

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

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Abstract

This thesis provides a critical edition of four Middle English versions of *De remediis contra temptationes* 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 *olim* 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.

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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 prouffyttable 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

W2 *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

DIMEV *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by L. R. Mooney, D. W. Mosser, and E. Solopova <<http://www.dimev.net>>

DR *De remediis contra temptationes*

EETS Early English Text Society

Hodnett E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480–1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973)

IMEP *Index of Middle English Prose*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 1984–)

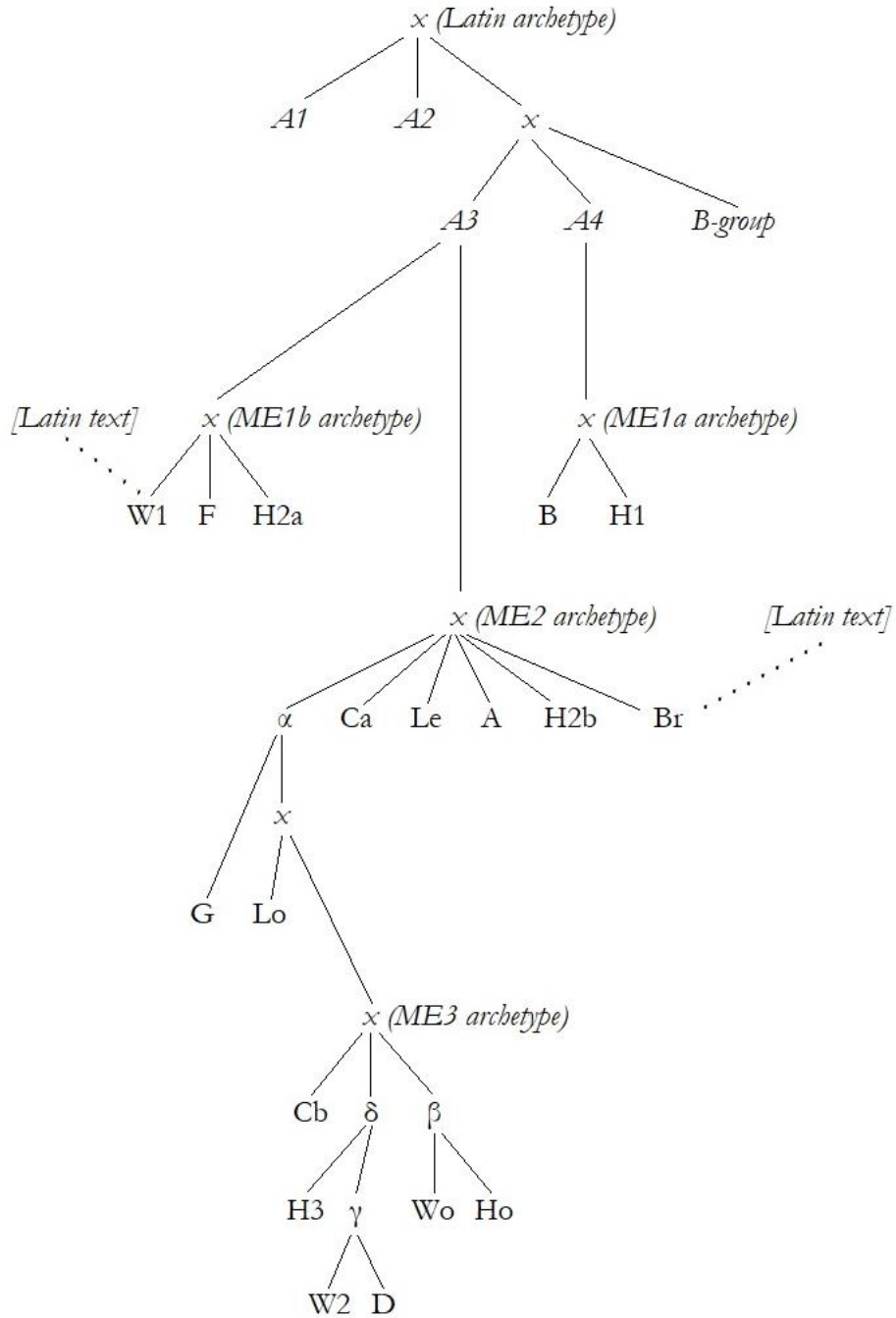
IPMEP R. E. Lewis, N. F. Blake, and A. S. G. Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (New York: Garland, 1985)

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

- LALME *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. by A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and M. Benskin, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985)
<<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>>
- McKerrow Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913)
- 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–)
- NIMEV *A New Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. by J. Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (London: British Library, 2005)
- PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Migne, 1844–91)
<<http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>>; citations from the *Patrologia Latina* refer to the volume and column.
- SA *Stimulus amoris*
- STC *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, ed. by A. W. Pollard et al., 2nd rev. edn, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
- YW C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and his Followers*, 2 vols (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1896)

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 temptationes (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 reluctando 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 *Moralia 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.³ Hackett's article of 1961 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*' draws on an earlier biographical account of Flete by Aubrey Gwynn.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ My new edition of ME3 in this thesis is nevertheless justified for both practical and critical

³ Benedict Hackett, 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*', in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, ed. by J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Lochlainn, 1961), pp. 330–48; Benedict Hackett, Eric Colledge, and Noel Chadwick, 'William Flete's "De Remediis Contra Temptaciones" in its Latin and English Recensions: The Growth of a Text', *Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (1964), 210–30; and Edmund (Eric) Colledge and Noel Chadwick, 'Remedies Against Temptations: The Third English Version of William Flete', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pieta*, 5 (1968), 201–40.

⁴ Aubrey Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 139–210.

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.

⁶ Carl Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church, and his Followers* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1896), II, pp. 106–23.

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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.¹¹ Diekstra

⁷ Noel Allan Chadwick, 'The English Versions of *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*' (unpublished BA thesis, University of Liverpool, 1963).

⁸ Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 211.

⁹ Benedict Hackett, *William Flete, O.S.A., and Catherine of Siena: Masters of Fourteenth Century Spirituality* (Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1992). See 'William Flete', pp. 73–78, and 'Catherine of Siena and William of England', pp. 79–106. The former is a reprint of part of Hackett's earlier article 'William Flete', in *The Month*, 26 (1961), 69–80; this article also forms the basis of the collection's introduction to *DR* on pp. 119–26. The latter is a reprint of an earlier address by Hackett: 'Catherine of Siena and William of England: A Curious Partnership (General Address to the Fifth Mid-Atlantic States Conference on Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies at Villanova University, October 3, 1980)', *Proceedings of the Patristic, Mediaeval and Renaissance Conference*, 5 (1980), 29–47.

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 Remedy Azens Spirituel Temptacions: 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 *Disce mori*.¹²

Flete's *De Remediis Contra Temptationes* and Pseudo-Hugh of St Victor's *De Pusillanimitate* in London BL MS Royal 18.A.X', *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 76.4 (1995), 307–54.

¹² Other scholarship on *DR* includes the following: Nicholas Watson, 'Despair', in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. by James Simpson and Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 342–57, traces a continuity between the conception of religious despair in *DR* and in early Protestant literature; Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti, 'Vernacular Authorship in Late Medieval Religious Discourse: The Case of William Flete's *Remedies against Temptations*', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 1.1 (2012), 59–72, examines the construction of author and audience in the epistolary stylistic features of ME3; Catherine Innes-Parker, 'The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*: Translations, Adaptation, Influences and Audience, with Special Attention to Women Readers', in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 145–73, surveys the circulation of the ME versions and notes the shared audience between these and other texts that use *Ancrene Wisse*'s mother-God image; Catherine Innes-Parker, 'Bodleian Library MS Holkham Miscellany 41 and the Modelling of Women's Devotion', in *Devotional Literature and Practice in Medieval England: Readers, Reading, and Reception*, ed. by Kathryn Vulić, Susan Uselmann, and C. Annette Grisé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 237–66, discusses the modeling of devotion for female readers in ME3. *DR* has also received some attention in surveys of vernacular religious literature, including Vincent Gillespie, 'Anonymous Devotional Writings', in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 127–49; Michael G. Sargent, 'Minor Devotional Writings', in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 147–75; Samuel Fanous and Vincent Gillespie, *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 197. Besides the editions already noted, versions of *DR* have appeared in print in Clare Kirchberger, 'Strength Against Temptations: Being an Extract from *De Remediis Contra Tentationes* by William Flete, Translated by Walter Hilton', *Life of the Spirit*, 5.49, 51 (1950), 20–26, 120–25, which is a modernised version of ME1a from B, without critical apparatus and lacking the *SA* section; and Robert Boenig, 'The Profits of Tribulation and The Remedy against the Troubles of Temptation: Translations from the Middle English', *Studia Mystica*, 17 (1996), 222–64, which is a modern English translation of ME3, from Horstmann.

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 li.6.30. This is an early fifteenth-century theological compilation apparently copied in an Augustinian religious house, possibly in East Anglia.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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

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'.

¹⁴ See Hackett, 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*', pp. 332–34.

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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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 Lecceto, near Siena. From Lecceto 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.¹⁸

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 *Prickyngge 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 *Prickyngge*. Clark agrees that 'there is indeed nothing in the style or specific theological presentation of the English version of *De Remediis* in Harley 2409 to support the ascription of the translation to Hilton' (p. 105).

¹⁷ The following account derives from Hackett, 'William Flete' and 'Catherine of Siena and William of England' in *William Flete, O.S.A., and Catherine of Siena*, pp. 73–106; Hackett, 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*'; and Gwynn, pp. 139–210.

¹⁸ *I miracoli di Caterina di Jacopo da Siena di Anonimo Fiorentino a cura di Francesco Valli*, quoted and trans. by Hackett, *William Flete, O.S.A., and Catherine of Siena*, p. 74.

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 familiare’ 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.

¹⁹ These writings are translated and discussed in Hackett, *William Flete, O.S.A., and Catherine of Siena*, pp. 139–221. The letters to England and to the rulers of Siena are edited in M.H. Laurent, ‘De litteris ineditis Fr. Willelmi de Fleete’, *Analecta Augustiniana*, 18 (1942), 303–27. The other works are edited in R. Fawtier, ‘Catheriniana’, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire*, 34 (1914), 3–95. See Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 769–70 (no. 2053).

²⁰ Jolliffe I.7.

²¹ Hackett, ‘William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*’, pp. 336–37.

²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

2.2 Manuscripts and Textual History

Hackett identifies twenty-two surviving manuscripts of the Latin *DR*, as well as five untraced manuscripts from medieval library catalogues.²⁶ He classifies the Latin texts into an A-group and B-group.²⁷ 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.²⁸

²³ Hackett, 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*', pp. 335–37. The three *DR* manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Nationale were procured from England by Charles, Duke of Orleans, c. 1415–40 (pp. 344–45).

²⁴ Hackett, 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*', p. 337 n. 25. The earliest manuscript is MS Add. 34763. Hackett also notes that an inclusion of a few lines from *DR* in the Latin compilation *Speculum christiani* provides evidence for dating, but recent scholarship has dated the *Speculum christiani* closer to the turn of the century than to the previously suggested 1360–70. See Vincent Gillespie, 'The Evolution of the *Speculum Christiani*', in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 39–62.

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 untraced 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 untraced 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.6.30²⁹
- A2 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.3³⁰
Oxford, St John's College, MS 77³¹
- A3 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.6.44³²
London, British Library, MS Harley 4887³³
- A4 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.1.14³⁴
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 43³⁵
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 97³⁶
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'.³⁷ It retains two lines in section II that

202; Lincoln, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 125; London, British Library, MS Add. 34763; London, British Library, MS Lansd. 385; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 460; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 630; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat.th.d.27; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 497.

²⁹ Described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856), v. 3, pp. 528–30.

³⁰ *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, v. 3, pp. 498–99.

³¹ A theological miscellany presented to Exeter College, Oxford, by John Dygon of Sheen Charterhouse (1435–c. 1460) and Joan, an anchoress at St Botolph, London. See detailed description in Ralph Hanna, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 100–05.

³² An early fifteenth century compilation of Augustinian texts and tracts on the sacraments, 'from Norwich Cathedral Priory' (Hackett). *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, v. 2, pp. 539–40.

³³ *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1808), v. 3, pp. 214–15.

³⁴ A theological compilation made c. 1450 by a Yorkshire chaplain. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, v. 2, pp. 295–300.

³⁵ Falconer Madan, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), v. 5, p. 326 (S.C. 27662).

³⁶ Madan, et al., v. 2 pt. 2, pp. 826–27 (S.C. 4070).

³⁷ Hackett, 'William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*', p. 338.

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 sit 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 . . . suauitatis’ (123–24) and ‘sicut ait Gregorius . . . palliat’ (146–47), and corrupt readings, such as ‘siue maiestis permissum’ for ‘sue maiestatis permissione’ (31), ‘furorem’ 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 ‘tortuouse 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.⁴² 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.⁴³ This is followed by two quotations from Gregory's *Homiliae in Ezechielem*⁴⁴ and *Moralia in Job*⁴⁵ on temptation experienced by people advanced in contemplation, and then short quotations from Venturino and from Bede's *Homiliae*, II, 7.⁴⁶ 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'.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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'.⁴⁹ 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*.⁵⁰ Finally, there is a quotation from the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaem* of

⁴² Ch. 6, 18–25. Arne Jönsson, *Alfonso of Jaén: His Life and Works with Critical Editions of the 'Epistola Solitarii', the 'Informaciones' and the 'Epistola Serui Christi'* (Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press, 1989), pp. 154–55.

⁴³ Thomas Kaeppli, '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 doleas 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, pt. 43; PL 75, col. 658.

⁴⁶ PL 94, col. 163–64.

⁴⁷ Bridget of Sweden., *Revelaciones*, ed. by Carl-Gustaf Undhagen, Birger Bergh, and Ann-Mari Jönsson, 3 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1977–2001), Book III, pp. 146–47; Book II, pp. 113–14.

⁴⁸ Kaeppli, p. 197.

⁴⁹ PL 159, col. 620; *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. by R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 53.

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.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 97,⁵² 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 *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

⁵¹ PG 56, col. 706; also found translated in the *Book for a Simple and Devout Woman*, ch. 16.

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 *De Remediis 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 dredis on þe toþer syde, þat hym thinkes it a huge turment and vnsufferabyll 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 oper 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 nozt 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 oper, þat if þai anes tryst in þame þat þai ar gude and haly, þan he ledes þame thurgh vndescrecioun 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 nozt / Criste es with vs þat hase vs boght / þou wicked fend withowten lyght / Cristes crose þe dampnez 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, anguysceþ,

⁵³ DIMEV 1541 (NIMEV 932.99).

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 gospels: Qui se exaltat humiliabitur et qui se humiliat exaltabitur; þat es: "He þat hies hymself, he sall be made law; and he þat lawez 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 hauez 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 actuell 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 his seintis*' (12–13); 'iche gilt is do bi wille, or ellys of vnknowyng, *and if a man wil not knowe ne desirþ not to knowe of his froward wille*' (56–58); 'þe philosophre, *þat is to seyn þe louer of wysdom or ellis þe wise man*' (167–68). ME1b identifies quotations of psalms and the apostle Paul, and at 280–83 both identifies that 'O tortuose serpens' is an 'ympne 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 ymaginata concepta, erronea vel feda, id est blaphemias, visa vel audita, non curare' (7–8) as 'þe first rewle of wythsettyng þe fend in fondynggis is to zeue non fors of non fondyngis, of no thouth of non errour, of non dispit, ne of non fals leuyng, ne fantasiys, ne of non trauaylis of þe fend, qweþhir so a man heer hem, see hem, think 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 seyð, God takith oonly heed at a mannys wil and nouth at a mannys traualous 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 aspyth 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 dredles qwan it verrily nedith, he schal not faliyn 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 sauour 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 3owyn for here sauacioun. God seith in þe gospel, if þe meenyge 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 turmens 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 helpe of his liff þan in tarye of 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 dredles God schal comforyn 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 despire. And al þat tyme the soule, þogh he perceyue hit nat, dwelleth still in þe drede and loue of God. (cf. 25–27)⁵⁵

ME3 And it falleth somtyme þat þe fende tempteth and trauaileth a rightful soule so scharply þat it is ouereleid with care and dreuen to dispeir. Al þat tyme, þou3 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 3et þe sely soules knowliche is hid be þat turment’, an assertion

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 3e 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 forbode 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 euery 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, ‘þou3 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 necligent 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 þou3tes 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 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), pp. 153–54 (l. 499).

⁵⁷ The similarity to *De pusillanimitate* is pointed out by Diekstra, p. 319 n. 54, 325.

bounden to, or [be] werysom, 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 werkynges 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)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 ‘paraurenture’, ‘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 office 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 þou3tes comen, or loue with swetnesse vysyteth hym, or som hi3 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

⁵⁸ The witness Wo (copied for a London layman) uses even more positive language: ‘whan sum men and wymmen han bi *goode* custom *goode* styrynges . . . of *goode* 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.⁵⁹ 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 dreedydys 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 þoru3 the beholdyng 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 rightwysnesse in iugementes" (573–75). 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 claf 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

⁵⁹ For the transmission of *Ancrene Wisse*'s metaphor of God as mother, see Catherine Innes-Parker, 'The Legacy of *Ancrene Wisse*: Translations, Adaptation, Influences and Audience, with Special Attention to Women Readers', in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 145–73.

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 þou3 thi wolde haue swetnesse and deuocion be maistrie, and I sey 3ou, 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 wrytinges' (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 3e childern of holy cherche þat haue forsaken the worlde for helthe of youre soules and princypally to plesen God, comforte 3e in hym whom 3e 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 'inputtyng 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 3eue hem to som good li3t ocupacion, and somtyme to redyng and syngyng the seruyse of God, 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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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.

⁶¹ *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), p. 36. One of Sibyl de Felton's manuscripts contains a unique text, *The Cleansing of Man's Soul*, which refers to a book 'cleped amonges 3ow þe chastising of goddes children'.

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

⁶² Hackett, 'William Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones', pp. 344–45.

⁶³ Bella Millett has discussed how this utilitarian function lies behind the similar variability of *Ancrene Wisse*, for example: Bella Millett, 'Mouvance and the Medieval Author: Re-Editing *Ancrene Wisse*', in *Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 9–20 (p. 13).

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).

⁶⁵ See Nicholas Watson, ‘Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel’s Constitutions of 1409’, *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64. For a recent revisiting of Watson’s arguments on the significance of this date for the production of vernacular theology, see the essays in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

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 Remedie Azens Spirituel Temptacions* and is addressed to a woman concerned with religious scruples. Diekstra’s edition shows that *A Good Remedie* is an independent translation from a Latin A3 text. Curiously, some passages seem to be influenced by original material in ME3: for example, ‘thouh it were possible that on creatur hadde don al the synnes that alle creatures han don fro the begynnyng 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 forgeuenesse’ (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 punsche 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

⁶⁸ F. N. M. Diekstra, ‘*A Good Remedie Azens Spirituel Temptacions*: A Conflated Middle English Version of William Flete’s *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones* and Pseudo-Hugh of St Victor’s *De Pusillanimitate* in London BL MS Royal 18.A.X’, *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 76.4 (1995), 307–54.

⁶⁹ Diekstra, p. 316.

⁷⁰ The *DR* text in the *Speculum* was noted by Hackett, ‘William Flete and the *De Remediis Contra Temptaciones*’, 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 impossible to plesse God; þerfore þolde serpent, desiryng aboute al þinge to breke þi feith with his fals suggestions and erroneus ymaginacions, in mervailous 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

from Manuscript to Print’, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 11 (2008), 145–54; and E. A. Jones, ‘A Chapter from Richard Rolle in Two Fifteenth-Century Compilations’, *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 27 (1996), 139–62.

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 complexion, whiche may be cause of his trouble, or elles his *erroneus concience* 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

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.

⁷⁶ Hackett, ‘William Flete’, p. 80; Colledge and Chadwick, pp. 219–20.

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),⁷⁹ and Hilton advises the reader: ‘though thu feele ony stiryng in thyn herte agens [Holi Chirche] bi suggestion of the enemye . . . not to mykil have drede of sich stirynges ne of the feelyng 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.⁸⁰ 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 mystrowyng of the articles of the feith or of the sacrament of Goddis bodi, also despeir 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, yif 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

1991), which identifies a number of parallels to *DR* in the notes, and J. P. H. Clark, ‘The “Lightsome Darkness”—Aspects of Walter Hilton’s Theological Background’, *The Downside Review*, 95.319 (1977), 95–109. The *Scale* was written between c. 1380 and Hilton’s death in 1396.

⁷⁹ Quotations are from Bestul.

⁸⁰ 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 ‘hevy 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 wisdom and can don all—but that he is all love and will don all, there we astynten’ (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

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 understand for the Fader; and there he seyth “I can”, I understand for the Son; and where he seyth “I will”, I understand 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).

