye it weel and deuourly, with grete reuereunce and right good avysement | or attendaunce. And if he seye his seruyse alone, he may quan deuoute þouȝtes comen, or loue with swetenesse vysyteth hym, or som his visitation of the holy goost toucheth hym, he may stynte of his seruyse for the tyme, and attende to þat, and aﬅer þat seye forth so þat his seruyse be not lefte ondoon ne vnseyde. And if he doth þus, it schal ben but lytel lettynge to his due seruyse, but he schal fynde comfort and eese þerinne. And þouȝ it lettre hym at oo tyme, it schal supporte hym another tyme. The thredde temptacion is þis. Whanne a man in comendable tyme ȝeueth hym to honest companye and solace in strengthynge of his soule, the feend putteth in his mende and maketh hym beleue þat it is synne and perel to hym, and not oonly þis, but also his olde synnes afore don he putteth to his mende for to tarye hym. But alle ȝe þat ben taryed þus of the feende with þese þouȝtes and sterynges, beleue hem not or charge hem not, for if it be so he say alone his seruyce and deuoutly and deuoutly Wo Ho | right | om. WoHo | avysment | a avysment Ho | if it be so he say alone his seruyce W2. If it be so he say alone his seruyce W2 460 his...alone W2 | his...alone aloon W2 | aloon W2 | aloon his seruice W2 | of...sweynnes| with love (and Wo) swetnes and WoHo | loue...462 | that it will please god with swetnes or some hye vysytacyon of the holy ghoost to vysyte and touche hym than shall it be but well done for to stynte of his seruyce and attende to that medytacyon for a tyme W2 461 or...hisj, and sumtyme bi WoHo | visitacion (v canc.) visitacion CB | of...hym2 | touchith hym of the holi gost Ho | toucheth| whanne he touchith Wo | stynte | sinyle [sic] W2 462 aﬅir [ar] than WoHo | [ar] W2 | [ar] to W2 | [ar]...463 seruyse | his service that it Wo 463 seruyse | seruyse that he is bounde vnto W2 | ondoon...vnseday | vnsayd or vndone W2 | ne | and H3, neither Wo | if...[as] in thus doyng W2 464 to vnto hym of Wo | to hym of Ho | duc | om. W2 | but | and W2 | comfort... ece] case and comforte Wo Ho | comfort | grete conforto W2 | And] for W2 465 at oo for the W2 | 466 comendable CB | conuenyable H3WoHo, duc W2 | hym | hymselfe W2 467 solace] dysporte W2 | in strengthynge for the strength and conforto W2 | the | and | and...470 not2 | his synnes [tofore W2, before W2bW2c] done and that he synneth in vayne spendynge the tyme for all suche temptacions gyue ye no chare for it is the ghostly enemy that so tempteth and troubleth you W2W2bW2c 468 beleue| to bileeve Wo | to hym] ther in Ho | and...469 hym] om. WoHo 469 his] rep. CB 470 beleue] he | be leue Cb | hem] it WoHo | ne...not2 | om. Ho | hem] it Wo | for | (for W2) neuertheles ye may be sure that W2D
alle þing þat is treuly groundyd in God, it pleseth God and not displeseth. Þefore Goddis seruauntis musten alwey grounden hem weel in God and don be þe counseil of holy cherche, and if thei don so, þei schuln neuer be disseyued. And in as myche as all þing hath tyme in Goddis seruyse, a man auȝte to tende to no þing, be it neuer so good, þat schulde lette hym fro Goddis seruyse. And also a man þat is trauieled and taketh hym to solace in dispysyt of þe feend, he ouȝte not þat tyme tende to þat þing þat wolde tarye hym, but he oweth to schape hym a tyme to crye God merce and aske forȝeuenesse of all his trespas and synne. Þanne ouȝte he to taken to minde þat þe firste mynde was but a taryenge of þe feend, for he þat is endeles good schulde rather stere a man to þenke on his synne in helpe of his lyf þanne in taryenge of his lyf and of his soule.

Capitulum octauum

Also þe feend is ful besy to men and women of tendir consyens to brynge in hem so myche errour þat thei wene þing þat is no synne or parauenture is weel don semeth to hem synne, and of a venyal synne maketh it to seme greuouse as dedly synne, and of þing of no charge maketh it to seme as þouȝ it were don in dispite of God or of his seyntes. And some the enemy the fend tarieth so gretly þat whateuere þing þat is D whiche þat is om. Ho it canc. is in Wo it... displeseth] pleaseth his goodnes and no thynge offendeth hym W2D | Þefore wherfore all W2, wherapon all D 472 musten] thei musten Ho | alwey om. W2D | weel sylf WoHo, fastely W2, surely D | God) gode H3, god that knowith al their entent Wo | don] thei must do Wo | þe om. WoHo 473 if] yf þat D | don so soo doo W2D | þei doules they D | And...481 soule] om. WoHo, and therfore a man that hath ben sore troubled wel done it is to take hym to dysporte in dyspyte of the fende and put awaye all other fantasyes and at tyme conuenyant to aske god mercy of his offences and to praye vnto hym for grace W2, and therfore a man þat hayth bene sore travelled and troubled well done it is for to take hym summetyme vnto dispore in dyspyte of þe fynde and put away all other fantasycys and then att tyme co...
thei doo or leue to do, thei ben so byten in consyens þat þei kan no while togydир haue reste in hemself. And alle þis the fende doth þorูʒ fals dreed and blynde consyens. But þe remedy of þis temptacion and of all other is þat þei gouerne hem be here confessour, or he some good discret persone, and rule hem fully after hym and not after here owne blynde mysrulyd consciens. For suyche a man as is þus taryd, if he folwe his owne conscyens, it were a gret pryde þat he wolde holden his owne wit betyr þan þe trewe loore of holy cherche. Þerfore a man þat wolde don soo muste nedes fallen into gret erreoures of þe feende and into his handys. And if suyche an errour of conscyence made be the enemy seye onto ȝou þat other men feele not þat þat ȝe feele, and Þerfore thei kune not dene ne þeue ȝou good remedye þerto, and Þerfore ȝe muste folwe ȝoure owne fantasyes, or ellis þe þenken þat ȝe an errour of conscyence made be the enemy seye onto ȝou þat þei muste nedes fallen into gret errour.

...
your herte, ne charge hem not, but putteth awey all sych ye erreoures | of consciens; as faste as thei comen to mende, lete hem lightely go. And if ony seye þat þei may not putten hem awey, thei seye not right. For whoso is in wil to do awey a fals conscience and errour, tofore God it is awey, þouȝ þer leue in hym neuere so many fals domes. And þerfore þouȝ a man haue neuere so many teryenges aȝens his wil in his consciens, he dare not drede hym, for dredeles God schal euere comforte hym or he deye. And the lengere þat he suffereth sych tarye nges, the more is he wurthy in the syghthe of God.