⁸⁴ *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). For a recent study, see Annie Sutherland, ‘*The Chastising of God’s Children: A Neglected Text*’, in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale*, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M. Hutchison (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 353–73.

not sinful unless they are assented to, ‘for, as seiþ 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 I 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 lital synnes’ (f. 96r), and concludes: ‘if foule þouztis comen: þoo schulen be schewid soone to sum discreet man: & siche schulen not be dredde. for þo deliten not but tourmenten/ & þo ben not oure: but of fendis þat bryngen in þo. & putten þo azens oure herte/ wherefore þo schule not 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

⁸⁵ This translation of *De pusillanimitate* is found in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff6.31, a London ‘common profit’ book from around the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and is edited in A. I. Doyle, ‘The European Circulation of Three Latin Spiritual Texts’, in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 129–46.

⁸⁶ Doyle, ‘The European Circulation of Three Latin Spiritual Texts’, p. 136.

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 þouʒtis’ involving doubts in order not to suggest any ideas to readers: ‘it nedih nat to specife, for they þat han bien chastised wiþ suche goostli temptacions mowe wite in her soule what I wolde mene. Also, it is perilouse to specife suche þouʒtes, for sum . . . shul neuer imagyne suche a þouʒt, but bi oþer mennys tellynge’ (119/3–9).⁸⁸ Yet medieval Christians certainly did experience scepticism and disbelief in a variety of forms.⁸⁹ 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:

⁸⁸ Bazire and Colledge.

⁸⁹ For overviews of religious doubt in medieval Europe, see Dorothea Weltecke, ‘Doubts and the Absence of Faith’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. by John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 357–74; Weltecke, ‘Der Narr spricht: Es ist kein Gott’: *Atheismus, Unglauben und Glaubenszweifel vom 12. Jahrhundert bis zur Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2010); R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 329–36; Sabina Flanagan, *Doubt in an Age of Faith: Uncertainty in the Long Twelfth Century*, *Disputatio*, 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2005); and Arnold, ‘The Materiality of Unbelief in Late Medieval England’, in *The Unorthodox Imagination in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. by Sophie Page (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 65–95.

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.'⁹⁰

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.⁹¹

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

⁹⁰ Book IV, 'On Temptation', ch. 40. Translation from Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. by H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, II vols (London: Routledge, 1929), I, pp. 237–38.

⁹¹ For the relationship between scholastic theology and doubt, see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), ch. 9; Ineke Van 't Spijker, 'Saints and Despair: Twelfth-Century Hagiography as "Intimate Biography"', in *The Invention of Saintliness*, ed. by Anneke Mulder-Bakker (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 185–205; and Nicholas Watson, 'Despair', in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. by James Simpson and Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 342–57 (pp. 351–52).

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 nedynngis 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.⁹² 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, cholera, suffusing the brain and impairing judgement.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ 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 þanne it is knowe þat seekness fallith to a man aftyr þe disposicioun of his compleccioun’ (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

⁹² Constantinus Africanus, ‘De melancholia’, in *Ishaq ibn ‘Imran, Maqala Fi l-Malibuliya (Abhandlung uber die Melancholie) und Constantini Africani Libri duo de melancholia*, ed. by Karl Garbers (Hamburg: H. Buske, 1977), p. 88.

⁹³ See R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (London: Nelson, 1964), pp. 86–93.

⁹⁴ *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.

was a sin because it precluded the necessary process of contrition and forgiveness.⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ 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 availen hym, though he wolde repenten 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)⁹⁷

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.⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹ Despair was often contrasted against the opposite

⁹⁵ For theological despair in the medieval tradition, see Susan Snyder, ‘The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 12 (1965), 18–59; Nicholas Watson, ‘Despair’, in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. by James Simpson and Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 342–57; Sister Rose Bernard Donna, *Despair and Hope: A Study in Langland and Augustine* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1948); and Arieh Sachs, ‘Religious Despair in Medieval Literature and Art’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (1964), 231–56.

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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹

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).¹⁰² 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 '3e 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:

þe feende 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 greuous synnes, and the goostly lyueres he tempteth to dispeir be inputtynge of false dreedys and streyt conscience and be deep ymagynacion of predestinacion, and in moo sondry wyses 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 'beholdyng 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 weel þat God is mercyful, but 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 health (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.¹⁰³ ME3 takes this idea still further:

For 3e schuln vnderstonde þat euery 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 3oure good wil stondesth stille in 3ou onbroke,

¹⁰³ See Watson, 'Despair', p. 353.

þou3 the cloudes of yuel þoughtes stoppe away 3oure sight fro þe felynge of youre good wil, as 3e may see be exauple of the sonne.¹⁰⁴ 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 away oure syghte, þat we may not seen it in suche tyme as reyny cloudes ben. (296–309)

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 ‘Iewis 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, 3ha and were juged to be dampned be alle scripture, and he wolde forsake his synne and be contrite and asken God for3euenesse he schuld haue mercy and for3euenesse 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.

¹⁰⁵ There was a broad movement towards the idea of universal salvation in late-medieval vernacular theology, which *DR* contributes to. See Nicholas Watson, ‘Visions of Inclusion: Universal Salvation in Pre-Reformation England’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27 (1997), 145–87.

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Watson, ‘Despair’, in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. by James Simpson and Brian Cummings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 342–57.

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.

Narrative, Emotion, and Identity in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992), 32–61 (59).

¹⁰⁸ Watson, 'Despair', p. 343. For Wanhope in *Piers Plowman*, see also Emily Rebekah Huber, 'Langland's Confessional Dissonance: Wanhope in *Piers Plowman B*', *The Yearbook of Langland Studies*, 27 (2013), 79–101.

¹⁰⁹ Despair was one of the standard five deathbed temptations described in the *Tractatus artis bene moriendi*, and illustrated by a woodcut in its shorter printed form. See Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), pp. 27–31.

¹¹⁰ Watson, 'Despair', p. 349.

6 Descriptions of the Manuscripts and Printed Editions

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)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.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 + 3.¹¹³ 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

¹¹¹ This manuscript is discussed in detail by Ryan Perry in “Some sprytuall matter of gostly edyfycacion”: Readers and Readings of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, in *The Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ: Exploring the Middle English Tradition*, ed. by Ian Johnson and Allan F. Westphall (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 79–126 (pp. 96–106), as well as in the *Geographies of Orthodoxy* collaborative project: Ryan Perry, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131’, in *Geographies of Orthodoxy: Mapping Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, 1350–1550*, 2010 <<http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy>> [accessed 8 February 2014]. Also described briefly in Michael G. Sargent, *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp. 132–33.

¹¹² Linne R. Mooney, ‘Lydgate’s “Kings of England” and Another Verse Chronicle of the Kings’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 255–89 (pp. 270–71).

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.¹¹⁴ A larger Textura script is used for chapter headings and Latin passages within the text.

Collation:

A possible collation is 1²⁴, 2–4²⁰, 5²⁰ + 1 after leaf 13, 6²⁸, 7¹⁴ + 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

¹¹⁴ Script classifications follow Jane Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2005).

banaventura'.¹¹⁵ 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 begynnyng 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.*¹¹⁷

2. Ff. 122r–31r. For als mekyll as þe apostell says þat withouten fayth *and* trw beleue it es impossibill to plesse 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 trauaile þe ay to hafe me before þe eghe of þi saule. Þe secund es if þou forsake witterly þine awne will, and no3t tak hede of my will [*sic*], þat will þi holynes *and* þi gude lifyng, *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 no3t be heuy, þou sall no3t be wroth, bot rather haldyn to hym þat dos þe wrong. Þe third es if þou deme anygate3 my *seruandis* werke3 deme no3t eftir þine awne dome bot eftir my dome.

¹¹⁵ Apparently referring to the cost of writing the *Mirror*. Perry, 'Some sprytuall matter', p. 100.

¹¹⁶ Referring to the support of maintenance work at York Minster.

¹¹⁷ Ed. Sargent, *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition*.

‘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 poyntes 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

5. Ff. 131v–36v. In libro qui dicitur *Legenda Auria* sic scribitur: *Consecratur ecclesia vt ibidem laudes Deo soluantur, quod quidem sit in vijtem horis canonicis . . . Non tamen poterat ipsa domina gaudenter stare propter mortem filij sui dulcissimi, et cetera.*

‘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 know 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 sithez trespass 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 genitricem 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

¹¹⁸ Jolliffe I.7 c. Ed. from BL MS Arundel 197 in Alexandra Barratt, *Women’s Writing in Middle English: An Annotated Anthology*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 110–11.

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

¹²⁰ Perry, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 131’. For the Latin *Meditationes*, see M. Jordan Stallings, *Meditationes de passione Christi olim Sancto Bonaventurae attributae* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1965).

of confession in York, York Minster Archive MS Add. 2, the York Bolton Hours.¹²¹

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 hauez in fayndyng gude sufferaunce, for when he es proued, he shall be crowned *with* þe crowne of lyfe þat God hauez 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 lufez and haldis for his, no more þan þou wold a fremmed child, if all he mysdid.*

Unique text on the purpose and rewards of suffering.¹²²

8. F. 140r. [Full text] *Vt Iudas erat.* Tell þi syns wyth þi mouthe, *and* be sore also, *and* be noȝt in wanhope, for *withowtyn* sorow of ht no syn es forgyfnen. For it es wrytyn þat Saynt Petir thryse ouur lord forsuke, bot we fynd noȝt wrytin in no stede þat he þerof was schryuen; bot neuerþeles he tok so mekyll sorow his syns war forgyfnen wele. Eght thynges þe buse do or þi syns ar noȝt forgyfnen: say what þi syns ar *and* wha was þi fere, why *and* when *and* where þou it dyd, how ofte *and* of whilk maner.

Unique text on contrition and confession.¹²³

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.

Anonymous ‘Kings of England’ verses (‘Lydgate’ version), with genealogical chart.¹²⁴

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

¹²¹ Jolliffe, C.33. Perry, ‘Some sprytuall matter’, p. 102.

¹²² Jolliffe, J.1.

¹²³ Jolliffe, E.18.

¹²⁴ DIMEV 727 (NIMEV 444). Ed. Mooney, ‘Lydgate’s “Kings of England”’.

which sonnes died *without* issew. And þ<> he hade a doughter hight Isabell qwyck 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* disherite þe sayd Edward rightful eyre of Ingland *and* Fraunce.

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

11. Ff. 144v–45v. Ad regnum celi suspires mente fideli / Non exalteris *quamuis* multis domineris . . . Tempus tunc redime *per* luctum nocte dieque / Hec tibi vox celle *proclamat* incola celle. Amen.

Latin verses on aspects of monastic life.¹²⁵

12. Ff. 145v–46v. Homo *quidam* fuit domine nostre deuotus *sed* multis vicijs in volutus quia fuit lubricus, *sed* beatam virginem in ueneracione habuit; voluit dominus eius deuocioun . . . [ends imperfectly] *comparasse nisi* cum meruit Dei <locu com [?]> *habere*.

Latin devotional text, in three parts.

13. F. 147v. O uero [?] *quidam* existens in caritate fecit plura bona vt jeiunia et *elimosyna* deinde cecidit in mortale *peccatum et* sic illa bona opera *extinguuntur* . . . Illa reuiuiscunt que mortificata fuerunt / *Vivere non possunt* 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.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷

It is possible, as Doyle suggests, that Morton copied the manuscript as a benefaction for the use of the Augustinian friars.¹²⁸ 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

¹²⁶ Perry, ‘Some sprytuall matter’, p. 97.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹²⁸ A. I. Doyle, ‘A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and Early 16th Centuries with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1953), II, p. 69.

of lay piety, drawing on the guidance of, and transmission of texts from, the professional religious.¹²⁹ It is possible that the contents of the manuscript were sourced from the Augustinian friars. Alternatively, Sargent suggests the *Mirror* and other texts may have been supplied by Mount Grace charterhouse, since the Latin verses (item 11) suggest a Carthusian connection.¹³⁰ There may also have been a connection to Syon and Sheen via the household of Cecily Neville; the copy of the *Mirror* is textually related to a copy belonging to Syon Abbey.¹³¹

6.2 London, British Library, MS Harley 2409 (H1)¹³²

Date:

The style of pen decoration and script suggest a date of around the second quarter of the fifteenth century.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: *S: How be ences 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 *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

¹²⁹ Perry, 'Some sprytual matter', pp. 104–5.

¹³⁰ Sargent, 'The Latin Verses over the Cell Doors of London Charterhouse', p. 189.

¹³¹ David J. Falls, *Nicholas Love's 'Mirror' and Late Medieval Devotio-Literary Culture: Theological Politics and Devotional Practice in Fifteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 136.

¹³² Described briefly in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1808), vol. 2, p. 690.

¹³³ Linne R. Mooney, 'Manuscripts of Major Middle English Works Copied in York' (presented at the XVth Biennial Conference of the Early Book Society and IVth Annual Congress of the John Gower Society: Gower, His Contemporaries, and Their Legacy in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, 1350–1550, Durham, 2017).

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 Hyltoft duelles in Bedwyn’, ‘Sir Symon Hyltoft duellis in dorsetschyre in a toune called spectysbury. And þe nexte marked toune fro him is blandfor Blandford’. At the foot of the same folio is an inscription in Textura: ‘Elyzabet Loketon’. Other contemporary marks are ‘Iste liber’ written on fol. 77v and ‘Haton’, ‘Colman’, ‘M. Bygod’, ‘zoltor’ 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.*¹³⁴

2. Ff. 52r–69v. Here bigynnes a deuoute matier be þe drawyng of M. Waltere Hyltoun. For als mikell as þe apostil sais . . . whose mercy es to al men fre. Amen. Here endis þis tretice aftir M. W. Hyltoun.

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.¹³⁵

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.¹³⁶

History and Audience:

¹³⁴ Ed. Margaret Connolly, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, EETS, OS 303 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹³⁵ Identified in Brown, ‘The Many Misattributions of Catherine of Siena’, pp. 74–79.

¹³⁶ DIMEV 1942 (NIMEV 1188). Ed. YW II: 455–56.

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 1482.¹³⁷ 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 remediis*. Scribes C's stint in the *Mirror* has one-line initials. The remaining texts (Scribe E) have one-

¹³⁷ *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, Volume III: 1377–1540*, ed. by David M. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 697.

¹³⁸ This description is based on a microfilm copy of this manuscript, and aided by the following descriptions: Ryan Perry, 'Formerly, Beeleigh Abbey MS, Owned by William Foyle (now Privately Owned)', *Geographies of Orthodoxy: Mapping Pseudo-Bonaventuran Lives of Christ, 1350–1550*, 2010 <<http://www.qub.ac.uk/geographies-of-orthodoxy>> [accessed 2 May 2014]; Michael G. Sargent, *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), pp. intro 126–28; and Christie's sale catalogue, 11 July 2000, lot 72 (catalogue 1. 218–20).

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].¹⁴⁰

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.¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴ 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 Berkyng'. 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 whan I se this I haue a gret ioye to se thus myn euencristen encrese. Lo this is a grace and a yifte of the holigost. Whan a man ys wo of his eneme3 [?] <word obscured> diseas and is also glad of his welfare, this is charite. But this grace of the

¹⁴³ Linne Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375–1425* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2013). Compare in particular Scribe D to John Merchaunt, clerk of the Guildhall from 1380 to 1417, and Scribes B and C to Richard Osborn, clerk from 1400 to 1437.

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.

holigost is ofte tyme put away by another synne . . . for if he synne en ony of the other spices byfore seyde for a tyme, yit he may repente, and so thowh 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 deye nat out of this world and chese to dye fynaly withouten repentaunce. *Et cetera*.

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 conuiuium . . . 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.¹⁴⁵

5. [1.] Ff. 3r–4v. At þe bygynnyng þe *proheme* of þe book that is clepid þe *Mirour* of þe Blessid Lif of Ihesu Criest . . . *Speculi Vite Christi* lucide poterit apparere. [2.] Ff. 5r–167v. Attende lector huius libri sic *prout scribitur consequentur* in Anglico . . . euerelastienge blessid *witþ* owte endienge. Amen, amen, amen. Explicit *Speculum Vite Christi* complete. Jhesu loorde þi blessid lif helpe and comfort owre wrecchide liffe. Amen.

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

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

ME1b.

7. F. 176r–v. *Scribitur Matthaei quinto capitulo quomodo Christi, loquens ad discipulos suos, sic ait: audistis quia dictum est antiquis non occides . . . etiam modum et mensuram ex rancore excedens peccat contra dei consilium et preceptum, et sit patescit textus supradictus.*

Latin commentary on Matthew 5. 22.

8. F. 176v. *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Hic nomine panis omnis cibus et potus et quicquid nobis necessarium est ad victum et vestitum petitur . . . et panis sacramentalis quibus duobus anima reficitur nutritur et spiritualiter saginatur.*

Latin commentary on the Pater Noster.

¹⁴⁵ Ed. Craig Wright, 'Dufay's Motet *Balsamus et Munda Cera* and the Papal Ceremony', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. by John Haines and Randall Rosenfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 329–48.

¹⁴⁶ Ed. Sargent, *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition*.

9. Ff. 176v–77r. Notandum *quod* quantum ad tria consilia euangelica principalia seu tria vota essentialia priuatarum religionum . . . et puerilis reputetur coram domino. Explicit hoc carmen.

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:

Paris {Sacramentalis / Doctrinalis / Corporalis}

{Obediencia / Castitas / Paupertas } dat Deo { Animam siue spiritum / Carnem siue corpus / Et 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*

¹⁴⁷ For discussion of these owners, see A. I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., 25 (1958), 222–43; Mary Erler, 'Exchange of Books Between Nuns and Laywomen: Three Surviving Examples', in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 360–73 (pp. 364–66).

¹⁴⁸ See *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community*, ed. by Jennifer N. Brown and Donna Alfano Bussell (York: York Medieval Press, 2012).

¹⁴⁹ David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), pp. 107–16; Mary Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 145.

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

¹⁵⁰ Doyle, ‘Books Connected with the Vere Family’, p. 240.

¹⁵¹ Linne Mooney, ‘Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes’, in *The Production of Books in England, 1350–1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 192–211 (p. 193).

¹⁵² ‘Lateran Regesta 122A: 1404–1405’, and ‘Lateran Regesta 147: 1410–1411’, in *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 6, 1404–1415*, ed. by W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1904), available online at <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-papal-registers/brit-ic/vol6>>.

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 heyeste . . .’ and ‘O þou man ytemptyd . . .’ 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.¹⁵⁴

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.¹⁵⁵ Size of page: 153 x 105 mm; the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: *to god withoutyn ony 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 ME1b: ‘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’.¹⁵⁶ Pezzini similarly concludes that the dialect belongs to the South-East Midlands but that it shows traces of the

¹⁵⁴ Bazire and Colledge, p. 4; Pezzini, ‘How resoun schal be keper 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.

¹⁵⁶ Joyce Bazire, ‘The Dialects of the Manuscripts of *The Chastising of God’s Children*’, *English and Germanic Studies*, 6 (1957), 64–78 (p. 73).

dialect of Norfolk.¹⁵⁷ 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’.¹⁵⁸

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.¹⁵⁹ 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*, *tbt*, *zt*, *t* and, rarely, *gbt*, *wt*, *bt*; ME *t* appears as *t*, *zt*, *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 *b*) 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.¹⁶⁰

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

¹⁵⁷ Pezzini, ‘How resoun schal be keper of þe soule’, p. 270.

¹⁵⁸ Michael Benskin, ‘The Letter <þ> and <y> in Later Middle English, and Some Related Matters’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 7.1 (1982), 13–30 (p. 26).

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:

1. Ff. 1–100r. Here ben tytelys of þe chapitelys of þis boke folwyng which is clepyd Þe Chastisyngys of Goddys Childreyn. That holy men and gode men ben more temptyd þan oþere men . . . to hys rythwys chastisyng haue mercy on vs synneful. Amen. *Christe Ihesu vere quos castigas miserere. Explicit epistola castigacionis puerorum Dei. Sit laus deo pax uiuis requies defunctis. Ihesu Criste fili dei miserere mei. Amen.*

*The Chastising of God's Children.*¹⁶²

2. Ff. 100v–03v. Of withdrawyng of deuocoun, how a man schal doon. 3if þou wylte contynuelly steyen vp to perfeccoun and in þe weye of god whiche þou arte entryd, euere profyzt 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 3af to Seynt Bryde, pryncesse of Swiche, as I rede in þe seunte boke of here reuelacyouns and in seunte chapitele. A kyng ful myghty and worchypeful ordeynyed and made an hows wherein he putte is dow3tyr . . . clepyng to God and askyng of grace. Thys grace vs grawnte þat wiþ hys blood vs boute, Crist Ihesu Goddys sone. Amen.

¹⁶¹ Bazire and Colledge, p. 29.

¹⁶² Ed. Bazire and Colledge.

¹⁶³ Ed., with variants from this MS, in Fumio Kuriyagawa, "The Inner Temple Manuscript of Walter Hilton's "Eight Chapters on Perfection", *Studies in English Literature*, English Number (1971), 7–34; edition reprinted in *Two Minor Works of Walter Hilton*, ed. by Fumio Kuriyagawa and Toshiyuki Takamiya (Tokyo, 1980), pp. 14–32. Ed. from another MS in Barry Windeatt, *English Mystics of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 137–48.