Capitulum nonum

And þouȝ þe feende putte in ȝou ony þouȝt of dispeir, or maketh ȝou to þenke þat in the our of deth ȝe schuln haue suych yuele þouȝtes and sterynges and þanne ȝe ben but lore, beleue hem not ne charge it not but answere hym þus, þat ȝe haue put fully ȝo(ur) truoste in oure lord God. And þerfore þouȝ he tempte ȝou wþiþ ony temptacions, þo[r]uȝ the myght of God and merites of his passyon it schal be no charge hem hevieth yow Wo | awey hem alwey Wo, away in as myche as ȝe may D | of and Wo | 501 lete...go] and let [them not W2, nott them D] tarye [ne W2, nor D] sinke in your soule W2D | if yf that D | ony] ony persone wyll W2D | not] ne can not add. W2, nor can nott add. D 502 hem awey] awey suche thoughtis Wo | hem] it Ho | thei] verely they D | right] truly W2D will] very wyll W2, veray true wyll D | do] putt D | awey?] alway W2c | a...504 domes] ony suche false suggestyon [tofore W2, before W2bW2c] god it is put awaye though they haue in them neuer soo false demynges W2W2bW2c, all suche false suggestyons of þe fende doultres it is clene put awaye though they haue in them neuer soo many of þem ayenst the wyll of his W2, your D conscience W2 505 he...not] 3e neede neuer to D | dare not] nedeth not to W2 dare] that Wo | hym] them W2D | dredeles] out of doubte W2, with owt dowt D | God] almyghty god W2D | schal cure] wyll W2D | euere] om. W2, fully Ho | hym] hym fully Wo, þem D 506 he?] they D | deye] with grett consolation and comforthe add. D | the?] am. D | lengere] lenger tyne W2D | he?] a man or woman dothe suffer heyre in this mortall lyue all suche vexacyons and troubles doultres þey are more they D | taryenges] taryenges agenst his wil in his conscience W2, vexacyon and trouble W2 | more] more meede Wo | is he] rev. Wo | wurthy] thankfull W2D 507 God] almyghtyth god and shall haue þe greter ioe and reward in hewyn D 508 nonum in margin Cb | Capitulum nonum] om. WoHo, the nthyn chapyte W2, Howe god doth chastye qwome he luffys also a swet narracyon of þe gret mercye of god. Capitulum nonum D 509 And] also W2D | þouȝt] poynþ Wo | to] om. H3WoHo 510 deth] yowre deth Wo | suych yucl] all suche yll D | sterynges] greuous sterynges W2D | þanne...511 lore] that ye than shall be but lost yet for all that W2D 511 ben] am. H3 | hem] hym H3WoHo | not]...not] noo thynge W2D | it] hym Wo, hem Ho hym þus] hym and sey WoD, him Ho, om. W2 | pur...512 fully] fully putt W2D, rully putt W2b 512 oure lord] om. W2D | þouȝ...only] for all his W2D, for all this W2bW2c | þouȝ] if Wo 513 temptacions] temptacioun Wo | þouȝ...myght] by the grete power W2D | þouȝ] þouȝ Cb God] almyghtyth god W2D | merites] þe mertyps D | passyon] swet passion D | it] thynke verayly it W2D | no...514 ȝou] to yow no perell WoHoW2, vnto you 'ano/ perell D
perel to soule, but to hym it schal turne to schame and confusion. And if any creature, man or woman, seie to soule ony bytynge woord or wordes of discomfort, taketh it meklely and paciently, and þenketh þat parauenture it is don þoruz temptation of the fende to distroben soule and lette soule, or it is a chastysyng of God for som wordes or for dede þat ȝe have don or seyd. For oure lord God dooth lyke a loynge modir. A louynge modir þat is wys and weel taught, sche wole þat here children be vertuouse and weel norischid. And if sche may knowe ony of hem with a defauȝte, sche wole þeue hem a knocke on the heed; and if thei don a gret defaute, sche wole þeue hem a buffet vnþird the scheke; and if thei haue don | a grettere trespass, sche wole bylasche hem scharpely. Þus doth God, þat is oure louynge father. He soule. And if thei doo a gret defaute he wole þen wyll he D giue hem a buffet w knocke hem on the heed w þat al vertu þespases, sche wole ȝeue hem scharpely. Þus doth God, þat is oure louynge fadir. A louynge modir þ for som word temptaciþ taketh it mekely he W2D trespaces a (moche W2, more D) greter trespas W2D defauȝte D he wole þen wyll he D with W2H3. For diþcomforte and dyspleasure W2D displesaunce (displau þeir hedes W2, þe hedd þat al vertu diþspases, sche wole ȝeue hem a buffet vndir the scheke; and if thei haue don | a grettere defauȝte, sche wole ȝeue hem a knocke vnto D displesaunce, and if thei doo a gret defaute he wole þeue hem a buffet w gret scharpenesse in sondry maneris, aþir þat the sundry defauȝtes ben; and if thei don grettere trespasses, he

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514 to...confusion| tourne to the shame and confusion of your ghostly enemye W2, all shall turne vnto þe gret schame and confusion of your goostly ennuye D | it om. Ho | if yf þat D seie| speke W2D | to vnto D | any...discomfort| sharpe or discomforatable wordes W2D parauenture om. Wo | þoruz| by the W2D diþroben sou| disturbe Ho, trouble W2D lettre| to lette Wo | or| or that W2, or elys þat D | a] þe D, om. W2bW2c | chastysyng signe to chaste yow with Wo 518 som| om. Ho | worde| wordes D | for| om. WoHoW2 | dede| dedye D or seyd| contrarye to his wyll (and pleasure D) W2D | For| om. Wo | dooth| doeth ful oft Wo loynge| kynde W2D | modir| for a W2D | taught her selfe W2D | sche...520 vertuouse om. Wo | sche| doules sche D | wole| wolde W2D 520 he| were W2D | vertuouse vertuously W2 | norischid| nortured W2D | if| yf þat D | knowe| of| perceive WoHo 521 hem hym Wo | knocke| lyttyll knocke D | thei...defauȝte the defauȝte be more W2, þe fawte be more D gret| grettere Ho | defauȝte faute Wo 522 sche wole| þen wyll she D | hem| hym WoWo2 | vndir| on HoWo2a | thei...523 trespass| he doo a grette faute W2, they do a grette defawe D | haue| om. WoHo 523 trespass| defauȝte Wo | sche wole| þen wyll she D | bylasche...scharpely sharply lasche (hym W2, them D) with a rodde W2D | bylasche hem| lash hym Wo | þus and thus W2, and doules accordyng vnto þe same maner D | God| almyghty god D | æt| wiche D 524 þat...þro from whome all vertue and goodnes cometh W2D | vertu| vertues WoHo | fro| om. Ho | He doules he D | special...525 chyldren| children than [sic] bien his special chosen that þei W2, children the whiche been his special chosin Ho | and his] om. W2D 525 vertuouse vertuously H3W2D | soule| þeyr soules W2D 526 knocke...suyche| yeve hem a buffet with stif Wo | the heed| þeyr hedes W2, þe heddy D | suyche| which Ho, some W2D | displesaunce...discomfort dyscomforte and dyspleasure W2D | displesaunce| (displaunce canc.) displesaunce Cb 527 gret'| gretter WoHoW2D, great W2c | defauȝte faute W2D | he wole| þen wyll he D | with| in H3 gret'| gretter WoHo | in| rep. D | sondry...528 maneris| dyuers maneris Wies Wo | sondry| dyuers D 528 þat...ben| the dyuere condycon of the defauȝtes W2, (per canc.) he dyuers condyconys of þe defawtes D | þat om. Ho | sondry om. Wo | don| yff amende bott dyet Doe D | grettere trespasses a (moche W2, more D) gretter trespas W2D | trespasses| defautis Wo, trespas Ho | he| than he W2D
chastyseth hem ful scharpely with grete duresses. And alle þis our e good lord dooth for a speyall loue, for he hymself seyth þat þo þat he loueth he chastyseth. O treuly, and we token good keep of these wordes, we wolde be gladere of his chastysynge þan of alle þe worlde cherysynges. And if we deden soo, alle diseses and trybulacions schulden turne to comfort and joye.

But it is ful harde in tyme of charpennesse, quan a soule stonden naked fro alle goostly and bodely comfort, to take and fynde joye in disese. But þei þat stonden in suyche inwarde duresse, thei must seke in all weyes of discomfort how þei mover comfort hemself in God, and þenke alwey þas it is for here beste, and trusteth fully þat God sent neure chastyng þat he ne sent comfort, be long tyme or be schort, where þeouȝt he brengeth hem oute of \here/ disese. þe prohette seyth: ‘Many ben the tribulacions of rightful men, and of all þo God schal delyueren hem.’ And þouȝt se fele somtyme steryng þan of alle þe worldes cherysynges, comfort 3e fele somtyme sterynges of dispeir or of vnreuerent þouȝtes, comfort you euere more in the goodnesse of God, and in the peyneful passyon þat his manhod suffered. And for as moche as þe feende tempteth many to desperacions and dreedes | f. 112v
of savacion, and specially Goddis seruauntes, and also worldly men and women the feend tempteth hem to dispire quan þei beholden here greuous synnes, and the goostly lyuere he tempteth to dispire be inputtynge of false dreadys and streyt conscience and be deep ymagynacion of predestinacion, and in moo sondry wyses þan I kan telle, and ful graciously God hath comforted and sent comfort to many þat with dispire hath be trauyled. And amonges all tho þat God hath comfortede and broute oute of þat errour I am steryd to telle of oon of hem, which was a squier þat hiȝte John Homeleis.

This squier þat I haue named had ben a synful man, and soo at þe laste þoruȝ the beholdynge of his synnes and be the feend temptacions he feel into dispeir soo deeply and so greuously þat he had ny lost his mynde. And þus he was traueiled fourty dayes, þat he myght neyther slepe ne ete, but wasted awey and was in poynt to spille hymself. But good God þat is ful of pyte and mercy wolde not haue hym lore. And on a day as he in ful grete sorwe walked in a wode alone, an aungel cam to hym...
in forume of a man, and saluted þe squier ful gladly, and talked with hym. Þanne seyde þe aungel to hym: ‘Þou semest,’ seyde he, ‘a man ful of heuynesse and sorwe. Telle me, I prey the, what causeth thei diseese?’ ‘Nay,’ seyde the squier, ‘it is not the to telle.’ ‘Sis,’ seyde the aungel, ‘þou wost neuere how weel I may helpen the, and thi diseese remewe. A man schulde’, seyde þe aungel, ‘alwey in discomfort and heuynesse discouere his herte to some creatuere þat myght ese hym. For þorȝ good counsel, he myght’, seyde þe aungel, ‘recouere bothe | to comfort and to heele, or in sum wyse haue good remedy.’ The squier answarde the aungel aȝen and seyde þat he wolde noȝt telle hym.

This squier wende alwey þat this aungel hadde ben an erthely man, and he dreedde þat if he had tolde hym, he wolde aȝenwarde haue seyde som word þat schulde vterly haue diseased hym. And quan the aungel siȝ þat he wolde be no weye tellen hym, he seyde to hym in this wyse: ‘Now,’ seyde he, ‘sethen þat he neyther coude ne myght W2 ne þat shuld vttirly have displeasid Wo seyde þat he neyther coude ne myght W2, þerefore he wolde noȝt telle hym.

This squier wende alwey þat this aungel hadde ben an erthely man, and he dreedde þat if he had tolde hym, he wolde aȝenwarde haue seyde som word þat schulde vterly haue diseased hym. And quan the aungel siȝ þat he wolde be no weye tellen hym, he seyde to hym in this wyse: ‘Now,’ seyde he, ‘sethen þat þe aungel tolde it vnto W2 And quan the aungel siȝ þat he wolde be no weye tellen hym, he seyde to hym in this wyse: ‘Now,’ seyde he, ‘sethen þat þe aungel tolde it vnto W2.
his werkes and surmounteth all synnes.' 'It is sooth,' seyde þe squier, 'I wart weel þat
God is mercyful, but he is rightful also, and his rightwysnesse muste nedys punysche
synne, and þerefor I drede his rightwysnesse in iugementes.' The aungel answerde
hym aȝen, and tolde hym many exaumples, how God ful graciously is mercyful to
synneres. But þis squier of whom I telle was soo deeply fallen in heuynesse and in
dreede þat he kowde take no comfort of þing þat he seyde. Þanne spake þe aungel to
hym and seyde: 'O,' seyde he, 'quat þat þou art hard of beleue! But wilt þou haue an
open schewyng þat þou schalt be saued?' seyde þe aungel to the squier. 'I haue here
three dises þat I wole þrowe, and þou schalt þrowe, and whoso hath most on þe dises,
sekirly he schal be saued.' 'A,' seyde the squier, 'how myght I in þrowynge of dyses be
in certeyn of my saucyion?' and helde it but a iape. The aungel þrewe the dyses, and
had on euery dee vpward syxe. And he bad þanne þe squier þrowe þe dyse. 'O,' seyde
he, 'certis þat dar I not, | for I wot wele, þouȝ I caste þe dise, mo þanne þo hast cast