Book 7, Chapter 5 of the *Revelations* of St Bridget of Sweden.¹⁶⁴

4. Ff. 109v–23r. Remedyes azens spiritual temptacyouns. For as moche as þe apostele seiþ 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 lastyng 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 comferte ys wiþdrawyn vpon dyuers manerys be malice of þe enemy, as þus . . . but do as I haue seyde, and bettyr 3if 3e may, or be in gode wyl þerto. For wyl ys cowntyd for deede. And I hope be þe grace of Ihesu Cryst 3e schal neuer be ouercome of 3owre enemy [*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 seiþ in hys bokys . . . conanlyche for to knowleche God swiche as he ys yt ys endeles lyf and lestyng blysse: to whiche blysse he bryng vs, owre lorde God almyhty. Amen.

The Lay Folk’s Catechism.¹⁶⁶

7. Ff. 140r–41v. Beatus Gregorius in quadam omelia supra Iohannem *quartusdecimo capitulo* dicit: De dileccione conditoris lingua mens et vita referantur. Non est licitum alicui laice persone pupplice vel priuatum de fide catholica disputare . . . Augustinus. Talis est vita presbiteri sine doctrina: quasi nauis sine remigio vel lucerna sine oleo.

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.

¹⁶⁶ Ed. from another MS in T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth, *The Lay Folks’ Catechism*, EETS, OS 118 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1901).

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 wyttenssyth, he betith euery chylde þat he receyuyth to hise grace. And so yt ys spedeful to vs to be betyn *and* to suffre tribulacyoun and dyssease in þise worlde for many causys . . . And no more schulde we, what tribulacyoun so euer come to vs, 3if we suffre pacyently and trostfully in þe helpe of owre lorde ihesu þat wil no3t 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 man may please God, þefore oure olde ennemye þe feende . . . to worchepe of þat lorde. Qui uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Sit Deo laus, pax uiuis, 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 prouffitable boke for mannes soule, and right comfortable to the body, and specyally in*

¹⁶⁷ Jolliffe J.11. Not an extract from ME3, as Bazire and Colledge suggest (p. 4).

¹⁶⁸ Doyle, 'Survey', I, pp. 35, 185.

aduersitee 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*.¹⁶⁹

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’.¹⁷⁰ 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 folowyng in this sayd boke’ (f. [*]2v).

Contents:

1. [[*]1v–G4r] In drede of almighty God, relygyous suster, a short pistle I sende you of the mater of temptacions, whiche pystle as me thynketh maye resonably be cleped The Chastising of Goddes Childern . . . haue mercy on the synfull. Amen. Jhesu *Christe* vere quos castigas miserere. Amen. Explicit hic liber castigacionis puerrorum Dei.

The Chastising of God’s Children.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library. Part XI: England* (’t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2007), pp. 182–83. See also E. G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books: A Bibliography of Books and Documents Printed in England and of Books for the English Market Printed Abroad* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1917), p. 23 (no. 85); Seymour de Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1909), pp. 110–12.

¹⁷⁰ *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century*, p. 182.

¹⁷¹ Ed. Bazire and Colledge.

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.

¹⁷³ Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, pp. 47, 125, 191–92 n. 29–30.

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 Boloyne*, a history of the Crusades (Caxton, 1481).¹⁷⁵ 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

Inscribed on f. A1r in a sixteenth-century hand: 'Edyth Morpath Katheryn Palmer'. Signature in Italic on f. [*]1r: 'Dorothe Abington'. Bound with the *Treatise of Love*. Complete.

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

¹⁷⁵ Paul Needham, *The Printer and the Pardoner* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1986), Appendix B, no. 37; A. I. Doyle, 'Books Belonging to R. Johnson', *Notes and Queries*, 197.14 (1952), 293–94.

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 popysh’, 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 facsimile 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

Imperfect: lacks ff. [*]1–A6. Bound with the *Treatise of Love*.

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.’¹⁷⁶ 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

¹⁷⁶ Recorded in the *Material Evidence in Incunabula* database: ‘London, Lambeth Palace Library (GB): L40.4.80 [ARC]’, *Material Evidence in Incunabula (Consortium of European Research Libraries)*, 2015 <http://data.cerl.org/mei/_search> [accessed 26 August 2015].

[*]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.

Copy 17. Göttingen, University Library, shelfmark 4° Theol. Mor. 138/53 Inc.

‘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 Elyzabeth Wyllowby, That she gives this Book to Dame Cateryne 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

¹⁷⁷ de Ricci, p. 111.

¹⁷⁸ *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae, Vol. IV* (London: Thomas Osborne, 1744), p. 125, noted in Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, pp. 191–92 n. 30.

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 'forsaken'.

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 2: ff. 9r–12r: [Hands 2, B] Latin *Missa de nomine Ihesu*; [Hands A, C] f. 12r–v: A list of indulgences and the Nicene Creed in Latin.

Quires 3–6: ff. 13r–44v: [Hand 1] Two extracts from Love's *Mirror*: chs. 39–51, on the Passion, and chs. 62–63, on the Ascension and Pentecost; [Hand D] f. 44v: Three Latin prayers associated with the Elevation of the Host.

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.

¹⁷⁹ V. M. O'Mara, *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 13 (Leeds: School of English, University of Leeds, 1994), pp. 141–62; Sarah McNamer, *The Two Middle English Translations of the Revelations of St Elizabeth of Hungary*, Middle English Texts, 28 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996), pp. 21–26; Colledge and Chadwick, pp. 206–08. Other descriptions include V. M. O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, Sermo, 1, 4 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), I, pp. 32–33; Margaret Connolly, *The Index of Middle English Prose Handlist XIX: Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Dd–Oo)*, IMEP, XIX (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 186–90; *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1858), III, pp. 262–64.; Harold Kane, *The Prickynge of Love*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, 92:10, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1983), I, p. xi.

¹⁸⁰ See O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 142–52. Colledge and Chadwick suggest 'some fourteen different hands' (206).

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

Quire 9: ff. 61r–68r: [Hand 4] ME2 (f. 68v: blank).

Quires 10–13: ff. 69r–99r: [Hand 4] Commentaries on Psalms 90 and 91, *Qui habitat* and *Bonum est*, attributed to Hilton.

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

Quire 16: ff. 118r–20v: [Hand 6] Latin *Speculum peccatoris*.

Quire 17: ff. 122r–27v: [Hand 7] Translation of the *Revelations of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*.

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

Quire 19: ff. 134v–35v: [Hand G] Latin hymn on the Assumption, ‘Gaude flore virginali’, with an English commentary.

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 Minoreesses 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

¹⁸¹ O’Mara, *A Study*, pp. 142–44 and n. 1.

¹⁸² Colledge and Chadwick, p. 208.

¹⁸³ Doyle, ‘Survey’, II, p. 97.

Revelations of Saint Elizabeth occur in manuscripts of Franciscan origin.¹⁸⁴ 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.¹⁸⁵ 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,¹⁸⁶ different sets of signatures, blank pages at the ends, different layouts, a mix of paper and parchment, and some wear to the outer leaves.¹⁸⁷ 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 comferte 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.¹⁸⁸ O'Mara considers this suggestion at length and concludes that there is no

¹⁸⁴ McNamer, p. 26.

¹⁸⁵ O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 164–72 and n. 29.

¹⁸⁶ Daniel Wakelin notes further that all of the scribes corrected only their own work. Daniel Wakelin, *Scribal Correction and Literary Craft: English Manuscripts 1375–1510* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 83 n. 36.

¹⁸⁷ O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 157–62.

¹⁸⁸ Colledge and Chadwick, p. 217.

positive evidence to support it.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.24.¹⁹⁰ 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.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.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.¹⁹³

A vernacular religious miscellany copied c. 1456 in a dialect of south-west Lincolnshire.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*

¹⁸⁹ O'Mara, *A Study*, pp. 154–57 and 162. See also O'Mara, ‘Female Scribal Ability and Scribal Activity in Late Medieval England: The Evidence?’, *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 27 (1996), 87–130.

¹⁹⁰ A. I. Doyle, ‘DUL MS Cosin V.iii.24’, *Draft Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts in Durham University Library* <<https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/theme/medmss/apviii24/>> [accessed 8 March 2017]. See also Christiania Whitehead, Denis Renevey, and Anne Mouron, *The Doctrine of the Hert: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), pp. xlix–li.

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.

¹⁹² This is suggested by Mary Erler in *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 76.

¹⁹³ Oliver S. Pickering, ‘Brotherton Collection MS 501: A Middle English Anthology Reconsidered’, *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 21 (1990), 141–65; Ralph Hanna, ‘Leeds University Library, MS Brotherton 501: A Redescription’, *Manuscripta*, 26.1 (1982), 38–42. The manuscript has been digitised in full and is currently (September 2017) available to view at <<http://enriqueta.man.ac.uk/luna/servlet>>.

¹⁹⁴ Pickering, p. 141. The date 1456 appears in a marginal note.

God (Novem virtutes); Chapter 15 of the *Prickyng 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 *Prickyng 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. Werfor, my brothyr, whiche hast be pensyf and hevyr for thy sennys many a day, stondyng thyself in doute to be clene shreuyng or not, or to haue foryeuenes 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 synnyng comyng to thy mynde: that houre God forþeuyth the thy trespas and ioyeth of the. Þerfor dowte the neuer of tho sennys aftyr þat þou hast be shreuyng of . . . Now y shal wryghte to þe how þou shal be war of ydyl thoghtys 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

¹⁹⁵ Fiona Somerset, ‘Lollard Pastoralia’, in *Religious Controversy in Europe, 1378–1536: Textual Transmission and Networks of Readership*, ed. by Michael Van Dussen and Pavel Soukup, *Medieval Church Studies*, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 71–104.

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.¹⁹⁷ 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.¹⁹⁸

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

Widely studied and described.¹⁹⁹

A religious miscellany produced for a Carthusian charterhouse in the north of England around the third quarter of the fifteenth century.²⁰⁰ 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*

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.

¹⁹⁹ A recent book-length study of MS Add. 37049 is Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); for a list of contents, see pp. 307–25. See also Douglas Gray, 'London, British Library, Additional MS 37049: A Spiritual Encyclopedia', in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale: Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. by Helen Barr and Ann M Hutchinson, *Medieval Church Studies*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 99–116, and A. I. Doyle, 'English Carthusian Books Not Yet Linked with a Charterhouse', in 'A Miracle of Learning', *Studies in MSS and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. by Tony Barnard, Dáibhi ó Cróinín, and Katherine Simons (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 122–36. For a description, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum in the Years 1900–1905* (London: British Library, 1907), pp. 324–32, and James Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS Add. 37049', in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Stürzl on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by James Hogg, 2 vols (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1980), I, 241–84. The manuscript has been digitised in full by the British Library and is currently (September 2017) available to view at <<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts>>.

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 Beauvale 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.²⁰¹ 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.²⁰²

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.²⁰³ 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 'bought . . . with my precios blode', and that the repentant are forgiven more quickly than a straw of flax is burnt up in a fire.²⁰⁴ 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.²⁰⁵ 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

²⁰¹ Brantley, p. 10.

²⁰² Brantley, pp. 12–13.

²⁰³ Brantley, pp. 230–31, discusses the opening dialogue. Hackett, Colledge and Chadwick, pp. 226–27, briefly describe ff. 93r–94r. Michael Sargent notes the quotation from *Stimulus amoris*: Sargent, *Nicholas Love, The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition*, p. xiv. 'Agayne Despayre' is listed as entry K.14 in Jolliffe.

²⁰⁴ See Pius Künzle, *Heinrich Seuses 'Horologium Sapientiae'* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1977), pp. 400–401.

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.²⁰⁶

6.9 Bristol, Bristol Public Library, MS 6 (Br)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:

1–7⁸, 8⁸ (wants 3–6), 9–18⁸. 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.

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*.)

²⁰⁷ Described in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II: Abbotsford to Keele* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 203–4, and Norris Mathews, *Early Printed Books and Manuscripts in the City Reference Library, Bristol* (Bristol: W. Crofton Hemmons, 1899), pp. 66–67.

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:

1. Ff. 1r–3r. *Hic incipit expositio verborum difficilium missalis. Missa a tribus linguis celebratur; scilicet: Latina, Graeca, et Ebraica. Latina vt ‘officium’, ‘misse’, ‘oratio’, et ‘epistola’, et cetera. Greca vt ‘kyri eleyson’, ‘Christe eleyson’. Hebrayca vt ‘alleluya’, ‘sabaoth’, ‘ossanna’ . . . sceptrum virga regis est, ceptrumque potestas, ceptrum est regnum; Papias testis habetur.*

Latin commentary on Greek and Hebrew words of the missal.

2. Ff. 3r–47r. *Dominica prima aduentus domini sequencia. ‘Salus eterna’, et cetera. In hac sequencia agitur memoria de primo aduentu Christi, scilicet in carne, quia incarnatus fuit filius domini de virgine Maria, et ponitur hic pro toto tempore . . . dictiones que intransitione construuntur idempitatem seruant accidencium, vt dicit Petrus Helyas in Minori et cetera.*

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

3. Ff. 47v–110r. Hic incipiunt *exposiciones verborum difficilium missalis temporalis*, deinde *sanctorum*, *tocius anni*, *baptistorie*, *visitacionis infirmorum*, *sepulture*, et *psalterii*, et *eciam correpcio et productio dubii accentus verborum eorundem compendiose tractantur*, vt securius legant ac melius intelligant, ne *materia risus audientibus ministretur*, vel *legentibus aut fatuitas imponatur*. *Versus lector culpabilis nisi leccio preuideatur*; *leccio prelecta leuius legitur tibi visa et cetera*. *Dominica prima aduentus domini et cetera*. ‘*Thesus*’ Hebrayce, Grece ‘*sother*’, Latine ‘*salutaris*’ siue ‘*saluator*’ *interpretatur* . . . *verba aut dictiones exigunt et cetera*. Hic *explicit tractatus posicionum verborum tocius missalis*. ‘*Nec te lateat Sathana*’ *et cetera*. ‘*Lateo*’ <est in oro?>: *id est* ‘*abscondere*’ vel ‘*absconditum esse*’, *et construitur* . . . ‘*preuenire actionem*’, *id est* ‘*ante venire*’, ‘*munire*’, ‘*preoccupare*’, ‘*monstrare*’, *et* ‘*premonstrare*’.

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.

4. Ff. 110r–19r. *Incipit expositio psalterii*. *Beatus vir et cetera*. ‘*Cathedra*’ *breuiatur componitur* a ‘*catha*’, *quod est commune*, *et* ‘*edes*’ . . . *versus bis mille sex centum sex canit ille, et cetera*. *Explicit expositio verborum difficilium tocius psalterii*. *Deo gracias*.

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 deserue in meke sufferauce 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 passions *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 mihi 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 michi plus placet quam si pro amico defuncto emittes tantam aquam quanta continetur in mari . . . ita vt caro tua scinderetur in particulas.*

A Latin version of the *Novem virtutes*.²⁰⁹

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

Ait dominus omnipotens:

{infirmum / sitientem / esurientem / captum / nudum / hospitem / mortuum}

{visito / potio / 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 spyrytys whych ben good and whych not. For by cause that ther ben dyuerse kyndis of spyrytys, 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 Discrecyon of Spirites.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Jolliffe J.14.

²⁰⁹ See Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for His Biography* (New York: Heath, 1927), pp. 317–20.

²¹⁰ Ed., with variants from this MS, in Phyllis Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to 'The Cloud of Unknowing'*, EETS, OS 231 (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

9. Ff. 134r–37v. Benedicite Dominus. Confiteor Deo, beate Marie, omnibus sanctis, *et vobis*, peccauim nimis cogitatione, locutione, *et opera*, mea culpa. I knowlege and yeld me gyilty to God all myghty and to his blessid modyr Mari and to all the holy company of heven . . . Sit nomen *Domini benedictum*. Sancte Marce ora *pro nobis*.

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. Thyse are the notable rewles of the lyfe heremiticalle as they folow hereafter, made be pope Celestyne 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 poverté . . . he owght to say: sit dulce nomen *domini nostri Ihesu 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 leues and bynde hem in a clene linnen 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 leues in wyn and vse to wasshe 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

²¹¹ MWME XX [211] (Version R); Jolliffe C.21; IPMEP 309. Ed. from a different MS in YWII: 340–45.

²¹² Ed. from this MS, with other versions, in Domenico Pezzini, ‘An Edition of Three Late Middle English Versions of a Fourteenth-Century *Regula Heremitarum*’, *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 40 (2009), 65–103.

²¹³ George R. Keiser, ‘Rosemary: Not Just for Remembrance’, in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*, ed. by Peter Dendle and Alain Touwaide (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 180–204 (p. 189); includes an edition of a different English translation and a Latin version.

History and Audience:

Two inscriptions at the ends of items 1 and 3 provide the date and place of production: ‘A.D. 1502 13^o die mensis Septembris’ [‘13th September 1502’] (f. 47r), and ‘In domo *Sancti* Marci euangeliste iuxta Bristoliam, xxxi^o 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 incipitur in xiii^o die mensis Augusti anno domini 1502 per Willelmum Haulle’ [‘began 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

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).

²¹⁵ Jan Peter Gumbert, ‘The Speed of Scribes’, in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa*, ed. by Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1995), pp. 57–69, and Eef A. Overgaauw, ‘Fast or Slow, Professional or Monastic: The Writing Speed of Some Latin Medieval Scribes’, *Scriptorium*, 49 (1995), 211–27.

²¹⁶ Daniel Wakelin, ‘Writing the Words’, in *The Production of Books in England 1350–1500*, ed. by Alexandra

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.²¹⁷ 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 1502.²¹⁸

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 Treatyse*.²¹⁹ 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 1494.²²⁰

6.10 Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 520 (G)²²¹

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.²²²

Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 34–58 (p. 35 n. 3).

²¹⁷ 'Hospitals: St Mark, Billeswick, called Gaunt's Hospital', in *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester, II*, ed. by William Page (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), pp. 114–18 (p. 115).

²¹⁸ 'Hospitals: St Mark, Billeswick', p. 117.

²¹⁹ A. I. Doyle, 'Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey', *The Library*, 5th, 11 (1956), 115–18 (p. 118).

²²⁰ Doyle, 'Survey', II, pp. 298–300.

²²¹ Described in John Young and P. H. Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908), pp. 422–24.

²²² Linne R. Mooney, 'Manuscripts of Major Middle English Works Copied in York'.

Description:

Parchment. Ff. ii + 2 + 195 + 7 + i. Paginated, not foliated, 1–389 in a post-medieval hand; i–viii and 390–404 added in pencil. Size of page: 170 x 117 mm; the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: *grounde þat made þe woman*. Single column, 22 lines per page. Size of written area: 113 x 75 mm. Framed and ruled in ink. Pricking visible on some outer edges. Rebound in 1970 (note on back board).

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 perfizt loue *and* lastyng charite, þat we moun regne *with* þee in endeles blis. Amen, amen.

*The Pore Caitiff.*²²³

2. Pp. 268–83. Here bigynneþ a tretis þat is clepid þe mirroure of synneris. For that we ben in þe weie of þis falling liif *and* oure daies passen as a schadow . . . vs þat bouzte vs wiþ his precious blood *merciful* God. Amen. Here endiþ þis tretis þat is clepid þe mirroure 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 bouzist man wiþ þi precious blood. Amen. Here endiþ þe tretis of þe þre arowis.

*Of Three Arrows on Doomsday.*²²⁵

²²³ Ed. Sister Mary Teresa Brady, ‘The Pore Caitiff, MS. Harley 2336’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Fordham University, 1954).

²²⁴ Jolliffe F.8; IPMEP 213. Ed. C. A. Page, *The Myrroure of Synneres: A Critical Edition with Reprint and Translation of the Speculum Peccatoris* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Mercy College, 1976), and D. J. Lloyd, ‘An Edition of the Prose and Verse in the Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 23’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1943), pp. 111–20. For a discussion of this and the following sequence of texts, see Doyle, ‘Survey’, I, pp. 165–70.

²²⁵ IPMEP 842. Ed. YR II: 446–48, and C. A. Martin, ‘Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 93: An Annotated

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

*The Four Errors.*²²⁶

5. Pp. 297–15. Here bigynneþ Austynes meditaciouns. Seynt Austyn þe holi doctour techiþ þrouȝ þe declaracioun of holi writ þat synful men for no synne falle in disperre, for more is þe mercy of God to man þan ony mannes synne . . . for þe mychelhede of þi mercy haue *mercy* on me. Amen.

*Meditation of St Augustine.*²²⁷

6. Pp. 315–35. An argument azens wanho<pe>²²⁸. For as myche as þe apostel seiþ þat 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 zouen to man fyue wittes, wiþ whiche a man scholde gouerne *and* lede his liif to saue boþe bodi *and* sowle, and ben þese: seyngge, heryngge, smellyngge, tastyngge, and touchyngge. Þe whyche, as seyþ Synt Gregor, ben vndurstonde . . . þat þou canst for to gete þer wiþ þi sustinaunce wiþ treuthe.

Edition of Selected Devotional Treatises with a Survey of Parallel Versions' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 497–533; Lloyd, pp. 132–39.

²²⁶ MWME XX [102]; Jolliffe F.13. Ed. Martin, 'Edinburgh University Library Manuscript 93', pp. 194–228.

²²⁷ Jolliffe I.32; IPMEP 574. Ed. YW II: 377–80, and Lloyd, pp. 163–74.

²²⁸ End of title cropped.

Treatise on the five bodily wits.²²⁹

8. Pp. 342–50. The ten *commandementis*. The first *commandement* of God is þis: Þou schalt worschip no fals goddis. And þis breken proude men, worldely men *and* fleischely men . . . as seint Joon seiþ, þe secounde *chapiter*: þees þingis ben of world: coueitise of izen, luste of fleische, and pride of liif. And þes þre synnes enwlappeþ al oþer þat ony man doiþ.

Treatise on the ten commandments.²³⁰

9. Pp. 350–51. The seuen workis of mercy bodily. Thees ben þe seuen werkes of bodily mercy þat men schulden do to *Criste in* his membris. The firste is þis: Feede ze þoo þat ben houngr . . . but look algatis þat þi good þat þou zyuest þine almes of be treuly *and* iustly geten. And þanne þou schalt haue mede of God *in* heuen.

Treatise on the seven works of corporal mercy.²³¹

10. Pp. 351–52. *De vii* workis of merci goostly. The seuen dedis of goostly mercy, þat ben betyr þan þe firste, stonden in þees seuen wordis: teche, *comforte*, *consaile*, chastise, forzyue, soffir, and preye . . . so þees seuen goostly werkes passen þe seuen bodily. And herfore euery cristen man is holden to þees seuen.

Treatise on the seven works of spiritual mercy.²³²

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

²³⁰ MWME XX [24]. This appears to be a ‘rhetorical version’ of a ten commandments commentary; it is not included by either Martin or Jefferson in their discussions of these commentaries. See Judith Anne Jefferson, ‘An Edition of the Ten Commandments Commentary in BL Harley 2398 and the Related Version in Trinity College Dublin 245, York Minster XVLLJ2, and Harvard English 738, Together with Discussion of Related Commentaries’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 1995), pp. cxxx–cxxxiii, and Anthony Martin, ‘The Middle English Versions of The Ten Commandments, with Special Reference to Rylands English MS 85’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 64 (1981), 191–217.

²³¹ MWME XX [24].

²³² MWME XX [24].

11. Pp. 352–53. V þyngis we scholde knowe to loue Ihesu Crist by. Hit bihoueþ specially to euery man þat desireþ to loue oure lorde Ihesu Crist inwardly in herte fyue þingis: On, for to knowe first what him silf is . . . set on þe lefte half of oure lord Ihesu wiþ þe flok of þe dampnyd felaschip. Ðan 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 doiþ he contrary to his kynde *and* vnabliþ himself to his owen heritage.

Treatise on the bodily and spiritual natures of man.²³⁴

13. Pp. 357–66. Bona oratio. When þou schapist þee to praie, or to haue any deuocioun, go to a *priuey* place fro alle maner of noise and tyme of reste wiþ oute any lettynge . . . þe soules þat ben departed fram þe body *in* paynes of purgatorie abidyng þere þi *mercy*. Amen for charite.

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

14. Pp. 366–71. Alia bona oracio. Ihesu þi swetnesse whos myȝt it se / Ðer of to haue a cleer knowyng . . . And lede me Lord in to þi blisse / Wiþ þee to wone wiþ oute ende. Amen.

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

15. Pp. 371–89. An argument azens wanhope. For ȝee schulen vndirstonde þat al a mannes lyf, fram þe furste poynt vnto þe laste, þe fende is aboute to bryng a *man* or a *womman* to þe

²³³ Jolliffe D.8.

²³⁴ Jolliffe D.13.

²³⁵ Jolliffe M.15; IPMEP 362. Connolly, *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God*, pp. 41–44.

²³⁶ DIMEV 2940 (NIMEV 1781). Ed. YR I: 368–70 and elsewhere.

cursid synne of wanhope . . . to whiche ioye and to whiche blisse Crist Ihesu brynge 3ou, þat for 3ou 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

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.

²³⁸ See C. A. Martin, ‘Middle English Manuals of Religious Instruction’, in *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*, ed. by Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels (Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project, 1981), pp. 283–98.

²³⁹ Sister M. Teresa Brady, ‘Lollard Interpolations and Omissions in Manuscripts of *The Pore Caitiff*’, in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: Brewer, 1989), pp. 183–203.

²⁴⁰ S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, EETS, OS 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. xvii–xxxi, xxxiv–xxxv; Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), pp. 208–12; John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of ‘The Canterbury Tales’: Studied on the Basis of*

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 Laddre of Heuyn* 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.

All Known Manuscripts, 8 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), I, pp. 343–48.

²⁴¹ Theresa O'Byrne, 'Manuscript Creation in Dublin: The Scribe of Bodleian E. Museo MS 232 and Longleat MS 29', in *New Directions in Medieval Manuscript Studies and Reading Practices: Essays in Honor of Derek Pearsall*, ed. by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, John J. Thompson, and Sarah Baechle (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014), pp. 271–91.

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.

6.12 London, British Library, MS Harley 1706 (H3)

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.²⁴³ 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.²⁴⁴

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.²⁴⁵ 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.²⁴⁶ 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).

²⁴³ Doyle, ‘Books Connected with the Vere Family’; Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, pp. 97–99.

²⁴⁴ Doyle, ‘Books Connected with the Vere Family’, pp. 222–23; Mooney, ‘Vernacular Literary Manuscripts and Their Scribes’, pp. 208–9.

²⁴⁵ Doyle, ‘Books Connected with the Vere Family’, pp. 231–32; Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, p. 99.

²⁴⁶ Doyle, ‘Books Connected with the Vere Family’, p. 232.

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

²⁴⁷ R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Rochester, NY: Brewer, 2001), pp. 114–16; Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, pp. 217–19. See also A. I. Doyle, 'An Unrecognized Piece of *Piers the Ploughman's Creed* and Other Work by Its Scribe', *Speculum*, 34.3 (1959), 428–36; Valerie Edden, *The Index of Middle English Prose Handlist XV: Manuscripts in Midland Libraries*, IMEP, XV (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 62–69; and Colledge and Chadwick, pp. 208–09.

²⁴⁸ See Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'The Provenance of the Manuscript: The Lives and Archive of Sir Thomas Cooke and His Man of Affairs, John Vale', in *The Politics of Fifteenth-Century England: John Vale's Book*, ed. by M. L. Kekewich, et al. (Stroud, 1995), pp. 73–123 (pp. 103–12).

²⁴⁹ See Linne R. Mooney, 'A New Manuscript by the Hammond Scribe Discovered by Jeremy Griffiths', in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), pp. 113–23; and Linne R. Mooney, 'The Scribe', in *Sex, Aging, & Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium: Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.52, Its Texts, Language, and Scribe*, ed. by M. Teresa Tavormina, 2 vols (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), I, 55–63.

Hammond scribe and the Trinity Anthologies scribe, who also copied MS Douce 322, related to MS Harley 1706 (see above).²⁵⁰ 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)²⁵¹

Date:

Colledge and Chadwick, and Alexandra Barratt, suggest a general date of c. 1450.²⁵² Koster believes the date may be closer to c. 1425, based on the appearance of the hand.²⁵³ The borders on pp. 1, 6, and 99 show characteristics typical of c. 1430s–50s, as noted below.

Description:

Parchment. Ff. ii + 97 + ii. Paginated, not foliated, pp. i–iv, 1–198 in modern pencil. Size of page: 160 x 115 mm; the pages have been cropped. Secundo folio: *whanne ye ben in soule*. Single column, 16 lines per page. Size of written area: 128 x 78 mm. Framed and ruled in red. Binding for owner Thomas Coke c. 1814–22.²⁵⁴

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

²⁵⁰ Linne R. Mooney, 'Scribes and Booklets of Trinity College Cambridge, Manuscripts R.3.19 and R.3.21', in *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall*, ed. by A. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 241–66.

²⁵¹ Described briefly in William F. Pollard, 'Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41: A Fifteenth-Century Bridgettine Manuscript and Prayer Cycle', *Birgittiana*, 3 (1997), 43–53 (p. 44); Josephine Koster Tarvers, 'Gender, Text, Critic: The Case of Holkham Misc. 41', *Medieval Perspectives*, 14 (1999), 229–41; Josephine A. Koster, 'Theorizing in Advance of the Facts: Knowing the Author of *The Festis* and *the Passion of Our Lord Ihesu Crist*', *Medieval Perspectives*, 25 (2010), 68–77; and Colledge and Chadwick, p. 210. Listed in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, Volume III: British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 90 (no. 1044); *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Part II: Appendix and Index* (London, 1883), p. 364.

²⁵² Alexandra Barratt, *Women's Writing in Middle English: An Annotated Anthology*, 2nd edn (London: Pearson, 2010), p. 213.

²⁵³ Koster, 'Theorizing', p. 69.

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.²⁵⁵ 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

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).

²⁵⁶ Pollard, 'Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41', p. 48.

Scribe and Dialect:

Single scribe. Koster describes the dialect of the texts as ‘East Midlands with a few smatterings of Northeast Midlands mixed in.’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, therefore 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 worschep *and* plesing. Amen.

A unique prayer sequence, *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.²⁵⁸

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

Four-line devotional poem.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Koster, ‘Theorizing’, p. 69.

²⁵⁸ Excerpts (pp. 31–3, 35–41, 48–55, 89–98) edited in Barratt, *Women’s Writing in Middle English*, pp. 211–23, here with the second word of the title, obscured in the MS, given as *faits* or *feitis* (feats) rather than *festis* (holy days). For an analysis of this treatise, see Pollard, ‘Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41’; William F. Pollard, ‘Mystical Elements in a Fifteenth-Century Prayer Sequence: “The Festis and the Passion of Oure Lord Ihesu Crist”’, in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe, Exeter Symposium, IV (Cambridge: Brewer, 1987), pp. 47–61; Koster, ‘Gender, Text, Critic’ and ‘Theorizing’; Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘Bodleian Library MS Holkham Miscellany 41 and the Modelling of Women’s Devotion’, in *Devotional Literature and Practice in Medieval England: Readers, Reading, and Reception*, ed. by Kathryn Vulić, Susan Uselmann, and C. Annette Grisé (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 237–66; Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘The Anchoritic Elements of Holkham Misc. 41’, in *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Liz Herbert MacAvoy and Mari Hughes Edwards (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 172–81.

²⁵⁹ DIMEV 4840 (NIMEV 3102).

3. Pp. 98–193. These remedies of *temptacions þat folwen* is named *Consolacio anime*. Oure merciful lord God chastisith his children and suffrith hem to be temptid for many profitable skiles to here soules profith . . . and regnith withoutyn <>lesting God. Amen.

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,²⁶⁰ 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.’²⁶¹ 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*.²⁶² 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

²⁶⁰ Pollard, ‘Bodleian MS Holkham Misc. 41’, pp. 47, 52.

²⁶¹ Innes-Parker, ‘The Anchoritic Elements of Holkham Misc. 41’, p. 174.

²⁶² Vincent Gillespie, ‘Walter Hilton at Syon Abbey’, in *Stand Up to Godwards: Essays in Mystical and Monastic Theology in Honour of the Reverend John Clark on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by James Hogg (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2002), pp. 9–61 (p. 57).

founder of Holkham Hall library and who owned an illuminated psalter which, like this manuscript, later came into the library.²⁶³

6.15 Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 154 (A.vi.12) (D)²⁶⁴

Date:

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

Description:

Parchment. Ff. ii + 2 + 109 + i. Foliated 1–109 in modern pencil. Size of page: 110 x 75 mm. Secundo folio: *therfore þe prophet*. Single column, 13–18 lines per page. Size of written area: varies, but on average 75 x 50 mm. Framing and ruling in lead sometimes visible, particularly on ff. 16–20.

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: 1⁸ 2² 3⁶ 4⁴ 5¹⁴ 6⁴ 7¹⁴ 8¹⁰ 9⁸ 10–12¹⁰ 13¹⁰ (wants 10, probably a cancelled blank).²⁶⁵ Folios 105v to 109v are blank.

²⁶³ Koster, 'Theorizing', pp. 71–75.

²⁶⁴ Described in Ralph Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2010), p. 50, and Colledge and Chadwick, p. 209; brief notice in T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.; London: Longmans, 1900), p. 20. I am also indebted to Professor John Scattergood, who shared with me his unpublished description of the manuscript.

²⁶⁵ Hanna, *The English Manuscripts of Richard Rolle*, p. 50.

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 comforthable* and necessary to all suche that haue takyn upon thayme gostly lyffe. Whiche *mater* is called þe remedys agance theye trowbyllys of gostly temptatyons. The first chapiture 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 thyng þat may be . . . whome they haue *serued* as long \as/ god is in hewyn *witb* his *seruauntys* which is euerlastyngly *witbowte* 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* chaystseyth his childer and suffers theme to be tempt . . . in hys euerlastyng ioyes of hewyn *witbowtyn* end *amen*. Thus endyth thys treatyce of þe forsayd deuoute fader.

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

²⁶⁶ Ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, EETS, OS 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 1–25.

²⁶⁷ For a transcription of these excerpts, see below, pp. 141–43.

3. Ff. 82v–105r. Of dyuyne loue taken fourthe of a treatyse by þe sayd dewoute fader Richard Rolle herymyte 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 specyally fest so fast in þi harte thys swet name of ihesu that 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 *withowt* 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 upon 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 thyng . . . 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 comferte 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

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 Folowyng . . . of our Sauyours 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 Dauyd* (1508), *The Lyf of Saynt Vrsula* (c. 1509), Fisher's funeral sermon for Henry VII (1509), and the *Sbyppe 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 Rediuiui Rupensis 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 Catharina pulchra Romana prodigium', pp. 322–26.

²⁷² Susan Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and Her Books', *The Library*, 6th series, 20.3 (1998), 197–240.

²⁷³ Edwards and Meale, pp. 99–101.

²⁷⁴ Powell, pp. 227–30.

1 copy:

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.²⁷⁵ 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 20876²⁸¹ (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.'

²⁷⁶ See Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III, 1400–1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 65–108 (pp. 93–95); E. Gordon Duff, *English Printing on Vellum to the End of the Year 1600* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1902).

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).

²⁷⁸ P. R. Harris, 'The Development of the Collections of the Department of Printed Books, 1846–1875', *The British Library Journal*, 10 (1984), 114–46 (p. 132).

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.

²⁸⁰ E. G. Duff, 'Wynkyn de Worde', i, in *Hand-Lists of Books Printed by London Printers, 1501–1556* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), p. 11, incorrectly dates the Cambridge University Library copy of this edition to 1517.

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)

²⁸² See discussion of this woodcut in Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004), pp. 83–87.; A. S. G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale, ‘The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England’, *The Library*, 6th series, 15 (1993), 95–124 (p. 102).

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

Copy 2. London, British Library, shelfmark C.21.c.22

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.²⁸³ The other contents of the compilation included *Nychodemus 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 1800.²⁸⁴ Folios B3 and B4 are misbound after B6. Complete.

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

Imperfect: lacks folios A2–A5. Bound with nine other de Worde editions: *The Fruyte of Redempcyon* (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 gustauit 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).

²⁸³ T. A. Birrell, ‘The Printed Books of Dame Margaret Nicollson: A Pre-Reformation Collection’, in *Essays on English and American Literature, and a Sheaf of Poems, Offered to David Wilkinson*, ed. by J. Bakker and others (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987), pp. 27–33; Carol Meale, ‘The Miracles of Our Lady: Context and Interpretation’, in *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. by Derek Pearsall (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1990), pp. 115–36 (p. 132).

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 'Iwys' 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)²⁸⁵

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.

²⁸⁵ Description based on the digitised copy available at the Folger Digital Image Collection, <<http://luna.folger.edu>> [accessed March 2017], under the call number 'STC 21263'.

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 *thingez þat er lightly set by and lyghtly forgettyng*] *thyngis þat 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 ratioonabili*); 184 *yof all he felow nozt*] *yof al he 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 Moraliibus*).

Isolative variants: 194 and 259 above.

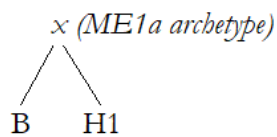
(ii) H1 (MS Harley 2409, ff. 52r–69v)

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 *þat es to say many ar þe tribulaciouns of þe rightwis*; 68 *anely* (Lat. *sola*); 132 *ese, þat is my*; 165 *of þis temptacion* (Lat. *huius 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. *hec 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. *miseriordia dei noster*); 46 *merit*] *myrthe* (Lat. *meritum*); 168 *inwardly and þarfityly examined*] *assaide and þarfityly examynd* (Lat. *intime et perfecte examinatur*); 207 *sen vertuez*] *swilk vertu* (Lat. *cum virtus*); 285 *nedefull*] *medful* (Lat. *necessaria*); 366 *lede*] *kep* (Lat. *educere*); 420 *yof nouþer reuerence ne luf myght lett hym*] *owthir 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:



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*¹] *of* H2aW1; 257 *may wel wite not*] *may nozt wel wyt* H2aW1; 270 *may*] *may nozt* H2aW1; and 272 *Gregory*] *seynt 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 mysrennyng* H2aW1; 253 *kulere of vertues*] *rulere of vertues* H2aW1 (Lat. *auriga virtutum*); 297 *falliþ*] *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 whomso*] *awhomso*; 8 *wanlaces*] *lanlacys*; 33–34 *þe ofter and þe more berye his God*] *be after and þe more worcheþ and berye is God*; 81 *spreynd*] *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*] *greuows deceytys* (Lat. *deceptionum laqueos*); 156 *Austyn*] *Ancelme*

(Lat. *Augustinus*); 177 *vtter disese*] *bittyr dysese* (Lat. *omnimoda desolacione*); 220 *forto leue*] *noz*
forto leue (Lat. *dimittendo*); 312 *bloodd*] *grace and mercy* H2a (Lat. *sanguine*). 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 whom þe foule lustis of gloteny*; 97 *whom he*
schal disese wiþ sorew and; 139 *or asayed* but *he is strengþid*; 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*
greuows; 312 *bloodd*] *grace and mercy*.

(iii) W1 (Wynkyn de Worde, *The prouffitable 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 myswenyng away from hym and dwelle not ne
hange not longe þervpon, but suffre pacientlyche and mekelyche as I haue seyde 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 azeyn is
pacience and suffryng.

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
disceyuer of sowles. And whan he maye not put the mynde in to errour by suche
disceytes, he besieth him to make it paynfully bytter thruh smytyng in of a fals drede

and by pouryng in the venym of hys wyckidnes. Therefore it behouyth in euery manere wyse to withstonde his dysceyuable entysinges put into man vnder lickenes of good thyng, and suffre pacyently and mekely the payne of bytternesse that he putteth into a ferdefull sowle. And therefore a man shall put suche myswenyng away from hym ne dwelle not ne henge not longe therupon, but suffre pacyently and mekely and truste alway 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, nititur 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 away . . . pacyentlyche 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 *feip 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 *auisip hym how euery man is ordeyned or disposid]* *considereth and beholdeth the state of euery man* (Lat. *considerat . . . vniuscuiusque statum*); 95 *wel ynough to whom he shall profere the desire and the eernyng of couetyse* (Lat. *nouit enim cui adhibeat cupiditatis estus*); 99 *and weneweth the cures* (Lat. *ventilat curas*); 235–36 *he bryngip in also oiperwibile, þis fals goost of errour, suche turnyng hidir and þidir and pryue trauelynge into mannys soule]* *also this fals spiryte of errour bryngeth in otherwhyle and wrappeth þe mynde wyth dyuers perplexytees and doubtynge, wyth wonderfull and preuy sterynges* (Lat. *implicat etiam aliquando spiritus erroris mentem diuersis perplexitatibus, miris et occultis agitationibus*). The addition at 161 *to desire grete and noble ziftis]* *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 prouffitable, howe charitable and helthful it is to comforte and strengthe the man that is trowblid and tormented, desolate and forsaken, and to leed oute into refute of reste and of comforte hym that passith thus by the fyre of preuyng and trybulacyon! And though he that is thus trowblid gete not anone but wante by longe tyme the rest and comforte 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 comfortare 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 deuel ful feiþ, þat is grounde and fundament of holy chirche and bigynnyng of alle vertues and of good worchyng, wiþ fals suggestionis and diuerse ymaginaciones or mysþinkyng in many wonderful maneris he bisyep hym what he may to anyntischen and destruye

W1 oure olde enmye the deuyll besieth hym what he may wyth fals suggestyons and dyues [sic] ymagynacions to hynder and destroy ful fayth, that is begynyng and grounde of all good werkinge

Lat. 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

But just as often, W1 expands on the text, leaving FH2a with the more concise reading, e.g.:

196

F and þou3 he fele litil goostliche comfort or ellis noon

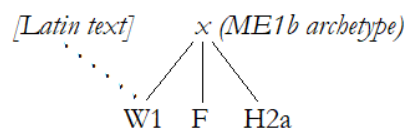
W1 and all be it that he fele noo suche goostli comfote in his sowle whan he is soo
 trowblid as thise holi appostles felten, but perauenture he felith lityll or none

Lat. et si modicam vel nullam senciati consolacionem spiritualem

There are fairly frequent errors in W1, including instances of omission through eyekip
 at 82 *þat is to seyn whom he seeþ most disposid to malencoly*; 177 *but it is ful hard and pure perfit
 forto folowe God wiþ vtter diseise of herte*; 324 *and peyne on þat oþer syde*.