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schulde I not haue, and if I hadde lesse þan þou hast, I schulde utterly falle in discomfort.’ But soo þe aungel spak, þat at þe last þe squier threwe the dise. And in the þrowynge, be Goddis myght, every dee claf atweyne, and oon eche dee was sixe, and so he hadde the double þat þe aungel hadde. And as he merueiled vpon this, þe aungel vanyschid oute of his sygth. Þo wiste he wel it was [an] aungel sent of God to brynge hym oute of his wo. And þanne he cauȝte so grete comfort and ioye in þe mercy of God and in þe goodnesse of his grace þat alle his sorwes and dredis wenten clene awey, and he becam þanne Goddis servaunt, and was a blissed leure. And quan he schulde departen fro þis worlde, he diuysed þat whanne he was deed, þere schulde be leid upon hym a ston wryten with þese wordes aboute þat folwen: ‘Here liþ Iohn Homeleis, þat of þe mercy of God may seyn a largeis.’ I knew a wurchipful persoone þat was in þe same abbey here in Ingelond þere as he lyeth, þat rede upon hym the

586 schulde¹...haue] may I nat cast Wo, can I nott do D | schulde l] rev. Ho | haue] cast ne haue W2 | if] om. Ho | I hadde] þat I do cast D | hadde...587 discomfort] shuld cast and have lasse than shuld I have more discomfort than I have Wo | þou...utterly] sholde I W2, doules sholde I D in} in to HoD 587 discomfort} (further dyscomforte W2, myche more dyscomforth D | soo...spak} thangel spak so Wo, þen þe angell dysyred hym so specyally and faythfully D | soo} so specyally W2 spak} spak to the squier Ho, desyre} and spak W2 | at...last] om. Ho | þe...dise} he toke þe dyce and threw þem D | þe...threwe} he cast Wo, he threw Ho | And} and so D | in} om. H3 588 the} om. W2 | þrowynge} castyng Wo | Goddis myght} the gracys myght and power of god W2D myght} grace H3 | claf atweyne} deuyded in two W2D | atweyne} in twyne H3, on twyne Ho oon} in Wo | eche} every WoW2D | deel} halfe H3 | sixe} the nombre of syxe W2, cast ypperde þe nowmber of sex D 589 so...haddel} \so/ hayd he D | the} om. WoHo | merueiled...this] was (gretly D) meruaylynge therupon W2D 590 vanyschid} (hadde am.) vanyschid Ch, vanysshed awey Wo, sodanly vanyshed awey D | oute} rep. Ch | Po...wel} wherfore he thought veryly [than W2, that W2c] W2W2c, wherupon he thoughte verraly þat D | it} that it Wo | an aungel} aungel Cb | sent} that was sent Wo | of} from WoHoW2D 591 his] this Wo | woe} sorowe W2, sorowful pame and trouble.D | cauȝte} toke to hym Wo, toke W2D | so gret} moche W2D 592 mercy...grace} godenes and mercy of god WoHo, grete mercy and goodness of god in suche maner W2D | sorwes...dredis} dreses and sorowes W2D | wenten...593 awey} were cleene awey and aqoo Wo, weren clene awey Ho, were clene departed (from hym D) W2D 593 clene} om. H3 | andi} and after þat D þanne...leure} a vertuous man and the very servaunt of god and lyued blessydly W2, a merelousel vertuose man and þe vera} true servaunte of god and so lyffyd blyssydly mony yerye} after D | þanne} om. Ho | leure} liver al his lif after WoHo | quan} when it plesyd god þat D 594 schulde¹] wolde W2bW2c | þat...deed} om. W2, þat D | þat} so that Wo, thanne þat Ho 595 be} om. Ho | leid...aboute} a stone layde vpon hym with these wordes wrytten aboute it W2D | upon} on WoHo 596 Homeleis] holmeleay Wo, holmes W2D | þat} wiche D | mercy} gret mercy D | may seyn} om. Wo | seyn} crye D | largeis} this is þe wrytynge vpon the same man his grace add. Wo | I} for I Wo, doules I D | knew} knewe H3WoHoW2bW2c | wurchipful} worthi Wo | persoene} man Ho 597 þat} wiche D | þere...lyeth} þer as he is buried/ Wo | þere} where W2D | as} om. Ho | þat} and he Wo, and Ho, wiche þat D | upon...598 seyde} the same wordes afose sayd wrytten on his tombe W2, þe same scriptur before rehearsed wrytten upon hy tombe D | the} thise same Wo

596 þat...largeis, ‘Who may give thanks for a liberal gift from God’. The more usual phrase to ‘cry (a) largess’ is to give ‘a call soliciting gifts or alms, or giving thanks for their bestowal’ (MED).
wordes aforne seyde. Now þanne, sethen oure merciful lord God, þanked and worchepid mote he bee, sent þus godeyly comfort to þis man þat was a wordely synful man, and receyued hym to his grace, and brouȝte hym oute of dispeir, þer schulde no man ben heuy ne discomforted þouȝ he fele temptacions of dispeir, for hardily God wole conforten hym whanne he seeth tymne. And þouȝ he sende not to a man comfort anon, it is for to eerne hym the more mede. And þenke alwey quan ȝe feele ony temptacions bodyly or goostly þat ȝe stonden in the blissynge of holy cherch, for holy writ seyth: ‘Blyssed be þei þat suffren temptacions, for whanne þei ben preuyd thei schuln taken þe crowne of lyf, the which God hath behiȝt to hem þat louen hym.’

Capitulum decimum

O ȝe childern of holy cherche þat haue forsaken the world for helthe of youre soules and princypally to plesen God, conforte ȝe in hym whom ȝe haue chosen to loue and serue! For he wole ben to ȝou ful free and large, as ȝe may see be exaumple of Petir in the gospel, where þat he asked oure lord Ihesu what reward e he schulde have þat had forsaken alle þing to folwe hym, and oure lord answerd e him and seyde þat he schulde iugen wity þe twelue tribis or kynredis of Israel at þe day of...
ME3
jugement. And ferthermore oure lord seyde also to hym þat all, not only on or too or

615

somme, but he seyde þat alle þo þat forsaken for his loue kyn or frendes or
possessiones, þat is to seyn hous or lond or ony other worldly good, þei schuln hauen
here in þis lyf an hundirt folde mede and blisse withouten ende. 72 Þerfore, suster,
caste awey all fals dredis þat wolde disturble and lette ȝou fro loue and hope in God.
For no þing pleseth so moche þe feende as to see soules withdrawen hem fro Goddis

620

loue, and þerfore he bysyeth hym þerabouten day and nyght to lette loue and
disturble pees in mannes soule. And on the other syde, nothyng confoundyth hym
soo myche as dooth þe loue of God, to see a man to sette al his desyr þerto. But þenk
not now as in discomfort: ‘Allas, I feele not þat loue, I haue not þat loue þat is soo
good’, and so be youre owne ymagynacion falle in discomfort and heuynesse of herte,

625

and þenk and | deeme ȝoureself lore, but put awey alle heuynesse and discomfort, and

f. 114v

þenk weel it cometh of the enemye þe feende to entarye ȝou. Haueth a good wil to
loue and to plese God, and prenteth wel þese woordes in ȝoure herte, þat a good wil
is acceptid as for deede in þe sight of God.

615 jugement] dome H3W2, dome. Wiche is vnderstand all þe worlde D | ferthermore … hym]
also oure lorde sayd vnto hym moreouer D | ferthermore] therfor Wo | also] om. H3 | to] vnto
forsaken] forsaketh in thys warlde D | kyn] kynred Wo | or1] om. WoW2, and D | frendes] friende
WoHo | or2] om. WoW2D 617 possessiones] possessioun Wo | þat … lond] om. W2D | þat … seyn]
or WoHo | hous or] or hous marked for transposition Cb | other … good] erthly goodes (or dignite D)
warisoun Wo, of guerdon Ho, more W2D | and] and after W2, and after thys lyue euerlastyng D
suster] yee friendis all Wo, good broder or suster D 619 all] all suche W2D | disturble] dissevere yow
Wo, disturbe Ho, trouble W2D | and1] or D | loue … God] the love of god and from the blissed [love
Wo, hope Ho] of hym WoHo | hope] true hope D | in God] of our mercyfull lorde god W2D
620 no þing] ther is nothyng that Wo | as to] as is for to Wo, as for to Ho | soules] the soules W2, a
man or woman D | hem] om. W2 | Goddis … 621 loue1] the loue of god HoW2D 621 hym]
hymselfe W2D | þerabouten] full sore W2, bothe D | lette … 622 disturble] lette and trouble loue and
W2D | loue2] þe love Wo | and3] and to Wo 622 And] and ryght so D | the] that Ho | nothyng]
þer is nothyng þat D
|
confoundyth] confoundeth nor dyscomforteth W2, confoundys and
dyscomforthes D | hym … 623 myche] so moche hym Wo | hym] þe fende D 623 dooth … þerto]
whan he seeth a man sette all his desyre to haue the loue of god W2D | a man] man Wo | to2] om.
Ho | desyr] love and his desire Wo | But … 625 owne] alas though ye fele not [that W2, þe D] feruent
loue of god shall ye by your W2D 624 Allas] seyeng alas Wo | feele] have WoHo | loue1] I love
Wo | in] into WoD 626 þenk] to thynke Wo | and deeme] om. WoW2D | ȝoureself] you D
lore] but lore WoD | but] nay nay W2D | heuynesse … discomfort] suche dyscomfortable heuynes
enemy WoHo | to1 … ȝou] om. W2D | entarye] tarie WoHo | Haueth] and lokith that yee have
alwey Wo, and euer haue W2, and euermore haue D 628 to] om. H3WoHoW2D | and2 … 629 God]
om. Wo 629 is] schal been Ho | as … God] in þe seyght of god for a good dede D | deede] a dede W2

284


And conforteth ȝow alwey in þe name of Ihesu, for Ihesu is as moche to seie as sayour. Þenketh weel þervpon and haue it weel in mynde, and his passyon, and also his holy vertues, for noþing schal put aweye so soon[ly] þese veyne dredis and temptacions and alle maner of fantasies as for to haue weel in mynde þe name of Ihesu, his passion, and his glorious vertues. Þese thre been schelde and spere, armure and strenghthe to dryue adoun the feende, be he neuere soo fersly aboute man or woman. And spesially to þenk on his graciously vertues, how God þe fadir in hym is al dyuynge nature, in whom is al myght, to whom no þing is impossible but alle possibilite; and God þe sone is al wisdam, þat all þing made and all þing gouerneth; and God the holy gost is al loue and bounte, þat in a moment of tyme all synnes may forȝeue. Not tho goddys but oo God in three persones, three persones and oo God only, in whom is al blisse and al glorye. He is so fair and bright schynynge þat all om. alle þe court of heuene wångell[w] wondern of his bewte; his glorious blisful p...
freedom and largenesse, pite, mercy and forȝueseness, joye, sweetnesse, and endles helthe. Suster, he is in alle oure tribulacions qan we clepen onto hym, | oure comfort, oure strengthe, oure helpe, and oure soules helthe. Suster, þis is ȝoure spouse, whom ȝe desyre to loue and plese. The gretnesse of his vertues, ne þe multitude of his joyes whyche spredeth into al þe court of heuene to hem þat ben þerinne, may non herte þenkne, ne tunge telle; the blisfulnesse of his presense may not be seyd ne wretne. Ioyeth þerfore in oure lord Crist Ihesu, for he hath bouth ȝou ful deere to brynge ȝou to þat blisse. And seith somtyme to hym with a meke herte: 'O holy God, in whom is al goodnesse, whos pite and mercy made þe to descend fro þin hyȝe trone doun into þis welynyge worlde, the valey of wo and wepyng, and heere to taken oure kynde, and in þat kynde þou sufferest peyne and passyon and cruel charp deeth to brynge oure soules onto þy kyndom. þou mercyful lord, forȝeue me all þe synnes þat I haue don, þouȝt, and seyd. Glorious trinite, sende me clennesse of herte and purete of soule, restore me with holy vertues, and strengthe me with þi myght, þat I move alwey withbstanden synne and all temptacions. O goode lord, conforte me with thin holy gost, and fulfille me with perȝȝt grace, þat I may fro hens forth lyue vertuosly and loue þe with all my myght, with alle myn herte, and with alle myn
soule, and neuere to offende the, but euere to folwe thi plesynges in wil, word, þouȝt, and dede. Graunte me this, God infinite þat eternaly schal dure. Amen.' Suster, if þe don thus, I hope it schal doon you eese.

665 And þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en with hemself as þouȝ thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocioun be maistrie, and I sey þouȝ ȝe fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocioun que þe wolde, be not þherefore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat s
grace þan some þat felen swetnesse and deuocion, and haue many comfortys, for betir were mekenesse withoute feelynge þan felynge withouten mekenesse. Þerfor, suster, suffere mekely and pacyenly whateuere falleth to you, and alwey haue a good wil to do as most were to þe plesynge of God. And quan any discomfort cometh in your herte be ymagynacions or be temptacions of þe enemy, haueth tho wordes in youre mynde þat often ben seyd in this writynge, þat a good wil schal be accepted as for dede. For and þe desire to loue and plese God and to be vertuouse, it is take and accepted as for dede of oure lord God, if þe folwe it to youre myght alwey quan reson cometh to you with desirful wil to don weel. And if þe haue felt comfort and swetnesse, þouȝ þe fele þe same temptacions aftir as þe deden afore, beth not þerfor discomfortide, ne þenketh þus: ‘Alas, it is comen aȝen, it wole neuer eawe ymageynacions. But conforte þow in God,
f. 116r

and beth glad þat þe feende hath | envye onto ȝou, for whiles þe lyf is in the body he wil entarye alwey Goddis seruauntis, for he is ful set ægens hem, with al malice and velanye to disehe hem in diuers maneris in al þat he kan and may.