7.2.2 Stemma

The relationship can therefore be represented as follows:



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 of tyn tyme* Le, *but yt falleth sumtyme* H2bGLo, *bot it happyns sumtyme* A, *butt sumtyme it befallyth* Br; 105 *putt*] *put himself* Le, *put hym* H2bAG, *putteth hym* Lo [rewritten in Br]; 137 *trubblast*] *troublest thow* LeBr, *turbyst þou so* H2b, *troublest þou so* GLo [missing in A]; 154 *þat*] *om.* LeH2bBrGLo [missing in A]; 181 *strenkyth*] *strenghith him* 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, *dowtful 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 *he mownys not*] *they may not do therwith* Le, *he synnyth nozt* H2b, *om.* AGLo [rewritten in Br]; and 161 *he thar*] *lete him* 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 temptyth 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:

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 *werld*; 194 *oleeue* for ‘believe’; and 10, 79, and 80 *be* for ‘they’, usually spelt *pei*.

Isolative variants: 61 *welē in herte cris*] *wolde in herte crye* Le, *wyl in herte crye* H2bALo, *ys yn wyll yn hys hert to crye* Br, *wilneþ in herte to crie* G; 89 *to*] *to of complexyoun and therto* *temptyth 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 *fantasiys*] *abbomynabyll fantasies* or 9 *trauaylis of þe fend*] *trauaylys that comyth into a mans soule by sterynges and wyllys 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 þefore 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 lesse gladnesse be fynt in his herte*, and an omission that is probably accidental at 42 *bothe mede and gilt*] *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 moubthe*] *the knowyng of many*, 99 *þei must schape*] *lete hem shame*, 113 *lestyn*] *rest*, 156 *erde ne kyng*] *herte ne lykyng*, and 176 *þat is zowyn for*] *ys gynnynng 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 *femerell*, ‘chimney’, and *merkyth the place of þe hous . . . 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 chirche and þe begynnyng of goode thewys*] *oure most defens azens all the fendys wyllys 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 *euery synne is in wil*] *euery synne þat is in wil*; 42–42 *is bothe mede and gilt*] *boþe mede and gyltelesse*; 78 *deth an heese*] *deþe and eese*; 109 *mytily*] *myleely*; 126–27 *no man may withstande þe feend withoutyn þe helpe of god*] *no man may withstonde þe feende wiþ helpe of god*; 134 *is as a myhti cite*] *he ys as myzty zet*; 150 *vnreste*] *on reste*; 178 *dispit*] *þe 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*] *medycyne*; 25 *rithful soule*] *symple soule* (Lat. *iusti mentem*); 36 *to fantasiyn in*] *falle in to*; 97–98 *he mownys not*] *he synnyth nozt*; 142 *synggyn*] *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 *þerto*] *þereto yt encresib*; 191 *trauailis*] *trauaylous thouztyz*; 203 *to non thing*] *to goddys seruyce and to non oþir þinge*. Omissions that are probably deliberate include 57 *in his herte*; 171 *mekyl*; 216 *trewes*; 217 *vile*. Eyeskip probably accounts for some other small omissions, as it does for the longer omissions at 12 *of schrewydnese of þe fend er*; 40–41 *is þe beleue of rithfulnesse vp quiche wordis seyth þe glose alone in a mannys wil*; 71 *for þer was neuere man disseued 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 oftyyn schriuen*.

Isolative variants: 25 *rithful*] *symple*; 40–41 *is þe beleue of rithfulnesse vp quiche wordis seyth þe glose alone in a mannys wil*] *om.*; 87–88 *disposicioun of his compleccioun*] *complexyoun*; 101 *suffre*] *take*; 178 *dispit*] *þe dysseyth*.

(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 *fondynggis of þe fend*] *fendes temptaciouns*; 57–58 *mow perceyuen in his herte no verry repentaunce*] *may noght perceyfe verry repentance in his bert*; 85 *qwemful*] *dere*; 87 *wel þanne it is knowe*] *it is*

knawen wele; 173 *daliaunce*] *commynycacioun*. Instances where A's changes affect the meaning are 9 *fals leuyng*] *fals leyng*; 42 *gilt*] *payne*; 47 *berte deem*] *fantesyas and temptaciouns has bene*; 105 *mychel*] *mekly*. There are a small number of minor expansions, including 13 *trauaylis*] *trauels and angys*; 110 *þerof*] *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 beheldyn hem þei owyn non heed takyn to swyche thoubtis*.

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 *berte deeme*] *fantesyas and temptacions has bene*; 49 *a verry*] *om.*; 58 *byddith his bedys*] *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 deliberata 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:

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

Lat. quem non potest a soliditate fidei deicere, saltem suis astucijs conatur indesinenter perturbare

69

Ca 'Knowyng of mouhthe is doon to helthe of soule.'

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

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

71–73

Ca [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 verry assent of herte, for a werous and a traualous wil puttit not a man froo God.

Br 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.

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

77

Br For þe fend knowyth home he shall meue with the synne of couetyse; to home glotony; to home lechery, wrath; to whome with enuy; and some he meuyth wyth [*sic*] and some with fals yoy. For he discussyth whertoo 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 besyly ocupeyd.

Lat. 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 admiratione seducat: omnium discutit consuetudines, ventilat curas, scrutatur affectus; et ibi causas requirit nocendi, ubi

quemque videt studiosius occupari.

87

Br And Iob sayth: 'My lord hath proued me wyth trouble as the fyre doth proue gold.'

Lat. Et Iob dicit: 'Probauit me quasi aurum per ignem transit'.

102

Ca qwat myschef falle to hem

Br remembryng þe gret meryt of pacyence both yn thys lyff present and in þe lyff euerlastyng

Lat. recolendo meritum paciencie in presenti et premium gaudij in futuro

103–06

Ca 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.'

Br And what merueyl ys it thou a man that ys mortall and ful of wrechydnese suffer troubul yn thys vale of wrechydnese, seyng that oure sauour hymself suffred so much trouble, sayng by hymself yn the gospels: 'My hert ys sorowful to goo to the deth'.

Lat. Et quid mirum si homo mortalis et miserabilis in presenti turbetur et tribuletur, ex quo Saluator noster in euangelio ait de seipso . . . Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.

113

Br The troubul 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.

Lat. Modicum autem est et momentaneum quidquid in presenti patimur, etsi omni tempore tribulemur, respectu tribulacionis eterne quam misericorditer vitari speramus.

114–16

Ca þe 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

Br whyll þat hys good wyll doth abyed, he ys nother put frome hys feyth fro hope nor fro charyte þerby, but he ys þe more growndly mad stedfast yn all vertue

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

134–35

Ca he þat is sori and trauailyd qwanne he heerith þe goode comfort of his broþir or his
sostyr

Br he þat ys confermyde and made stedfast by hys neyghbuos techyng and so made
perfyte yn cryste

Lat. Confirmatus autem a proximo et perfectus in Christo

236

Br And whan þe enemy kanne by no menys wakyng departe the soule fro God, than
suffurth our lord hym to vex them whyle they ben slepyng, and þat ys of þe gret mercy
of our lord that not oonly hys troubuls wakyng to hym shuld be merite, but as well þe
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 sompnus 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 quat skyle he is so trawaylyd] nor too
dyscusse the cause of the commyng of them* (Lat. *nec discutere seu causas talium multum inuestigare*);
67–68 *in dispit of þe fend to ben aknowe his beleue and his hoope with his mouth] to mete hym
spekyng hys byleue wyth hys mouthe to þe contrary of thy temptacyon þat he ys meuyd wyth* (Lat. *per
modum abiuracionis et contrarie assersionis fidem suam ore exprimendo obiecto errore obuiare*); and
101 *Ioob] Jobe which ys the myrroure of pacyence* (Lat. *Iob 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 quat care goddis chosyn seruauntis han suffrid in
erde] but let men thynke what sorowe holy fadres before vs yn diuerse maners haue suffred by the
ordinaunce of god*, and long rewritten passages at lines 87–97, 119–26, and 177–88. ‘God’ and
‘Thesu’ 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 þerfore wisly and gostly owyt a man to withstanden þe fondynggis and þe wrenchis of þe fend*; 83–84 *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 prouyd in þe feer’*; 88–90 *þe feend aspyith in iche man what vice he is most disposid to, and þerfore þe complexioun þat he fyndith ful of humurs of melencolie, hem he turmentyth most with gostly temptaciouns*; 170–73 *And for as mechil as þei þat ben þus trauaylid ben dreedful and sori of complexioun, thre thyngis been needful to hem. Þe first is þat þei ben nouw mekyl aloone. Þe secunde is þat þei thynkyn 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 redactor 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 ouercome the temptacyon. For it faryth wyth vs of such thoughtes or troubullys which 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 alsoo cause them to cumme and to barke at hym and to hurt hyme, 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 begynnyng, yef we stryue wyth it as and we wold by vyolens put hyt away, we than do cause the thought mor ferfly to troubull vs, and not oonly we than doo tangyll ourself wyth þat thought alone but it causith oodur troubls also, whych paraenture 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 anythyng, the lengar that thyng wyll abyde wyth hyme. And therefore we should peasybylly goo forth yn our way and not stryue wyth 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 38,²⁸⁷ 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'.²⁸⁸ 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)

²⁸⁷ Hackett, Colledge, and Chadwick, p. 227.

²⁸⁸ PL 159, col. 620; *Memorials of St. Anselm*, ed. by R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, 1 (London: Oxford UP, 1969), p. 53.

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 *freelich*] *wilfully*; 145 *belthe*] *helpe*; 151 *and pees of soule*] *of body and of soule*; 214 *hooliche*] *to obleche*; and 233 *medful*] *nedeful*. Errors occur at 74 *caren*] *take*; 98 *peyne þei han*] *payne þei*; 158 *maistrye*] *may stire*. Omissions, possibly deliberate, occur at 11–12 *þat comyn of schrewydnese*] *om.*; 75 *goddis chosyn seruauntis*] *seruauntis*; and 231–32 *of þe loue and of þe cumfort of god*] *of god*, and there is one omission due to eyeskip at 234–35 *and þefore þei been moore medful þan bodily*. There are no additions.

Isolative variants: 30 *suffrith*] *suffrede*; 9 *clerkis*] *book*; 183 *mery and glad*] *myztty and glad*.

(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 he owith nouth*] *and no man ought*; 130–31 *thourh myth of Cristes grace and his preyere verryli berith doun þe deuyl*] *þrogh the myght of þe grace of criste bereth doun þe deuyl þrogh 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*] *takyngede*; 216 *wolde leetyn*] *shold hold*. Instances where these changes affect the meaning include 18 *veyn dyuers and non ende han*] *veyn and none bede hath* (Lat. *vane sunt et varie ymmo quasi infinite*); 108 *let not a synful man merueylin þowh his herte be sory*] *let nat a synful mannes bert be sory* (Lat. *quid mirum si homo mortalis et miserabilis in presenti turbetur*); 165 *is stabilished*] *seitþe hym deped in loue*; and 202 *al thing hath tyme*] *al men haue tyme*. Instances of error occur at 17 *more deepe*] *more despeire* and 56 *he wil*] *þat he 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 *merueylyn*] *meruail of such*, except for the following small expansion: 114–15 *ne merueyle no man þow a gostly man and a good synglerly be temptid for þe more þat he his trauallyd ageyns his wil be it in feith or in hoope or in charite*] *ne meruayle no man azens goddis wil be it in feip or in hope or in charite for þe more a man is tempted in hem and proued G, 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 assentyng therto Lo. More frequent are small omissions, which usually simplify redundant phrasing: for example, 32 *driue and turmentid] dryuen*; 99 *wiln ben] ben*; 150 *unlikyng and vnreste] vnlykyng*; 152 *in þe bil*; 224 *in consience ageyns his wil*. There is an omission due to eyeskip at 76–77 *þe feend, sumtyme be steryng of*.

Isolative variants: 24 *in þe thridde book] in a boke þat he maked*; 31 *likyng] wille*; 165 *is stabilished] seithe hym deped in loue*; 167 *moore neer] heigher*; 168 *of his synnes] om*.

7.3.2 Groups of Manuscripts

(i) GLo

The constant agreement of G and Lo throughout shows that they must share a common ancestor, α . These shared variants are frequent and generally minor. They reveal occasional efforts to simplify the phrasing: for example, 43 *be his fre wil] wilfulliche*;²⁸⁹ 56 *quat owre þat] whan*; 122 *qwete þe moore it is castyn] for þe more þat 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] offenden*; 235 *with good avisement] wiþouten ony auysement*; and perhaps 80 *asayith] aspief*. In section I *þou* is used instead of *a man* to address the reader directly. At 45–46 *goode dedis schewyn a good wil, and euyl deedis an euyl wil* (Lat. *opera bona bonam voluntatem probant, et mala malam*) is altered to *goode dedes 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] zut i schal knoweliche to him*; 188 *blisse] kyngdom*; 228–29 *schal delyueren] haþ delyuered*. Accidental errors may occur at 94 *resonable] resoun ne able* and 94 *demyn] mene*. There are no additions in α , but there are a number of minor omissions, including 6–8 *wisly 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 zeue] wisly rewle þee first to withstonde þe fende and suche fondyngis and zif*; 31 *fals zernyngges and] om*.; 36 *to mannys soule] om*.; 59 *caryn ne demyn] deme*; 75 *chosyn] om*. (Lat.: *electos*); 102 *stedfastly] om*.; 114 *þow a gostly man and a good synglerly be temptid] om*. (Lat. *quod homo spiritualis*

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 þat bath fals doomys and tarijs*.

Isolative variants: 36 *to mannys soule*] *om.*; 49–50 *for it is a gret synne a man to demyn*] *om.*; 62 *oftyn*] *tofore*; 75 *chosyn*] *om.*; 94 *demyn*] *mene*.

(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 10.²⁹⁰ The most significant of these further agreements are as follows:

- 4 *a meruelious maner*] *merueylous manerys* LeH2bGLo
 11 *angwyschis*] *angrys* LeA, *angyr* H2b (rewritten in Br)
 17 *angwysiss*] *angrys* H2bA (rewritten in LeBr)
 20 *his*] *hys owne* BrGLo
 22 *ageyns*] *angweshes of* BrG, *angwissbes agayn* Lo
 30 *of þe self*] *of þe soule* Le, *om.* H2bA, *of oure self* Br, *of þe self soule* GLo
 31 *zernyngges*] *desyring* Le, (*stiryynge* canc.) *desyres* A
 32 *bileus*] *veleynys* LeLo, *violence* H2bG, and *vyolent* A (*wykkydnesse* Br)
 35 *weeryn*] *erryn* LeBrGLo, *waxe weery* H2b, *dowte* A
 39 *weerful*] *fals* H2b, *dowtful* ALo, *ferful* G
 44 *fortrauaylid and forleyd*] *traueld and ouerlayd* AGLo, *farre traauayllyd and ouerleyd* Br
 48 *weerous*] *om.* Le, *false* H2b, *dowtful* ALo, *errours* Br
 50 *weer*] *douzte* H2bALo, *a doughte* Br
 52 *any werous*] *a veyn* Le, *false* H2b, *a dowtful þoght and* A, *an erroneous* Br, *doutous* Lo
 63 *fantasiys*] *þouztys and fantasyes* H2b, *fantasy* A, *fantasyes and thoughtys* Br
 88 *vice*] *wyse* Le, *weies* G, *wey* Lo
 91 *cernel*] *femerell* Le, (*brayne* canc.) *attrell* A, *brayn* Lo (rewritten in Br)

²⁹⁰ As based on the variants noted in the textual apparatus only, excluding sections where A or Br are incomplete.

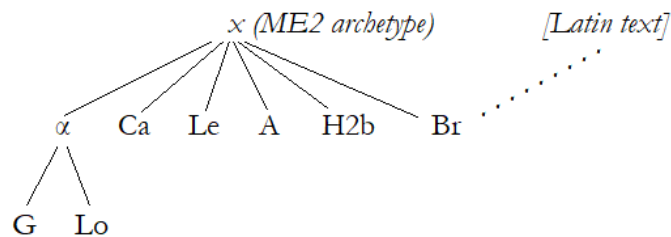
- 96 *skilful enchesoun*] *skylful cause* Le, *encheson skylful* H2bG, *cause skylfull* A
- 102 *stedfastly*] *om.* H2bGLo, *also* Br
- 107 *arn*] *was* LeAGLo, *ys* H2b (*om.* Br)
- 107–08 *al maner*] *om.* LeH2bA, *al* Lo
- 109 *mybtily*] *mekely* LeGLo, *myleely* H2b, *myghtyly and mekely* A (*wyth a good hope pacyently* Br)
- 112 *many*] *my many* LeH2b, *my* Br
- 119 *as seith þe gospel, in þat it is schewyd*] *as seynt iohn shewyth yt* Le, *as seynt austyn seip yt semyth* H2b, *as Seynt Poule sayth* Br, *as seint luke it schewep* G, *as seynt luyk seith hit sheweth* Lo (*om.* A)
- 131–32 *to god in pacience*] (*to* Le) (*be* H2b) *pacyens to god* LeH2b (missing in A)
- 136–37 *quoniam adhuc confitebor illi*] *et cetera* LeG, *om.* Lo (missing in A)
- 153–54 *Ihesu among his turmentouris*] *him in hys turment* Le, *hym in turment* Br (missing in A)
- 161 *he thar*] *lete him* LeH2bGLo (missing in ABr)
- 162 *he may*] *lete him* LeH2bGLo (missing in ABr)
- 199 *doon*] *onys do* LeH2b (missing in ABr)
- 201 *quiche*] *suche* LeH2b (missing in ABr)
- 228 *tribulaciouns*] *traveyls* 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*] *him in hys turment* Le, *hym in turment* Br; and 44 *fortrauaylid and forleyd*] *traueld and ouerlayd* AGLo, *farre trauayllyd and ouerleyd* Br, in which an original *fortrauaylid* could have been shortened in AGLo and an original *ouerlayd* ('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 synonymms at 31 *zernyngges*] *desyring* Le, (*stryynges* canc.) *desyres* A; 91 *cernel*] *femerell* Le; (*brayne* canc.) *attrell of þe hede* A; 109 *mytily*] *mekely* LeGLo, *myleely* H2b, *myghtyly and mekely* A. Other apparent agreements may represent the preservation of original readings. For example, *þouȝtys and fantasyes* may be the original reading of 63 *fantasiys*] *þouȝtys and fantasyes* H2b, *fantasyes and thoughtys* Br, and either *of þe self* or *of þe self soule* may be the original of 30 *of þe self*] *of þe soule* Le, *om.* H2bA, *of þe 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 3ou to withstondyn the fend in eche foundynge or vyolent temptynge of temptacion

ME2 (Ca) And þerfore wisly and gostly owyth a man to withstanden þe fondynggis and þe wrenchis of þe fend. Þe first rewle of wythsettyng þe fend in fondynggis

ME2 (G) And þerfore wisly rewle þee first to withstonde þe fende and suche fondyngis

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 *aspieþ*; 54 *to a manis soule*, Ca *to mannys 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 þouz a man haue neuere so many terynges*, 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 readings in Lo but not G, as in the following passage:

288–92

ME3 And þerfore grutche no man azens 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 azens here wil, and thei withstonden 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 afore God strengthid and saddid in alle goode thewis.

ME2 (G) Ne meruayle no man agens 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 afor 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 patiently withstond hit, nat assentynghe 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 *vtterlyche 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 wyllle of the selue soule* add. H3, *without any wil of the same man* add. Wo, *withoute eny wil of this 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 way to heuenwarde* and H3, *and thynke that to suffre dysease pacyently is the waye to heuenwarde* and W2, *then thynke for to suffer temptacyons or sekenes pacyently 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 be 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 *alegegaunces*] *allegeaunce or lytter to suffre* H3, *allegeaunce* Ho, *alygeaunce or lyghter payne to suffre* W2, *throughe hys mercy lyghter paynes to suffer* D, *om.* Wo; and 244 *here owne synnes þat accused here, so*] *þat acuseden her þer owne synnes were so vopenly schewed afor þem* H3, *that accuseden hir hir 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 *werse*] *weersum* H3Ho, *werisoum* Wo, *om.* W2D (ME2 [Ca]: *weerous*); 70 *swich*] *that* H3WoHoW2D; 197 *his*] *the* H3WoHoW2D; 267 *growe*] *to growe* H3WoHoW2D; 466 *comendable*] *conuenyable* H3WoHo, *due* W2, *om.* D; 698 *a ful vysement*] *fulle avysement* H3WoHoW2D (ME2: *auysement*); 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*] *myzty cytee* H3W2D, *myzt set* Ho, *a comforte* Wo (ME2: *myghty 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 *his*] *the* H3WoHoW2D; 698 *a ful vysement*] *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 haue*] *haue more*; 87 *wil*] *mynd* (ME2: *wille*); 116 *purgeth*] *purip*; 391 *good discret persone*] *dyscrete man*; 588 *dee*] *halfe*; and 692 *þe feende, enemye to al mankende, tormenteth*] *þe feende haþe enuye to alle mankynde tormentyng* (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 *þat is to seyn, a man aforþ God hath neuere meede ne gylt* (ME2: *þat is to seyn, a man byfor God hath neþer mede ne gylt*); 263 *for a gardener*; 574–75 *muste nedys punysche synne, and þerfore I drede his rightwysnesse*; 602–03 *whanne he seeth tyme. And þou3 he 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 hath envye onto zou* 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 *for3euen] for3euensse*.

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, enemye to al mankende, tormenteth] þe feende haþe envye 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 synne 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, seyð oure lord Ihesu, þat God þe fader is almygþtyful, as who seyth, þer is no þing impossible] credo quia omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Believe quod our lord ihesu for to hym that bilevith ther is noþyng impossible, and 229 may for3eue] 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 *myspayed withal*] *myspaied with hem and he is nat pleasid therwith*. 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 subtilitees*; 631–32 *also his holy vertues*] *vpon his most mervailous mekenes and vpon his contynual fervent love that he hadde and ever hath 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 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*. Less frequently, there are minor omissions probably made for the sake of simplification, including the longer examples 17–18 *he is ful besy to dysese and to disseyve mannes soule*; 196 *and of þe peynes zeueth alegegaunces*; 290–91 *thei withstonden it, þat is to seye not with a quemeful wil consentynge*] *he withstandith nat with ful consentyng*. 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 trauilous*; 388–89 *thre thynges*] *thetenynges*; 494 *wit betyr þan*] *withoute bettir and*; and 657 *þouzt, and seyð. Glorious trinite, sende me clenness 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.

Isolative variants: Omissions at 126, 213–14, 519–20 and 628–29; 25 *charge*] *dred*; 36 *doctour*] *om.*; 141 *infenyte withowten repetaunce*] *that a man wil nat repente hym of his synne never in al his lif*; 407 *his enemy*] *of envy*.

(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 *oncerteyn] 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 he wil entarye alwey Goddis seruauntis, for he is ful set azens hem, with al malice and velanye to disese hem in diuers maneris in al þat he 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 *preysynges] 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 thecheth vs] þe appostell sanct Jamys sayth*; 26 *tyl God do remedye] to it please god at sende a remedy* (ME2: *til God wil do remedi*); 337 *onkende] unkynd 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 forzeuen 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 þe mercy of god and leue there synnys*; 207 *to synne*] *to synne vpon trust of thy mercy* W2, *to synne apon a trust of þi þe gret mercy for doutles all suche may knawe that for truthe þe pope may nott absolue them* D; 238 *forzeuenesse*] *mercy beyng in perfytte wyll neuer to fall agayne*; 250 *mercy and grace*] *mercy and grace, yff þat they be in perfytte wyll and mynd to amende without þe wiche neuer one may be saued*; 787 *or necligent and recebles in vertues*] *and thyngke hym selfe to be as holy as a angell. And so for gret goostly pryde and vaneglorye he schulde do as lucyfere dyd wiche fell from þe heghte of hewyn vnto þe depyst pytte in hell*; 390 *ne seche no þing deeply*] *ne study to depely in ony one thyng* W2, *nor studye to depley in any thyng, most specyally in hye thynges wiche þat be aboue theyr vnderstandyng* D; 491–92 *be here confessour, or be some good discret persone, and rule hem fully aftir hym and not aftir here owne blynde mysrulyd consciens*] *by theyr confessour or some other dyscrete persone and fully put them to theyr rule as afore is sayd and no thyng folowe theyr owne blynde consyence* W2; *by theyre confessor, yf so be þat he be a gostly man and hayth 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 othe dyscret person wiche þat knawys and hayth experyence to gyue them gud and true counsell and so then they are truely bone to folow theyre counsell and leue þe fantesys of þer awne selfe wyll and blynde conscience* D. There is a lengthy addition at line 696, as follows:

And verraly þer be sum men in þe warlde þat doth labore gretly all þer lyue for þe goostly love with swetnes of deuocyon, and zet can they neuer geyte it. And whye for, þe good lorde kepys it fro them for þe more mede and reward in hewyn. For doutles hys ryghtwysnes is so þat he wyll neuer lett a man lyf here in pane all hys lyve for hys love bott he wyll rewarde hym dowble in hewyn, above them þat are fede all in swetnes 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 thys warlde so comfourth with þe swetnes of contemplacyon shall haue þe lesse ioye in hewyn, wiche doth compare them vnto a seruand þat hayth taken hys wage before hande and þen verraly he hayth þe lesse to resayve at þe yere ende. And therefore it is called a

spyrytuall glotony. Neuerþeſſe I ſay nott bott euery true goostly man is bone to labour for it pacyently yf it please god to ſend hym it, euermore preferring þe wyllys of god before oure deſyrys, for þat is þe moost hye perfeccyan in all maner of thyngys. (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 aboute theyr vnderſtandyng’.

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 counceſſys vs to ouer moche eyſe *and* ryst of oure body and plesure to oure fleſhe vnder þe couloure of nede to vpholde and ſuſteyne oure kynde. For ſuche thoughtys he puttes 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 truly nor laſt in þe trawell þat we haue begone. Bot \here/ had þou nede to beholde wyſely hys falshed, by wiche he intendeth to bryng vs to ouer myche luſt and lykyng of our bodys to mayke vs ſlawe and colde in goſtly loue and oure bodys apte vnto dedely ſyn. Also, vnder þe lyknes of

²⁹¹ S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse from MS Longleat 29 and Related Manuscripts*, EETS, OS 293 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Ogilvie-Thomson 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 dysssyre he intyces vs to veray scharpe harde *and* ouer myche penauance for \to/ dystroye oure selfe, and says thus vnto vs: 'Þou wote well þat he or sche wiche suffers most pennaunce for þe loue of God, they shall haue most meyd and rewarde in hewyn. And þerfore se þat þou ete lyttyll and febyll meettys *and* drynke lesse and ofttymes watter, wiche is good enoughe for þe. Take bott also lyttyll sclepe, weyer sharpe hayre next þi bare skyne, or haberione; all thyngys wiche þat be affliccyon vnto þi fleshe, se þat þou do it, so þat ther be none þat may passe þe in penauance.' I counsell þe specyally to be we [*sic*] ware of thys suttell decepcyon. For he þat says thus to þe, doutles he is abowtwarde to slee þe (*with canc.*) *with* ouer myche penauance aboue þi strenghe of þi nature, lyke as þe other wolde slee þe *with* ouer lyttyll penauance. And therfore yf þou wyll be ryght disposyd accordyng to good discrecyon, þou most sett þi mynde and wyll to lyfe \in/ a meyne maner; þat is to say, take nawther to myche then to lyttyll, so þat þou may dystroye vyces and holde þi flesche vnder discretly, þat it may be strong in þe serues of swet Ihesu Cryst. And doutles a small thyng dothe susten nature. And therfore se þat þou take nawther to mych þen to lyttyll, for nawther is Goodes wyll. And þat mony one wyl nott beleue for nothyng þat may be sayd. Yf þou take þi sustenaunce of suche good as God sendes the for þe tyme and þe day accordyng, take it *with* discrecyon and mesure, and þen þou dothe ryght well, for so dyd Cryst hym selfe and hys appostylls. Yff þou abstene from mony comyn mettys and dryngkys þat warldly men vsys, nott dissypsand the mett nor dryngke þat God hayth mayd to mannys helpe bott yff þou thyngke þat þou hayth no nede therof, þan þou dothe ryght well. And yf þou se well þi selfe þat þou arte nott strong and lusty to serue God and þat it brekes þi stomake, wiche comys *with* ouermyche abstynence, and takes from þe all appetydys of mettys and dryngkys, and makes þe ofttymes in suche febylnes as þou were redy to gyue vp the goost, and weyt þou well in þat þou synnys dedely and schulde be dampned yf þou so dye. And yf þou can nott schortly knawe whether gret abstynence be *with* þe or agayne þe, therfore wylls þou art yong I counsell þe þat þou ette *and* dryngke (be *canc.*) þe more better for feyr þou be dissaved. And þen afterwarde when þou hayth proved mony thyngys and ouercoume mony temptacyons and knawys bothe þi selfe and God better, þen þou dothe zett þen, and þou se þat þi strenght wyll performe it, þou may (to *canc.*) take more abstynence, prevely, þat all men thare not

weyt nor knawe. *Verray true wysdome in gostly lyue is nother in fastyng nor in eettyng, bott þou þat art ryght wyse and vertuose, yf all thyngys be vnto \þe/ equall, os luffyng pouerte as well as ryches, hunger and thurste as well as dylycate meettys or dryngkys. Yff þou take thes pacyently with thankys and gyff lowyng to God with þi hart, þen doutles I holde þe blessed and hye in þe syght of swet Ihesu.* (ff. 41v–46v)

Isolative variants: Omissions at 103–04, 174–75, 367–68, and 374; 18 *wysely] se þat ze discretly* (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 zou] om.* W2, *for your saluacyon* D; 239 *wil] mynde* W2, *mynd and wyll* D; 240 *moche and so gret] 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] answe* 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] for a* D, *in þe syght of god for a good* W2. Further variants occur at 93 *dispite] the spyte* (ME2: *dispit*); 520 *vertuose] vertuously*; 647 *zoure] our*; and 697 *medeful] nedefull* (ME2: *medeful*). There are few mechanical errors but these include 284 *mafolde*; 488 *loue*; 567 *sady*; and 693 *gaue*. 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'.

Isolative variants: 231 *þinge and] that* W2, *thynges þat* D; 240 *moche] om.*; 364 *mad hym afered] fered* W2, *mayd hym so ferde* D; 697 *medeful] nedefull*.

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 þe 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 doubttes*] *ony doubtte* W2, *no doutte* DW2b; 25 *trauels*] *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, *sufferd* DW2b; 639 *moment*] *mynvte* DW2b; 672–73 *þefore 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 *away*] *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 *medeful*] *nedefull* W2, *medefull* W2c.

7.4.3 Groups of Manuscripts

(i) W2D²⁹²

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

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 *duelleth] laboureth* (ME2: *dwelleth*); and longer substitutions and changes to word order such as 19 *withstondyn the fend in eche foundynge or vyolent temptynge] withstande his vyolent sterynges* (ME2: *withstond 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 ‘lyzt 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 commytte synne actually* (ME2: *we synne*), though there is a short added line at 334 *wherby he may be called a [vaynquyssber W2, conquerer D] or ouercomer*. At 124 W2D also specifies that melancholy people are tempted by ‘temptacyons 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 nat*²⁹³ (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 bifore god*. At 336, WoHo simplifies the reading *but if þou helpe to counceil and conferme thi brethern* to *counsaille thi brethern*; although this resembles ME2’s *conferme thi 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.

cris and the precious bloode that he shedde wil clense and hele the sikenesse of al the soulis that mekely wil take for medicyn; and 575 and deeme every man after that he hath 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] lete*; 113 *asayeth and proueth his chosen frendes be temptacyons and angres] bien his [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’.²⁹⁴ There are only a small number of agreements between H3W2D, but some of these are indeed significant, including the following: 76 *mow] now* H3W2D, *om.* WoHo; 89 *knowleche] of hem* add. H3, *of suche fantasyes* add. W2D; 117 *preueth and pureth] preuen and purgen* H3, *purgeth* W2D (ME2: *prouen*; likely independent substitution, as in the previous line, 116 *purgeth] purip* H3WoHo); 228 *almyghtyful] almyty* H3W2D, *om.* Wo; 338 *myght sent] myztty cytee* H3W2D, *myzt set* Ho, *a comforte* Wo (ME2: *myghty citee*; possibly a correction in H3W2D, but probably a preservation of the original reading); 525 *vertuose] 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 way to beuenwarde* and H3, *and thynke that to suffre dysease pacyently is the way to beuenwarde* and W2, *then thynke for to suffer temptacyons or sekenes pacyently is þe next way to beueynwarde* 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 *alegeaunces] allegaunce or lytter to suffre* H3,

²⁹⁴ Colledge and Chadwick, p. 217.

allegeaunce Ho, *alygeaunce 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* | *þat acuseden her þer owne synnes were so vopenly schewed afor þem þat* H3, *that accuseden hir hir owne synnes so that* WoHo, *whiche accused her that they so largely (and so oppynly* D) *perceyued theyr (awne* D) *synnes that* W2D.

The following agreement is the most significant: 162 *heren speke or reede*] *by heerynge spekyng wrytyng or redyng* H3, *here by spekyng or elles [of W2, by D] wrytyng or redyng* 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 (ð), 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.

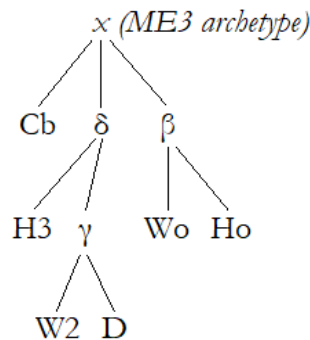
Most of the agreements among WoHoW2D are minor variants, most often the omission of nonessential words, which could easily occur independently: e.g., 3 *Capitulum primum*] *om.* WoHoW2D; 30 *bothe*] *om.* WoHoW2D (ME2: *both*); 36 *it is not*] *is no* WoW2D, *it is no* Ho (ME2: *hit is no*). The following 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 ze felen zou in suche plyghte, 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 bath 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 *þerof*] *therafter* Wo, *ther of aftir* HoD (ME2: *of hem*); 139 *þat*] *and sei to hym that* WoD; 243 *stonede*] *stoned to the deth* WoW2, *stoned to dethe* D; 346 *wielde*] *wil ne their wielde* Wo, *wyllys and* D (here the context suggests the phrase ‘follow their own will’); 420–21 *eftsones schreuen*] *shriuen ageyn* Wo, *newly shryuen agayne* W2, *newe confessyd agayne* D (ME2: *eftsones shryuen*); 584–85 *seyde he*] *quoth the squyer* WoHo, *than sayd the squyer* W2D; 590 *vanyschid*] *vanysshed away* Wo, *sodanly wanyshed away* D; 591 *cauzte*] *toke to hym* Wo, *toke* W2D; 592–93 *wenten clene away*] *were cleene away 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, *diuers* D; 414 *many sondre*] *many dyvers* Wo, *dyuers and many* W2D; 527–28 *sondry . . . sundry*] *dyuers* WoD . . . *dyuerse* W2D (*om.* Wo); 176 *zerd*] *rodde* WoW2D, *rodde or yerde* Ho; 178 *zerde*] *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 CbH3. 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 *owne wil]* *wil* WoHoW2D (ME2: *wille*); 58 *weerful þoughtes or doughteful]* *contrary thoughtis* Wo, *werisum thouztes* Ho, *ferefull thoughtes* W2D (ME2: *doutful þoghtys* Lo, *weerful thoubtis* Ca); 80 *grace]* *the grace* WoHoW2D (ME2: *þe 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.



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.²⁹⁵ 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

²⁹⁵ For an account of this best-text method, as distinct from the methods of recension, direct editing, and parallel-text editing, see Douglas Moffat and Vincent P. McCarren, 'A Bibliographical Essay on Editing Methods and Authorial and Scribal Intention', in *A Guide to Editing Middle English*, ed. by Vincent P. McCarren and Douglas Moffat (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 25–57. For a detailed account of methods of editing within the historical development of textual criticism, see chapters 8 and 9 of David Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 295–372. Other discussions of approaches to editing that I have been guided by include Anne Hudson, 'Middle English', in *Editing Medieval Texts: English, French and Latin Written in England*, ed. by A. G. Rigg (New York: Garland, 1977), pp. 34–57; the essays in *Crux and Controversy in Middle English Textual Criticism*, ed. by Charlotte Brewer and A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), particularly Ralph Hanna, 'Producing Manuscripts and Editions', pp. 109–30; and the essays in *Probable Truth: Editing Medieval Texts from Britain in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Anne Hudson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

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 *ʒ* 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., ‘þe¹’. 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, *forʒouen . . . saued*] *saued nor* (ʒet D) *forʒouen of theyr* [*trespaces* 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
- () , [] 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 Anglicana media hand. Most of the abbreviations are standard. The abbreviation *w^t* 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-*, *pur-*, or *por-* following the usual medieval usage; it is never spelt out in B. The pronoun *þ^u* is expanded as *þou*, more common in B, although *þu* 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 *-ne/-me/-e* 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 *-ioun* is intended; however, because the *-ioun* 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 *þ* is indistinguishable from *y*, except that *y* is sometimes dotted. This has been transcribed as *þ* or *y* as appropriate. The word *yof* (*all*) is transcribed with a *y* by analogy with *if all*, also used in B. *ʒ* is sometimes used in the middle of words as equivalent to *gh/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 *-ioun*, 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 *wt*, occurring once, has been expanded as *with*. *þu*, also occurring once, is expanded as *þou*. *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*, *dapartith*.

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 CbH3W^oH^oW2D. 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 3ou, 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 *worcheþ* with a macron is however expanded as *worcheþe*, 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 *-her* in *herte*, 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 *z* are confused in a few instances, including 219 *zou3*, 314 (*zo* canc.) *þou3*, and 454 for *þouen*, 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 temptationes

Qualiter obuiandum est temptationibus illusoriis.

Quia sicut ait apostolus, sine fide impossibile est placere Deo,⁴ hinc est quod [I.] 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 quem non potest a soliditate fidei deicere, saltem suis 5 astucijs conatur indesinenter perturbare.⁵ Cuius machinamentis ac temptationibus caute ac spiritualiter est obuiandum: videlicet, omnia fantastica ymaginata concepta, erronea vel fedata, id est blaphemias, visa vel audita, non curare, et quasi leuiter dissimulare et non reluctando resistere. 'Cogitaciones hominum quoniam vane sunt',⁶ et varie, ymmo quasi infinite. Ideo enim fantasticis erroribus fidem vel mores 10 impugnantibus, non debet homo admirari vel in hijs conmorari nec illis insistere nec discutere seu causas talium multum inuestigare, quia quanto quis magis erroneis et falsis discutiendo insistit, tanto magis se in errorem profundat.

Nec debet homo pro talibus obiectis seipsum angariare vel increpare vel sue [II.] culpe imputare, quia temptacio est quo ad penam et leuissima est quo ad culpam. Est 15 enim homini fideli omnino inuoluntaria et displicens, et ideo penalis est et nullius peccati. 'Omne' enim 'peccatum est voluntarium, et si non voluntarium, non peccatum', secundum Augustinum.⁷ Quia sicut ait Ysidorus De summo bono, libro quarto, capitulo nono: 'Qui passionibus anime insidiante aduersario cruciatur non idcirco se credat alienari a Christo qui talia patitur, sed magis laudet | Deum'.⁸ Et f. 140v

1 Qualiter...illusoriis] incipit tractatus compositus a Fratre Willelmo Flete de remedijs contra temptationes CA1, remedia contra spirituales temptationes HA3, incipit etiam opus M Walteri Hytloun contra temptationes carnis et spiritus BA4, contra temptationes et tribulationes cordis CA4 8 curare] curare CA3 | et...9 resistere] sed leuiter ferre et fortitur sperare in misericordia dei noster BA4CA4 13 profundat] et mentis tedium illicit BA4CA4 14 angariare] supra modum angariare BA4CA4 sue...15 imputare] absolute sue culpe imputare BA4CA4 15 temptacio] temptacio fidei vel spei cum sit penalis valde et afflictina grauissima CA1 17 peccati] sed anime purgacio paciencie roboracio humilitatis attraccio et ad spem vite eterne instigacio add. BA4CA4 | Omne...18 Augustinum] Augustinus in libro de vera religione ait omne . . . peccatum BA4CA4 18 libro...19 nono] libro tercio capitulo quarto CA1HA3, libro primo BA4, libro tercio CA4 20 qui] quia CA1BA4CA4 | magis] magis per hec commendabilem se estimet esse si dum hec patitur CA1 | Et...23 fine] qui huiusmodi virgula corripit ipsum vt spiritus saluus fiat. Sic agenti 'hoc quod ex passione tollerat pro virtute reputatur.' Et quamuis pro quo vicio vel qua ex causa hoc paciatur ignorat, dei bonitatem iuste et misericorditer agentis suppliciter commendat, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos. 'Non amplius . . . voluntas permittit. Temptando enim, iustorum profectibus seruit'. (Ecce, 'etsi nolens . . . sanctorum deseruit.' BA4) Nam temptationes quas ille ad hominis interitum monet, christus salubriter in virtutes et anime salutem conuertit BA4CA4

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
5 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
10 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
15 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
20 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

ibidem libro eodem, capitulo quinto: ‘Non amplius temptat electos diabolus quam Dei voluntas permittit. Etsi nolens, tamen vtilitati sanctorum deseruit.’¹¹ Item capitulo eodem in fine: ‘Nunquam vacat aduersarius hominem iustum aggrauare’, nec temptationum certamina desiuit commouere, ‘aut tribulationes cordis exaggerit, aut dolores corporis suscitatur. Sepe enim iusti mentem varijs doloribus vis demonum cruciat vnde interdum usque ad desperationem et nimiam angustiam coartatur. Permanente enim in Dei timore anima et amore, ipsa eciam talis angustia ad meritum proficit. Talis igitur non seperatur a Deo, sed coniungitur, qualibet angustia torqueatur. Multa enim aduersa iustus in anima patitur instigatione demonum, sed talibus temptamentis perire vite eterne non potest, quia pius Dominus ad temptationem culpe non reputat quod, sue maiestatis permissione, [n]olens patitur. Nam peccamus ibi, vbi in cupiditatem vel volu[n]tatem deflectimus; vbi violenter adducimur, miseria tamen est pena et non culpa.’ Hec Ysidorus.¹²

Videtur tamen aliquando sic tempta[t]o talis diffidencia seu hesitacio, estimata per illusionem demonum, timorem incucientium, non modica esse culpa, cum sit hesitacio fidei; qu[ia] 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’.¹³ 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 rationabiliter probetur mala.