[Seynt Augstyn seyth many maneris ben þe temptacions be þe whiche þe wrong eddere þe feende, enemye to al mankende, tormenteth mannes soule.]

And Seyn Gregory seith þat þer is nopinge in whiche we owne to ben so seker of God as for to haue taryeng and tormentes. And if a man seith þat bodily tormentes ben medeful and not gostly tormentes, he seyth nouȝt right, for dredeles þe gostly tormentes ben worse, more peyneful, and more ægens wil þan ben the bodily tormentes, and in so moche thei ben þe more medeful. And þerfore þat man dooth dishonour to God þat

688 and...30u] om. H3 | and...þat | Lord yowre wil ever be do and nat my wil but mercifully kepith me as I truste verily in yow. And if ye fynde in yow greate dulnes strong temptacioun and litil deuocioun or non so ye take it mekely as I saide before beeth glad so ye have a goode wil for dulnes Wo | envye...30u] grete envye to our hele Wo | onto to Ho | for...690 may| om. Ho whiles...the] as long as we lyue in thys D | whiles whyle W2 | he...689 seruauntis] he wyll alwaye trouble and tary the seruauntes of god W2, doules he wyll be ever more besy to trowble and tarry þe true seruaundes of god D |

690 entarye] serpentine Wo | alwey...seruauntis] goddis seruaunys alwey H3 for[ om. W2D | full] so fully W2D | malice his malesse and invye D | and...690 velanye] om. WoW2D 690 dise] disceive Wo, dysease and dyscomforde W2, discomforth D | in[ in all the W2D | in all om. W2D | he] om. H3 | and[ or W2D 691 many...temptacions] þe [sic] in many maner wayes temptacyons be hadde W2, þat in mony dyuers manere of ways temptacions dothe come D | maneris] om. Ho | ben þe] ther bien of Wo | wrong...692 feende] olde serpent the devil Wo, serpent adder W2D 692 þe feende] om. Ho | enemye bæc envye H3 | tormenteth] tormentynge H3 | soule] soule(s canc.) Ch | And...694 tormentes][ om. Ho | And...693 seith] and þerfore sayth sanct gregory D 693 in whiche] in the worlde whiche W2, in þe worlde þe wiche D | whiche] the whiche Wo | so] om. Wo | for...694 tormentes[ when we gaue [sic] these tormentes and troubles W2, when þat we haue thes temptacyons and troubles D 694 if a] yf that any D | bodily] sodainly W2 695 tormentes[ om. D | he] om. Ho, doules he D | right] soothe WoHo | dredeles] doules W2W2, without doth W2 | tormentes] tormentesmentys [sic] D 696 worse...ægens] more greuous and paynefull that come æynst mannes W2, myche more grevous and paynfull wiche dothe come agance mannisys D | verse] om. WoHo | ben[ the W2c | the] om. W2 | in...697 medeful] soo moche more be they [medefulW2, medefulW2c W2W2c, þerfore they be myche more medeful. And verraly þer be sum men in þe warld þat doth labore grety all þer lyue for þe goostly love with swetnes of dewycyon and þet can they never geyte it. And whye for þe goostly kepeys it fro them for þe more mede and reward in hewyn. For doules his ryghtwysnes is so þat he wyll neuer lett a man lyf here in pane all hys lyfe for his love bot he wyll rewarde hym double in hewyn abowe þem þat are fede all in swetnes of dewycyon wiche is vnto them gret ioye and comfort and vnto þe other gret payne and vexacyon. And sum doctors sayth þat þey wiche be here in thys warld se commeforth with þe swetnes of contemptacyon shall haue þe lese ioe in hewyn. Wiche doth compare them vnto a seruaund þat hayth taken hys wage before hande and þen verrally he hayth þe lese to resayve at þe yere ende. And therfor it is calleth a spyytruell glotony. Neuerþellesse I say norrt hort euery true goostly man is borne to labour for it pacently yf it please god to send hym it euermore preferryng þe wylls of god before oure desyrys for þat is þe moost lyse perfeccyng in all maner of thyngeys D 697 [sic] om. H3 | nota mark in margin H3 | þerfore dowtyes D | þat...to] many dothe dyshonor D | þat...dooth] many men doo W2 | dooth] that doeth Wo | to] vnto Wo
seith with a ful ysement þat þe fende may in this worlde more tormenten þan God may meden. Wherfore treuly þer is noþing more medeful, ne more goodly, ne more charitable, þan for to strenghthe and comfort the soule þat þe fende tarieth. For whoso conforte hem þat ben desolate, þe lord of comfort Ihesu Crist oure lord God wole conforte hem endingly in the blisse of heuene. The whiche lord, þoruz þe myght and merite of his payenful passyon and his precyous blood, felle doun þe poure of þe fende, and graunte cristen soules victorie ouere þe fende to þe worship of al þe trinite, fader and sone and holy gost, þat lyueth and regneth witbowtene ende. Amen.

Notes

The following explanatory notes refer to the superscript numbers within the editions. A single note may apply to one or more of the Latin and Middle English texts. The line numbers for each relevant text are supplied in brackets.

1 (ME3 4–5) Cf. Hebrews 12. 6; Revelations 3. 19.

2 (ME3 8) Job 23. 10; 1 Peter 1. 6–7; cf. section VII.

3 (ME3 12–13) Cf. II Corinthians 12. 9.

4 (Lat. 2, ME1a 1–2, ME1b 2–3, ME2 2–3) Hebrews 11. 6.


6 (Lat. 9, ME1a 12–13, ME1b 16–17, ME2 18, ME3 30–31) Psalms 93. 11 (94. 11).

7 (Lat. 17–18, ME1a 24–25, ME1b 29–30, ME2 22–23, ME3 35–36) Augustine, De vera religione, bk. 1, ch. 14, pt. 27: ‘Nunc vero usque adeo peccatum voluntarium est malum, ut nullo modo sit peccatum, si non sit voluntarium.’ (PL 34, col. 133.)

8 (Lat. 18–20, ME1a 26–30, ME1b 30–34) Isidore, Sententiae, bk. 3, ch. 4: ‘Qui passionibus animae insidiante adversario cruciatur, non idcirco se credat alienari a Christo, quia talia
patitur; sed magis per hoc Deo commendabilem se esse existimet, si, dum haec patitur, laudet Deum potius, non accuset.’ (PL 83, col. 660.)

9 (ME1a 32–33) Isidore, Sententiae, bk. 3, ch. 4: ‘Hoc quod ex passione tolerat ei pro virtutibus reputabitur.’ (PL 83, col. 660.)

10 (ME1a 36–37) Psalms 33. 20 (34. 19).

11 (Lat. 21–22, ME1a 37–41, ME1b 34–37, ME2 23–25, ME3 36–38) Isidore, Sententiae, bk. 3, ch. 5: ‘Non amplius tentat electos diabolus quam Dei voluntas permittit. Tentando autem, sanctorum profectibus servit. Etsi nolens, utilitati tamen sanctorum servit diabolus, quando eos tentationibus suis non dejicit, sed potius erudit.’ (PL 83, col. 660.)

12 (Lat. 22–33, ME1a 41–58, ME1b 37–53, ME2 25–34, ME3 41–50) Isidore, Sententiae, bk. 3, ch. 5: ‘Nunquam vacat diabolus adversus hominem justum. Aut enim tribulationes cordis illi exaggerat, aut dolores corporis suscitat . . . Saepe mentem justi variis vexationum doloribus vis daemonum cruciat; unde interdum usque ad desperationis angustiam coarctatur. Permanenti autem in Dei amore animae et ipsa talis angustia ad meritum proficit . . . iste non separatur a Deo, sed conjungitur, quamlibet atroci angustia ad meritorium proficit . . . multa justus adversa in anima patitur instigatione daemonum, sed talibus tentamentis perire vitae aeternae non potest, quia pius Dominus ad damnationem culpae non reputat quod de suae majestatis permisso nolens qui patitur portat. Nam ibi peccamus ubi cupiditate vel voluntate deflectimus. Ubi vero violenter addicimur, etsi facinus aut flagitium non est, miseria tamen pro flagitio et facinore est.’ (PL 83, col. 667.)

13 (Lat. 39, 50; ME1a 67, 84–86; ME1b 61–62, 74–75; ME2 40, 68–69; ME3 58–59, 95–96) Romans 10. 10.

14 (ME2 55–57, ME3 80–82) Cf. Ezechiel 18. 21, 18. 27.

15 (Lat. 52, ME1a 89–90, ME1b 77–78) Hackett, College and Chadwick (p. 213) suggest
that the Latin translation of *Ancrene Wisse* is the source for this phrase on the infirmity of the devil, but it seems rather to be widespread and can be traced, e.g., to a letter of Pelagius: ‘Infirmus hostis est qui non potest vincere nisi volentem’ (PL 30, col. 40).

16 (Lat. 55–57, ME1a 93–96, ME1b 80–83, ME2 88–90, ME3 121–24) Cf. Laurent of Orleans, *Somme le Roi*: ‘Li et sa meniere et sa complexion, et a quel vice il est plus enclins ou par nature ou par acoustumence, et de cele part il l’assaut plus fort: le colerique de ire et de descorde, le sanguin de joliveté et de luxure, le fleumatique de gloutonnie et de peresce, le melencolieux d’envie et de tristice.’ *La Somme le Roi par Frère Laurent*, ed. by E. Brayer and A.-F. Leurquin-Labie (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 2008), pp. 268–69. The same passage can be found in the *Somme le Roi’s* English translations the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, the *Ayenbite of Inwy*, the *Mirroure of the Worlde*, and Caxton’s *Royal Book*.


18 (Lat. 64–71, ME1a 108–20, ME1b 92–102) Pope Leo I, *In nativitate domini*, sermon 27, ch. 3: ‘Non enim desinit hostis antiquus, transfigurans se in angelum lucis, deceptionum laqueos ubique praetendere, et ut quoquo modo fidem credentium corrumpat, instare. Novit cui adhibeat aestus cupiditatis, cui illecebras gulae ingerat, cui apponat incitamenta luxuriae, cui infundat virus invidiae; novit quem moerore conturbet, quem gaudio fallat, quem metu opprimat, quem admiratione seducat; omnium discutit consuetudines, ventilat curas, scrutatur affectus; et ibi causas quaerit nocendi, ubi quemque viderit studiosius occupari.’ (PL 54, col. 218.)

19 (Lat. 76–77, ME1a 128–30, ME1b 108–09, ME2 81–82, cf. ME3 115–17) Ecclesiasticus
27. 6.

20 (Lat. 77–78, ME1a 130–32, ME1b 111–12) Job 23. 10.

21 (Lat. 78–79, ME1a 133–35, ME1b 112–14, ME2 83–84) 1 Peter 1. 6–7.

22 (Lat. 79–80, ME1a 135–37, ME1b 114–16, ME2 84–86, ME3 117–19) Tobit 12. 13.

23 (Lat. 82–83, ME1a 139–40, ME1b 118–19, ME2 101–02, ME3 125–26) Job 2. 10.

24 (Lat. 84–85, ME1a 144–45, ME1b 122–23, ME2 102–03) Job 13. 15.


26 (Lat. 87–88) John 12. 27.

27 (Lat. 88, ME1a 147–48, ME1b 125–26, ME2 105–06) Matthew 26. 38, Mark 14. 34.

28 (Lat. 88–89, ME1a 149, ME1b 126–27, ME2 106–07) Matthew 27. 46, Mark 15. 34.

29 (Lat. 90–93, ME1a 150–53, ME1b 128–31, ME2 111–13, ME3 283–86) Isaiah 54. 7–8.

30 (ME1a 155–58) Romans 8. 18.

31 (ME3 161) Psalm 144. 9 (145. 9)


34 (ME3 204–05, 230–31) Cf. Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, ch. 73: ‘Som of us leven that God is almyty and may don all, and that he is al wisdam and can don all—but that he is all love and will don all, there we astynten.’ Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love: The Short Text and the Long Text*, ed. by Barry Windeatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 149 (73/20–22). Julian uses this formulation to refer to the three persons of the Trinity (cf. 31/2–5).


36 (ME3 220–21) John 3. 17.


38 (ME3 241–46) John 8. 1–11

39 (ME3 296–312) For ME3’s idea that ‘euery man or woman hath too willis’, cf. Romans 7. 15–23; Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, ch. 37: ‘Ryth as there is a bestly will in the lower party that may willen no good, ryth so ther is a godly will in the heyer party, which will is so good that it may never willen yll but ever good’; and Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, Book II, ch. 11: ‘Bi thise two lawes in a soule I understond this double image: bi the lawe of the spirit I undirstonde the resoun of the soule whanne it is reformed to the image of God; bi the lawe of the flessch I undirstonde the sensualité, whiche I calle the ymage of synne.’ Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, ed. Windeatt, p. 87 (37/12–14); Walter Hilton: *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. by Thomas H. Bestul (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 153–54 (lines 498–501). A similar passage also appears in the *De pusillanimitate* of Pseudo–Hugh of St Victor; this passage is translated on its own in Add. 37049 (A) before ME2: ‘Dowbyl is þe wyl in a man, as þe apostyl says . . . als lange as þe reson wil not . . . þou sal not be demyd aftar þat felyng, bot aftar þe consent of þe reson and of þe wyll’ (f. 91r).