31 temptationem] dampnationem CA1BA4CA4 | nolens] volens CA3 32 voluntatem] voluptatem CA3 33 Ysidorus] isidorus 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
25 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
30 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
35 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.

[III.] Nevertheless it sometimes seems to one who is thus tempted that such unbelief
40 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*
45 *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.

Si autem predicta temptatio inualuerit nec propter dissimulationem factam [IV.]
secundum regulam prime cautele cessauerit, immo per maliciam antiqui serpentis 45
loquitur fantasticata, monentis ac multipliciter diuaricantis, falsa pro veris asserendo,
vel mentem complexionabiliter obnubilando et grauando, quasi continue
turbauerit—debet aliquando, sed raro, per modum abiurationis et contrarie
asserionis, fidem suam ore exprimendo obiecto errore obuiare, et si erronea conceptio
in hoc non consenserit. Scriptum est enim: ‘Ore confessio fit ad salutem’.¹³ Non enim 50
fallacijs aduersarij 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 [V.]
temptare. Explorat enim vnus cuiusque compleccionis prouitatem, et quem viderit 55
malencolico humore nimis respersum, multipliciter spirituali temptatione vexat et
perturbat.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 rationabili, pusillanimes et
aridi ex complexionem. Nec est talis timor vel tristitia culpa cum sit penalis et 60
inuoluntaria et frequenter a diabolo incussa. Et tales opinantur falsa esse vera.
Impediuntur enim propter nigrum fumum operientem eorum cerebrum ne possint
cernere verum. | f. 141v

Considerat igitur maledictus hostis vnus cuiusque statum; quia, secundum [VI.]
Leonem Papam, In circumcissione domini: ‘Non desinit hostis antiquus deceptionum 65
laqueos ubique pretendere, et, ut fidem credencium quoquomodo corumpat, instare.
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 admiratione seducat: omnium
discutit consuetudines, ventila[t] curas, scrutatur affectus; et ibi causas requirit 70
nocendi, ubi quemque videt studiosius occupari.’ Hec Leo Papa.¹⁸

Hinc est quod frequenter inmittit tantam amaritudinem mentibus fidelium, [VII.]
complexionem agitando et timorem incuciendo, quod viuere eis credatur supplicium et

48 raro] racio CA3 58 locum] lacum HA3BA4 63 cernere] cenere CA3 65 In] in quodam
sermone de BA4CA4 68 merore] in errorem CA3BA4 69 gaudio] vano gaudio BA4 70 ventila[t]
ventilas CA3

[IV.] 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
55 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
60 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.

[V.] 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
65 and disturbs with spiritual temptation in many different ways. For the natural philosophers say that the smoke of the black cholera, 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,
70 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.

[VI.] The accursed enemy accordingly examines the condition of each one; because, according to Pope Leo, *In circumssione domini*: “The ancient enemy does not cease to
75 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
80 lead astray with wonder: he inquires into the habits of all, searches out their cares,

mori remedium, ita quod de vita corporis et anime sepe desperare contingit. Credunt enim se a Deo esse derelictos, qui electos suos sic permittit esse probatos. Quia ut dicit Ecclesiasticus: 'Vasa figuli probat fornax; homines autem iustos temptatio tribulacionis.'¹⁹ Et Iob dicit: 'Probavit me quasi aurum per ignem transit, quia scit omnes vias meas.'²⁰ Vnde et apostolus: 'Modicum si oportet contristari in presenti, ut probacio vestre fidei multo preciosior sit auro quod per ignem probatur.'²¹ Et angelus Tobie: 'Quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse erat ut temptatio probaret te.'²² In hoc igitur casu, opus est fortitudine spirituali: videlicet, predictam amaritudinem seu inmissam tribulacionem patienter et humiliter sustinendo, et dicere cum Iob, forma paciencie: 'Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non suscipiamus?'²³ Immo recolendo meritum paciencie in presenti et premium gaudij in futuro, oret cum Iob Dominum quatinus dolori non parcat, et dicat: 'Si occidat me, sperabo in eum.'²⁴

Et quid mirum si homo mortalis et miserabilis in presenti turbetur et tribuletur, ex quo Saluator noster in euangelio ait de seipso: 'Anima mea turbata est, et quid dicam?'²⁶ et alibi: 'Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem';²⁷ immo in passione sua clamat se esse derelictum, dicens: 'Deus meus, deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?'²⁸ 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 multis congregabo te et in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum tui.'²⁹ Modicum autem est et momentaneum quidquid in presenti patimur, etsi omni tempore tribulemur, respectu tribulacionis eterne quam misericorditer 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 solid[i]us in omni virtute roboratur. Huius temptationis modum et remedium

74 sepe] fere CA1HA3BA4CA4 83 suscipiamus] sustineamus CA1CA4 89 se...derelictum] om. BA4CA4 94 tribulacionis...95 speramur] retribucionis eterne que misericorditer speratur CA1BA4CA4 97 solidius] solidus CA3

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
85 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
90 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
95 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
105 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
110 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

innuebat Saluator cum diceret discipulis suis: 'Ecce Sathanas expetiuit vos ut cribraret sicut triticum.'⁴¹ Cribratur enim aliquis quando intime et perfinite examinatur; roboratur autem et perficitur quando per paciencie et oracionis virtutem et proximi salubrem admonicionem in bono confirmatur. Et ideo sequitur: 'Ego autem rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua; et tu aliquando conuersus, confirma fratres tuos.'⁴² Confirmatus autem a proximo et perfectus in Christo dicat cum psalmo: 'Quare tristis es anima mea et quare conturbas me? Spera in Deo, et cetera.'⁴⁴

Interim igitur oret et psallat et bona que | potest faciat, Scripturam Sacram [IX.] | f. inspiciat, eloquia prophetarum recolat, et maxime dicta euangelica memorie 142v commendet. Etsi nullam deuocionem sensibilem percipiat, humiliter sustineat; habet tamen deuocionem voluntariam, que sola sufficit ad salutem. Vtiliter enim subtrahitur actualis siue sensibilis deuocio ut magis meritoria fiat oracio. Ait enim beatus Bernardus super illud 'Quesiuisti et non inuenisti':⁴⁵ 'Abscondit se sponsus dum queritur ut audiret queratur.'⁴⁶ Et Augustinus, De verbis domini: 'Cum aliquando tardius dat, sua bona commendat, non negat. Diu enim desiderata dulcius optinentur; cito autem data vilescunt. Pete, quere, insta; petendo et querendo crescas ut capias. Seruat tibi Deus quod non vult cito tibi dare, ut et tu discas magna desiderare.'⁴⁷ Et beatus Gregorius: 'Tunc sancti melius exaudiuntur quando non ad votum exaudiuntur.'⁴⁸ 115

Dat autem Deus aliquibus in principio conuersionis sensibilis suauitatis [X.] deuocionem, ut conuertantur et in amore diuino solidentur, quam postea subtrahit ut magis mereantur et merendo sublimius coronentur. Cum enim 'virtus sistat circa difficile', secundum philosophum,⁴⁹ illud quod difficilius acquiritur virtuosius optinetur. Hoc autem significando ait Saluator beato Petro: 'Cum esses iunior, cingebas te et ambulabas vbi volebas. Cum autem senueris, alius te cinget et ducet quo tu non vis.'⁵⁰ Ait enim apostolus, Corinthiorum tercio, nouiter conuersis: 'Lac de[d]i

99 perfinite] perfecte CA1HA3BA4CA4 | examinatur] pro temptationem et tribulationem add. CA4 107 habet] habeat BA4CA4 110 illud] illud canticum CA1BA4, istud canticum CA4 112 bona] dona HA3CA1BA4CA4 114 desiderare] magne desiderare CA1BA4CA4 115 Gregorius] Augustinus BA4CA4 116 sensibilis] om. BA4CA4 119 illud] quia illud CA3HA3, illud CA1BA4CA4 122 dedi] dei CA3

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;
115 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,*
120 *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;
125 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
130 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
135 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
140 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*

vobis, non escam.⁵¹ Tanquam enim pueri erant lacte nutriendi suauitatis, sic nutrit Deus aliquos primo lacte suauitatis et deuocionis; postea roborat esca accusationis et tribulacionis. Dulce enim et suaue sequi Deum cum habita cordis iocunditate et mentis suauis tranquillitate, sed arduum et perfectissimum est sequi | Deum cum cordis omnimoda desolacione et fidei vel mentis continua impugnacione. Dulce enim erat Petro et suaue esse cum Christo in eius iocunda transfiguracione, quando dixit: 'Bonum est nos hic esse.'⁵² Sed valde durum et terribile erat Petro esse cum Christo in eius crudeli passione, quando dixit: 'Non noui hominem.'⁵³ Et tamen qui illum tunc voce ancille territus negauerat, ipsum postea spiritu sancto roboratus in conspectum principum usque ad mortem firmiter confitebatur. 125 f. 143r

Et quia huiusmodi passio partim oritur ex compleccione frequenter, caueat sibi talis ne nimis solus moretur nec nimis quicquam profunde cogitando scrutetur, sed consilijs et collacionibus discretorum, eis suas concepciones exprimendo, salubriter vtatur. Scriptum est enim: 'Ve soli, quoniam cum ceciderit non habet subleuantem se'.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ Et si modicam vel nullam sentiat consolacionem spiritualem, humiliter et meritorie sustineat. Ac interim honestam et licitam recipiat consolacionem temporalem, 'ne forte', sicut ait apostolus, 'ampliori tristitia absorbeat qui huiusmodi est'.⁵⁶ Non enim fit causa vanitatis et lasciuie quod agitur causa vtilitatis et salutis recuperande. 135 140

Transfert etiam se angelus Sathane inuisibiliter in angelum lucis,⁵⁷ vicia sub specie virtutis suggerendo, errores colore veritatis palliando. Sicut ait Gregorius: 'Vt deuotis mentibus preualeat, vicia sub specie virtutis palliat.'⁵⁸ Aliquando enim offert [XII.]

123 suauitatis] humilis doctrine et minoris exercicij add. BA4CA4 130 passione] persecucionem CA1HA3BA4CA4 135 collacionibus] consolacionibus BA4CA4 140 et cetera] quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati BA4CA4 147 vicia...palliat] om. HA3BA4CA4

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
145 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
150 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
155 presence of princes even to his death.

[XI.] 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:
160 *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*
165 *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
170 one's well-being and health.

[XII.] 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

homini in diuino officio occupato *et ex debito intendenti peccatorum memoriam, et quasi | necessariam fore consciencie discussionem, et similia, ut sic ab iniuncto sibi officio sub specie boni mentem impedia[t] et conturbet, cum tamen scriptum sit: 'Omnia tempus habent'.⁵⁹ Immo summum remedium est expertum, ad fantasticas ymaginaciones tollendas et spirituales temptationes destruendas tempore orationis debite, quantum possibilitas optinet, nullo modo eis intendere.* f. 143v 150

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 congnoerat. Et hoc facit memoria prehabite 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 temptationis et vexacionis suggestam dissimulando et salubriter dimittendo, licet erronea consciencia contradicat. Quamuis enim peccati confessio sit utilis et necessaria remorcionem veraci et compunccione salubri exigenti, est tamen inutilis et non expediens opinione falsa et dubitabili, inmissione amara atque terribili, suadente. Nec dimittitur talis confessio contemptu religionis, sed cautela declinande temptationis. Hoc enim bene fit quod bona intencione agitur, quamuis etiam malum in se videatur; causa enim et intencio finalem dant operi denominationem et renumeracionem. Hoc enim docuit Christus quando suggessit ei diabolus, dicens: 'Si filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum'.⁶⁰ Noluit tamen per impetum precipitacionis | in ymum se mittere, sed elegit magis per gradus discrecionis descendendo eius [XIII.] 155 160 165 f. 144r

150 impedi[at] impedia CA3

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
175 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
180 destroying spiritual temptations at times of requisite prayer is, as far as possible, not to pay attention to them in any way.

[XIII.] 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
185 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
190 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
195 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
200 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 discretionis salubriter obuiare.

Implicat etiam aliquando spiritus erroris mentem diuersis perplexitatibus, miris [XIV.] et occultis agitationibus, ostendendo illicitum esse et peccatum quod in se indifferens 175 est [vel] bonum, et esse mortale quod in se est veniale, et de huiusmodi quasi continue confitendum; immo magis indiscrete turbandum ut sic terreat et conturbet, et a bono impediatur, et erroneam concientiam fabricet et inducat; immo aliquando cogit concientie erronee magis consentire quam alicuius discretioni humiliter obedire, quod hereticum est. Debet igitur talis ad arbitrium sapientis deponere errorem et 180 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, etsi remaneat error inuoluntarius in mente.

Hoc autem docuit apostolus, dicens: 'Nolite credere omni spiritui, sed probate [XV.] qui spiritus sunt'.⁶¹ Hec autem fuit percunctatio Iosue, dicentis: 'Noster es, an 185 aduers[ar]iorum?'⁶² Discretio 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 incaute 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 190 sepe in manifestis bonis, ut cum sequitur in eis creditum fuerit, ad sua se[duc]at. Sic plerumque humanum spiritum rapit vi quadam occulta, ut quasi | idem spiritus f. 144v videatur, et spiritus patientis et spiritus vexantis.' Hec Augustinus.⁶⁵ Videtur igitur propria cogitatio esse et vera concepcio que fraudulentum et incontinentia iniquitate aduersarij inmittitur. Non est enim credendum in hac parte vel proprio sensui 195 insistendum, sed magis veritati et discretioni regulate obediendum. Est enim serpens antiquus fallax, nequam, et fraudulentus deceptor animarum. Et cum non potest

176 vel] om. CA3HA3CA1 180 hereticum] erraticum BA4 185 spiritus] spiritus dei BA4CA4 es] est CA3HA3 186 aduersariorum] aduersiorum CA3 | quidam...187 sanctus] beatus Bernardus BA4CA4 191 seducat] secudat CA3 192 vi quadam] in quedam BA4CA4

[XIV.] 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
210 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
215 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.

[XV.] 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
220 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.
225 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
230 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 fraudulencijs in errorem mittere, nititur 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 patienter et humiliter tollerare. 200

Nititur etiam in sompno diuersis illusionibus et terroribus grauare quando non potest vigilando facere peccare. Vnde Gregorius super illud Iob ‘Terrebis me per sompnia’:⁶⁶ ‘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 sompnus vacet.’⁶⁷ [XVI.] 205

O quam miris modis et varijs impellitur et concutitur anima hominis Deum timentis! Hoc testatur ille ympnus in cuius versu cantatur: ‘O tortuose serpens’, et cetera.⁶⁸ O quam pium est et vtile, et quam caritatum et salubre, sic turbatum et afflictum, desolatum et derelictum, confortare et roborare; immo transeuntem per ignem probacionis et aquam tribulacionis adducere in refrigerium quietis et consolacionis. Quam quietem spiritus optatam, etsi sic tribulatus non statim optineat vel certe per multa tempora careat, speret tamen firmiter quod illam finaliter habere debeat. Quia ‘multe tribulaciones iustorum, | et de omnibus hijs lib[e]rauit eos Dominus’.⁷⁰ [XVII.] f. 145r 215

[*Stimulus amoris*:]⁷⁵

‘O mire benignitatis altissime qui nos temptari permittis, non ut capiamur, sed ut timentes ad te portum tutissimum fugiamus! More matris bone facis, \o/ domine, que filium suum, a se elongatum, videre desiderat et amplexari: per aliquod terribile timorem inducit, et expandens 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, [XVIII.] 220

198 nititur...199 amaricare] nititur saltem eam nimio terrore flectere, falsum et terribilem incuciendo . . . penaliter intollerabili grauedine amaricare, ut aut sic a bono incepto trahiendo deludat BA4CA4 200 inmissis] quantum vis humana gratia dei mediante suppetit add. BA4CA4 203 Gregorius] in Moralibus add. BA4CA4 208 et...209 cetera] qui mille per meandros fraudesque flexuosas agitas quietia corda, discede, liquesce, Christus nobiscum est. O impie zabulon, signum crucis dampnat tuam cateruam BA4CA4 211 et!...tribulacionis] tanquam tribulacionis HA3, tanquam de camino tribulacionis BA4CA4 214 liberauit] liberauit CA3 217 O] dicit Bonauentura in Stimulis amoris: O BA4CA4 221 non] om. CA3

235 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.

[XVI.] Furthermore, when he cannot make a person sin when he is awake, he strives
240 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.'

[XVII.] 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
250 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.*

255 [Stimulus amoris:]

[XVIII.] '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
260 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

que diuinos \ad/ amplexus fugere nos compellit! O dulcis Domine, qui nos permittis vndique effugari, et te semper tribuis refugium salutare, ut tecum in omni tempore commoremur! Non igitur te temptationes habere mireris, o homo, [sed] ad Deum 225 fugias expauescens; 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 [XIX.] corde, ad Christum tibi proximum accelerabis, et in sui lateris puteo, panno superposito, absconderis—et ne timeas quod te inueniat inimicus.⁷⁶ Hoc semper 230 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 providebit. Accede igitur ad Christum et eum fideliter deprecetis, ut, ex quo non decet ipsum denuo vulnerari, dignetur in [suo sanguine] sua vulnera renouare, teque totaliter in 235 suo sanguine rubricare. Et sic indutus purpura, poteris introire regis palacium. O temptate, cotidie hec | vulnera meditare, et hec tibi semper erunt refugium et solacium. Nec dubites quod si bene ea in corde tuo expresseris, nulli temptationi aditus apparebit. Quis enim videns Dominum glorie pro nostris sceleribus sic grauiter vulneratum auderet iterum scelera perpetrare? Etsi pro ipsorum vulnerum reuerencia 240 et compassione non desisteret a peccato, saltem quia videret quod sine comparacione grauior pena debetur peccatori quam in omnibus innocenti, a peccato timere deberet et eciam abstinere.

Si autem contra te Christum etiam propter tuas nequicias vides indignatum, ad [XX.] spem peccatorum confugas, matrem suam, et ipsi tanquam matri Dei reuerenciam 245 exhibebis, ac fuis lacrimis eius auxilium 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 hec exerceat comuniter erga omnes, tibi non poterit denegare.

225 sed] si CA3HA3CA1 235 in¹...sanguine] in tuo corde CA3, in suo sanguine HA3CA1BA4, suo sanguine CA4 242 timere...243 abstinere] nimio timore desisteret et abstinere 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
265 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
270 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
275 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,
280 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
285 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
290 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 [XXI.]
ut peccatorum tuorum profunditates cognoscas et tuam miseriam non ignores. Et hoc
est maximum donum Dei. Non enim sibi placet presumptio aliquorum qui se iustos
reputant et ad Ihesum altissimum tanquam ad familiarem 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 255
maximum reputo, quantumcumque magnus, si ipsum immensus Deus noster dignatur
a longe saltem intueri. Ideoque pleno corde Dei magnitudinem et suam p[ar]uitatem
confiteatur, et dicat: “Domine, ‘non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum’,⁷⁸ sed
nec ut tibi appropinquare valeo ullo modo; sufficit enim michi ut in tue pietatis oculis
| me digneris respicere a remotis.” Dico quod si in hoc perseueraueris non quiescens, f. 146r
non solum te videbit, sed ad sua secretissima introducet. Quod ipse facere dignetur,
qui est in secula benedictus.’ Amen.

253 Ihesum] ipsum HA3CA1BA4CA4 256 reputo] reputet HA3BA4CA4 257 paruitatem]
prauitatem CA3 262 Amen] Explicit tractatus compositus a Fratre Willelmo Flete de remedijs contra
temptationes add. CA1, Explicit tractatus de temptatione CA4

[XXI.] But if it seems that you cannot be consoled in any way, know that God loves
295 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
300 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
305 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 als mekyll as þe apostell says þat withouten fayth *and* trw beleue it es [I.]
 impossibill to plese God, ⁴ þerfore es it þat our olde enemy þe fende enforcez hym
 nyght *and* day thurgh fals incastynges of errourz *and* fals engynes *and* imaginacions
and oþer swylk maner of wondirfull wyse for to distroy *and* let our beleue *and* our
 faith, whilk es þe grundstane of all haly kirke *and* begynner of all vertues. And þa þat 5
 he sees he may nozt cast doune vtterly fra stabilnes of þis beleue, he cesses nozt to
 cast þame doune be oþer dyuers maner of wayz thurgh his quantise *and* his wiles *and*
 his temptacions. ⁵ Þerfore we sall werly *and* gastly withstand his wiles on þis wise: we
 sall charge as noht all swilk maner of fantasies, imaginacions, fals consaytez of error,
 or foule stirrynges, blasfemes sightes or heringes, or any oþer swilk fantasies, *and* bere 10
 þame mekely *and* patiently, puttand 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
 vayne: ‘*Dominus scit cogitaciones hominum quoniam vane sunt*’; ⁶ *and* þai ar variand
and withowten nowmbir. And þerfore a man sall nozt ryst ne tary wyth swylk fals
 fantasies agayn feightand *and* trubeland his beleue; ne he sall nozt be mekill besy to 15
 discusse or know þe causes *and* þe skilles of swilk fals fantasies. For þe mare besy þat a
 man es to know þame *and* encer\che/ þame, þe mare fast cleue þai on hym *and* þe
 mare blynd *and* heuy þai mak hym.