40 (ME3 313–15) Isaiah 43. 2.

42 (Lat. 101–02; ME1a 171–73, 174–75; ME1b 141–42, 143; ME2 127–28, 131–32; ME3 331, 335–37) Luke 22. 32.

43 (ME2 133–34, ME3 338) Proverbs 18. 19.

44 (Lat. 103–04, ME1a 178–79, ME1b 145–46, ME2 136–37, ME3 341–43) Psalms 41. 6 (42. 5).

45 (Lat. 110, ME1a 188–89, ME1b 154) Songs 3. 1.

46 (Lat. 109–11, ME1a 188–89, ME1b 153–55) Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob, bk. 5, ch. 4, pt. 6: ‘Abscondit se sponsus cum quaeritur, ut non inventus ardentius quaeratur.’ (PL 75, col. 683). The same theme is found in Bernard of Clairvaux’s Sermones super Cantica Canticorum, e.g., sermon 17, pt. 1; sermon 75, pt. 1.


48 (Lat. 114–15, ME1a 201–03, ME1b 162–63) Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob, bk. 20, ch. 31, pt. 61: ‘Eo magis exaudiantur ad meritum, quo citius non exaudiantur ad votum’ (PL 76, col. 173); cf. Augustine, In epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos, tract. 6, pt. 6: ‘Exauditus est ad salutem, qui non est exauditus ad voluntatem’ (PL 35, col. 2023).

49 (Lat. 118–19, ME1a 207–09, ME1b 167–68, ME2 148–49, ME3 357–59) Aristotle, Ethic, 2, 3; quoted in Aquinas, Summa theologiae, 1a2ae, 73, 4.
50 (Lat. 120–22, ME1a 213–15, ME1b 170–72) John 21. 18.

51 (Lat. 122–23, ME1b 172–74) 1 Corinthians 3. 2.


54 (Lat. 136–37, ME1a 239–40, ME1b 189–90) Ecclesiastes 4. 10.


56 (Lat. 142–43, cf. ME1a 253–54, ME1b 197–99) 2 Corinthians 2. 7.

57 (Lat. 145, ME1a 257, ME1b 202–03) 2 Corinthians 11. 14.

58 (Lat. 146–47, ME1b 204–05) Cf. Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob, bk. 5, ch. 22, pt. 43: ‘Modo quasi angelum lucis ostendit . . . modo in suis suggestionibus sub virtutis specie palliatur’ (PL 75, col. 702); bk. 3, ch. 33, pt. 65: ‘Sed plerumque dum contra hoc tentationum bellum fulciri magnis virtutibus nitimur, quaedam se nobis vitia sub specie virtutum tegunt, et quasi blanda ad nos facie veniunt’ (PL 75, col. 631).

59 (Lat. 151, ME1a 263–64, ME1b 209, ME2 202, ME3 474) Ecclesiastes 3. 1.

60 (Lat. 169–70, ME1a 293–95, ME1b 228–29) Matthew 4. 6.

61 (Lat. 184–85, ME1a 318–19, ME1b 249–50) 1 John 4. 1.

62 (Lat. 185–86, ME1b 250–51) Joshua 5. 13.


65 (Lat. 188–93 ff., ME1a 326–34 ff., ME1b 254–61 ff.) Pseudo-Augustine, *De spiritu et anima*, ch. 27: ‘Humanum spiritum aliquando bonus aliquando malus assumit spiritus; nec facile discerni potest a quo spiritu assumatur, nisi quia bonus instruit, et malus fallit. Fallit autem saepe in manifestis bonis, ut cum sibi in eis creditum fuerit, ad sua seducat. Sic plerumque humanum spiritum rapit, ut quadam occulta mixtura quasi idem spiritus esse videatur, et spiritus patientis et spiritus vexantis, ut in daemoniacis videmus. Animam tamen hominis, id est mentem, nulla creatura juxta substantiam implere potest, nisi sola Trinitas. Implere autem dicitur satanas mentem alicujus et principale cordis, non ingrediens quidem in eum et in sensum ejus; sed fraudae et iniquitate, atque omni malitia illum alliciens, atque seducens affectu malitiae, trahit per cogitaciones et incentiva vitiorum, quibus ipse plenus est, utpote fallax, nequam et fraudulentus deceptor animarum.’ (PL 40, col. 799.)


68 (Lat. 208–09, ME1a 358–60, ME1b 280) The hymn ‘Cultor Dei memento,’ from Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon* (PL 59, col. 840). This hymn was sung during Lent and was
also associated with exorcism: see Bazire and Colledge, *Chastising*, pp. 297–98.

69 (ME3 530) Revelations 3. 19.

70 (Lat. 214–15, ME1a 50–51, ME1b 287–89, ME2 227, ME3 539–40) Psalms 33. 20 (34. 19).

71 (ME3 605–07) James 1. 12.


73 (ME2 229–30, ME3 691–92) The translator of ME2 probably identifies St Augustine here because of the phrase 'quam miris modis', which Augustine uses frequently in his writings.

74 (ME2 231–32, ME3 693–94) This addition in ME2 is attributed to Gregory the Great, perhaps in reference to the *Moralia in Iob*, bk. 9, ch. 45, pt. 69: 'Saepe ergo mens justi, ut magis secura sit, altius trepidat.' (PL 75, col. 897.)

75 (Lat. 216–62, ME1a 374–457, ME1b 290–348) This final section is an excerpt from *Stimulus amoris*, of which the ‘minor’ version was written by the Franciscan James of Milan in the thirteenth century, and the longer ‘major’ version is an anonymous compilation. The section here corresponds to chapter 6 in the minor text or book 3, chapter 12 in the major I text, entitled ‘Quod tentationes sunt utiles servis Dei’. In the contemporary Middle English translation of *Stimulus amoris* major I, *The Prickynge of Love*, it appears as chapter 22, ‘That temptaciouns are nedful and profitable’. For this chapter in the minor text, see James of Milan, *Stimulus Amoris*, Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi, IV (Quaracchi [Florence]: Collegii S. Bonaventurae), pp. 28–31; for the major I text, see S. R. E. Cardinalis S. Bonaventurae . . . *Opera Omnia*, ed. by A. C. Peltier, 15 vols (Paris: L. Vivès, 1864), XII, pp. 688–89; for the *Prickynge*, see Harold Kane, *The Prickynge of Love*, Elizabethan & Renaissance Studies, 92:10, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983), I, pp. 163–66.
76 (Lat. 229–30, ME1a 397–98, ME1b 308–10) Cf. II Samuel 17. 18–19.


78 (Lat. 258, ME1a 447–48, ME1b 342–43) Matthew 8. 8.

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302


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