Ne a man or a woman sal nozt ouer mekill angir hym ne blame hymselfe for [II.]
 swilk maner of ill stirrynges *and* foule thoghtes, ne vtterly arett þame to his awne 20
 defaute or synne. For swylk temptacions er to swilk a man vtterly vnwilfull *and*
 displesand, *and* þerfore it es pynfull to hym *and* na synne, bot it es a purgyng *and* a
 clensyng of þe saule, *and* a strength of pacience, *and* a kepyng of mekenes, *and* a
 stirryng | *and* a raising vp of þe saule to endles lyfē. Saynt Austyn says in a buke, De *f. 122v*
 uera religione, þat all maner of synne es wilfull *and* if it be nozt wilfull it es na synne;⁷ 25
and Ysidre, De summo bono, libro *tercio*, says wha so es tormented *and* trubled
 thurgh stirring of þe fend *with* foule thoghtes of dispare, blasfemy, *and* dowtes or
 dredis, whilk er passions of þe saule, he sall nozt trow ne suppose þat he es aliente fra
 God *and* forsakyn for he suffers swilk, bot he shall thank God *and* luf hym þat

1 For] here bigynnes a deuoute matier be þe drawyng of M. Waltere Hylton. For H1
 3 incastynges] incasting H1 4 oþer] on H1 5 grundstane] grownd *and* stonne H1 7 þame] hym H1
 8 his¹] *om.* H1 | werly] (verrely *canc.*) werly B | his wiles] *om.* H1 10 heringes] heryng H1
 12 passion] grace H1 16 causes] cause H1 | þat] *om.* H1 20 ill] euyll H1 24 endles] endes H1
 25 wilfull¹] ful wilful H1

3 engynes] ‘trickery’ 7 quantise] ‘cunning’ 20 arett] ‘attribute’

30 vouche3 safe to chasty hym here *with* swilk a 3erde ⁸ so þat þe sprete may be safe
 before our lord God, whilk betis *and* chastes all his lufed childir *and* his dere
 derlynges whilk he has ordand to endlis blys. And if he do þus þan sall his
 temptacion, his pyne, *and* his dise3e þat he suffers be countyd till hym for vertu. ⁹ *And*
 if all he wate no3t for what synne or whate enchesoun he shuld suffir swilk
 35 temptacion, neuerþe3esse 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. ¹⁰ 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 seruant3. For þe fend serues to our
 prophet whedir he will or no3t thurgh Goddes mercy; for þe temptacions þat he
 40 stirres till our ded *and* dampnacion, our lord turnes þaim into vertu *and* into saule
 hele. ¹¹ Þe fend ceesse3 no3t to tary *and* dise3e þe rightwis man thurgh stirrynges of
 diuers temptacions, now tribulacions of hert, grevinges of bodily sares *and* dise3e3,
and ofte tyme tourmentes þe sely saule *with* dyuers *and* many temptacions *and*
 pynefull felynges bath within *and* withowt, þat sum tyme for gretnes of pyne *and*
 45 angwis he es in poynt to fall in dispare. Bot sothly als lang as he dwelles in drede *and*
 luf of God, all swilk dise3e3 er turned to gret merit *and* profite of saule. And þerfore
 swilk a man or swilk a woman es no3t departed fra God *and* aliende bot þei ar mekill
 mare festned *and* aned to hym, what angwis or tribulacion or temptacion he suffers
 f. 123r \and/ feles. For many ar þe angwis, | angris, tribulacions, temptacions, *and* dise3e3 þat
 50 þe saule suffers thurgh instigacion *and* stirryng of þe enemy. As Dauit sayes: ‘Multe
 tribulaciones iustorum’; ⁷⁰ þat es to say, ‘Many ar þe tribulacions of þe rightwis.’ Bot
 trwly þe saule may no3t thurgh whilk temptacions disparische ne be lost fra endles
 lyfe. For sothly our mercyfull lord accownte3 no3t þat for dampnacion of synne þat þe
 sufferand man or woman thurgh Goddis ordenans beres agayne his will. For sothly
 55 þan anely synne we when we thurgh our lust falles doune to swilk temptacions
 thurgh assent *and* plesance of will; bot when we ar berne doune be violence agayne
 our will to felyng of swilk temptacions, it es anely pyne *and* na synne. *Hec* Ysodrus vt

30 vouche3] vowche H1 31 before...God] om. H1 32 his] al his H1 33 till] to H1 34 or] or
 for H1 35 temptacion] temptacions H1 37 on yll] bad H1 | wele] wele þat H1 38 profett to]
 profret [sic] of H1 40 till] to H1 42 grevinges] *and* risyng up H1 | dise3e3] dise3e H1 43 and¹
 \and/ H1 | tyme] tyme H1 45 in²] into H1 46 dise3e3] dise3e H1 | merit] myrthe H1
 48 tribulacion or] om. H1 49 \and/] (or *canc.*) \and/ B, or H1 | angwis] om. H1 | tribulacions]
 tribulacion H1 | dise3e3] dise3e H1 51 þat...rightwis] om. H1 52 whilk] swilk H1 54 nota in
 margin H1 55 temptacions] temptacion H1 56 will] flesch H1

49 angris] ‘sufferings’

supra, *sparsim capitulo quadragesimo tercio*.¹² Et alibi dicitur: 'Si in te agitur et non agis', *et cetera*.

Neuerþelesse it semys sumtyme to a man þat es þus temped þat swilk felynges of [III.]
 dispaire [o]r doutyng *and* hesitacion in þe fayth—made be þe illusion of þe fend,
 smytand in swilk drede *and* ferdfulnes into þe saule—wer gret synne. What is it bot
 anely doutyng in þe beleue? For synne is euer wilfully couetted *and* frely chosyn, at þe
 lest thurgh ignorance, whilk mare lenes to errour þan to sothfastnes. *And þerfore* sen
 þe fayth es ane habite *and* a disposicion of þe will, on whilk whaso will trow he 65
 trowe3, *and* whoso will hope he hopes, and whaso will no3t dowte he doute3 nocht,
 þerfore says þe apostell þat *with* our hert, þat es *with* our will, we trow,¹³ whilk
 trowing is accounted for rightwisne3. *And þerfore* in our will, whilk our enmy anely
 may no3t bryng to consentyng of swilk foule stirrynges *and* felynges, stande3 all our
 merit *and* demerit, þat is to say mede or blame. Neuerþelesse þe saule es sum tyme so 70
 ouerlayde *with* feling of swilk temptacions þat he may no3t clerely see his awne will;
and þat is na force, for his gude dedis prouys his gude will, *and* his ill werekes his ill
 will. And he sall ay presume *and* suppose þai er gude vnto þat it may be resonably
 proued þat þai ar ill. | *f. 123v*

Bot if þis forsayd temptacion cesse no3t by þis will *and* þis dissimilacion before [IV.]
 sayd bot euer dwellys still, *and* thurgh malice of þe fend, [who] es euermare iangeland
 his fantasies þat he moues *and* stirres in þi saule, proferand to þe falsnes vndir þe
 colour of sothfastnes, or ouerlayes þi saule *and* blyndes it by way of þi complexion
and contenuelly angers þe *and* disese3 þe *and* trubles þe, þou sall some tyme, bot
 nocht bot seldome, as it wer be maner of abiuracion *and* vtterly forsakyng *and* 80
 contrary affermyng, shew þi fayth *and* þi beleue with þi mouthe *and* þi worde,
 agaynsayand þe fend temptacions, *and* þat þou will for nothing consent to his errour
and his falsnes þat he profers to þe, *and* swilk oþer, yof all þe fals consayte þat þou
 feles in þi saule agayne þi will be contrary *and* no3t fully acordand vnto þi sayng. For
 þe apostell says þat confession of mouthe *and* a knowlegynge of þi beleue by worde3 85
 es heelfull *and* profitabill.¹³ For sekirly he es no3t dissayued thurgh falsnes *and*
 sotelte of þe fend þat opynly *and* *with* deliberacion *and* avisement bath in worde *and*

60 felynges] felyng H1 61 or] ar B 65 on whilk] þat H1 68 anely] *om.* H1 70 and] or H1
 72 and²...73 will] *om.* H1 73 be resonably] *rev. H1* 75 will] wil\e/ H1 76 who] *om.* BH1 77 þe²
om. H1 79 disese3 þe] disese H1 82 fend] fendis H1

60 swilk...61 hesitacion] Emended for sense. The Latin reading is *talis diffidencia seu hesitacio*.
 64 lenes] 'inclines'

warke agaynesayes swilk ill stirringes *and* temptacions *and* will o nawise resayue þame
 ne consent vnto þaim. Owre enmy es waike *and* of na powere *and* he may ouercome
 90 no man agaynes his will þat will no3ht frely *and* awisely consent to hym. ¹⁵

[V.] Þerfore na man sall thynk heuy ne be angled or greued for he sees þe fend on
 dyuers maner tempte *and* disece chosen saules, for thurgh many temptacions *and*
 tribulacions nedis vs for to entir þe kingdome of heuen. Þus þe fend sekes *and* serches
 þe wayknes *and* þe condicion of ilk mans complexion, *and* when þat he fyndes hase
 95 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
 þ[at] smeke of blak colour steyez vp to þe braynes *and* comes to þe lake *and* depnes
 of thocht *and* trubils *and* mirkez þe light *and* brightnes of it, *and* lettes þe saule to
 haue clere knowing *and* discrecion betwix gude *and* yll, falsnes *and* trewthe, *errour*
 100 *and* sothfastnes. ¹⁷ Swilk men ar comunly heuy *and* dredefull with[owt] a resonabyll
 f. 124r 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*
*errour*3, desaytez of þe enmy, be trew *and* sothfastnes. For þai ar lettyd be þis blak
 105 smeke þat hilles *and* ouerqwelmes þaire brayne so þat þai may nozt see ne know þe
 sothfastnes.

[VI.] *And* so þaire cursed enmy behaldis *and* aspiez euer ilk mans astate *and*
 complexion, how he myzt dissayue hym *and* ouercome hym. For as Leo þe Pape says
 in a sermon þat he makes of þe circumcision of our lord: ‘Oure ald enmy þe fend
 110 cessez nozt for to lay *and* sprede in ilk a place þe snares of his dissayte, bysianð hym
 nyght *and* day on what maner he may corrupte *and* druble Cristyn mans beleue. He
 knowes wele inogh wham, how, *and* when he sall profir þe brynnings of couetyse,
 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 knowes also
 115 whame he shall dyssayue with vayne joye *and* ouer mekill gladnes, whame he sall cast
 doune by drede, *and* wham he sall dissayue thurgh musyng of fantasies *and* dyuers
 thinges. He discusses þe custom of all men; he behaldes besynes *and* inserches þaire

89 may] no may H1 92 and²] om. H1 93 þus] om. H1 94 þat] om. H1 97 þat] þe B
 braynes] brayne H1 | þe²] om. H1 100 men] om. H1 | without] with B 103 þe¹] om. H1
 107 þaire] þe H1 108 nota in margin B 109 lord] he says add. H1 110 dissayte] disseytes H1

96 kyndes...thinges] The natural world. 97 colour] ‘choler’ | lake] This derives from a corrupt
 reading of *lacum* for *locum* in the Latin A4 source. 105 hilles] ‘covers’

desires *and* affections *and* vile stirrynges thurgh bodely countenance *and* outward beryng, *and* in þat thing sekis he occasion to hurte a man wharin he sees hym mast occupied.' Hec Leo Papa.¹⁸

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And þerfore he puttes ofte tyme *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 turment *and* vnsufferabyll 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, in so mekill þat he es ofte tyme nerehand in poynt for to dispare both of bodely hele *and* of gastly. Ðai 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 furnas assayeþ *and* proueþ þe vessell of þe potter, whilk ar abyll to mens vse *and* whilk noþt, right so suffers God rightwis men to be assayed thurgh fire of tribulacion *and* temptacion.'¹⁹ And þe haly man Iob sayeþ þus: 'Our lord has proued me *and* assayed me as gold þat passeþ 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 sayes: 'Vs behoues be heuyed here a lytill in þis present lyfe thurgh tribulacions *and* temptacions, swa þat þe prouyng of our fayth be mekill mare precyous þan gold þat es proued be þe fire.'²¹ And to 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 temptacions shuld proue þe.'²² And þerfore it es nedeful in þis forsayd caas þat a man hafe gostly strength þat he may suffer swilk maner of heuynes *and* bitternes paciently *and* mekely, so þat he may say wyth Iob as he sayd þus: 'Si bona suscepimus de manu domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus';²³ þat es: 'Sen we haue resayued *and* taken þe gude things *and* prosperitees of þe hand of our lord, why sall we noþt 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* lat hym pray with Iob þat he spare noþt his sorow ne his disese here, *and* say þus: '3a, lord, if þou wold sla me, 3hite sall I hope *and* triste in þe.'²⁴

[VII.]

125

f. 124v

130

135

140

145

121 tyme] tyms H1 122 complexion] com complexion B 124 his] om. H1 125 leggyng] lessyng H1 127 to] om. H1 131 passeþ] pas H1 132 ese...my²] om. H1 | whilk] þes H1 133 be] to be H1 137 nedefull] in þis forsayd ca *add.*, *canc.* B 140 sustineamus] suscipiamus H1 | þat es] om. H1 141 prosperitees] profettes H1 142 aduersitese] aduersite H1 | disese] *and add.*, *canc.* B | *and*²] om. H1 | vmbethink] vnbethink B 145 wold] wil H1 | in þe] om. H1

125 leggyng] 'relief' 142 vmbethink...of] 'reflect upon'

[VIII.] And what wondir is it yof a wryched man be trubled *and* angwished *and* disised in þis present lyfe when our lord sayd of hymselfe in þe gospell 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, lamaꝓabatany’;²⁸ f. 125r 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 wrethe 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
 155 regarde of endles blys whilk we shall haue for suffering of swilk disese. For as þe apostell says, all þe passions, anguysceꝓ, paynes, tribulacions, *and* all þe temptacions þat we may suffer all our lyfe tyme er noꝓt worthi to þe endles joy *and* blys þat we shall haue hereafter.³⁰ Aa man mervaille ne wondir þat a gastly man or woman *and* a gastly lyfer es þus hugely *and* singularly temped, when he sees parauentur oþer men
 160 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 noꝓt be to mekill besy for to know *and* discuse þe preuetes of Godes domes. For als lang as a mans gude will, þe whilk he hase to Godd *and* to rightwisnes, lastes hale *and* es noꝓt broken thurgh consentyng to synne, als lang es he noꝓt casten doune fra faith, hope, *and* charite, bot he es mare
 165 sadly confermed *and* stabled in all vertueꝓ. Þe maner *and* þe remedy of þis temptacion shewed our lord when he sayd to his discipils þus: ‘Sathanas expetiuit vos vt cribraret sicut triticum’;⁴¹ þat is to say: ‘Þe fend hase asked 3ow for to syfte as whaso syfte whete.’ A man es sifted when he es inwardly *and* parfitey examined thurgh fire of temptacion *and* tribulacion, *and* þan es he made strange *and* parfite when he es
 170 thurgh þe vertue of pacience *and* deuoute prayer, or elles be helefull doctrine *and* teching of his brether, confermed *and* strenthed in gudenens. *And* þerfore says our lord in þe same place to Saynt Petir þus, in þe person of all þaise þat er þus taried *and* temped: ‘Ego autem rogauī pro te vt non deficiat fides tua’;⁴² ‘I hafe prayed for þe,’ he

146 And] *om.* H1 148 þat...say] *om.* H1 152 a] *om.* H1 | hafe] *om.* H1 153 nota bene in margin H1 154 to] in H1 158 Aa] no H1 | or] *and* H1 160 mekill¹...in¹] in mykil les parfite H1 161 for... 162 discuse] to discusse *and* know H1 162 þe²] *om.* H1 164 es²] \es/ H1 165 þe] þis H1 þe] þis H1 | of...temptacion] *om.* H1 167 as...syfte²] \as/ H1 168 inwardly] assaide H1 169 es²] *om.* H1 170 þe] *om.* H1 171 þerfore...lord] our Lord sais H1 172 þus¹] *om.* H1 173 rogauī] oraui H1 | he... 174 saies] *om.* H1

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 confirma fratres tuos';⁴² þat is to say: 175
 'Þerfore þou, when þou art turned *and* delyuerd of þis temptacion, conferme *and*
 stabill þi brether besyde þe.' *And* so when | a man es þus comforted of his broþer *and* f. 125v
 made parfite 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 troubles þou me? Triste *and* hope faste in our lord *and* he sall 180
 delyuer 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* [IX.]
 þat he ofte luke in haly wyrte, *and* namely *and* principally þat he tak tent to þe
 teching of þe gospels. *And* yof all he fel[e] noȝt na sensabill ne feleabill deuocion, luk
 þat he suffer it mekely *and* paciently, *and* neuerþelesse luk þat he be besy for to haue 185
 deuocion in gude will; *and* þat suffeȝ þe to þe saule hele. For ofte tymes all actuell
and sensibill deuocion es withdrawnen for our gret profet, þat our prayer shuld be þe
 mare medefull. For Sayn Bernad sayeȝ super istud *Canticorum* 'Quesiui et non
 inveni',⁴⁵ he says þat þe spouse hides hym whils he es soght.⁴⁶ *And* Saynt Austyn, De
 verbis domini, says þat som tyme when our lord gifes a thing latly *and* as it wer 190
 dangerusly, he denyeȝ noȝt his giftes bot comendeȝ þame *and* makes þaim mare
 precyous. For þe thinges þat ar gettyn thurgh gret desire *and* lang trauaile gangang
 before er moste precyus *and* derworthy to vs to be keped *and* haldyn in gret daynteȝ,
 when þe thingeȝ þat er lightly [gettyn er lytill] set by *and* lyghtly forgettyn. *And*
 þerfore ask þou *and* pray deuoutly *and* seke thurgh lastand desire, *and* yof he here þe 195
 noȝt at þe fyrst tyme, ceesse noȝt þerfore bot contenu lastandly in prayer *and* haly
 desire till he will gif þe þat þou askes. For he kepis it to þe full sekirly, bot he will
 noȝt gif it to þe so sone, for þat þou shuld know þat gret thinges shuld gretly be
 desired.⁴⁷ Bot sen þe thinges er so gret whilk our lord behetes vs, mekill aght our
 desire to be for to get þame; for þe mekilnes of desire shuld acorde with þe mekilnes 200
 of þe thinges behight before. Saynt Austyn sayse: 'Þan er haly men mast spedefully

176 and delyuerd] *om.* H1 | þis] þi H1 179 cetera] þat es *add.* H1 180 and¹] *om.* H1
 184 fele] felow B 185 and²] *om.* H1 186 will] wy|\|/e H1 | þe²] *om.* H1 187 þe] *om.* H1 188 istud]
 illud H1 189 Austyn] sais *add.* H1 190 says] *om.* H1 191 giftes] gyft H1 | þame] him H1 | þaim]
 him H1 192 þe] þo H1 194 gettyn...lytill] *om.* B | forgettyn] forgettyng B | nota in margin H1
 196 tyme] *om.* H1 197 till] to H1 | bot] bot if H1 199 þe] þo H1 | whilk] þe whilk H1

183 tak tent] 'attend' 184 feleabill] 'perceptible' 191 dangerusly] 'disobligingly'

herd of God when he giffe3 þame no3t þat þat þai couet bot eftir þat he knawes þe best for þame.’⁴⁸

[X.] God giffe3 vnto sum men swetnes of deuocoun in þe begynnyng of þaire
f. 126r turnyng for to draw | þame owt fra þe luf of worldly thinges *and* for to mak þame
 sadd *and* stabyll in his luf, whilk swetnes aftirward he withdrawe3 þat þai shuld mow
 get þame mare mede *and* hegheer to be crowned in þe blys of heuen. For sen *vertue3*,
 as saise þe philosophir, standes in þat thinge þat a man may no3t come to *withouten*
 strenth *and* hardnes,⁴⁹ þerfor þat þat es most hard to get es mast of *vertu* when it es
 210 gettyn. Bot for to be stabill *and* lastand in þe luf of God *and* sothfaste beleue in tyme
 of *temptacion and withdrawyng* of all actuell *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 vbi volebas; cum autem senueris, extendes manus tuas et alius cinget*
 215 te *et ducet te quo tu non vis*’;⁵⁰ þat is to say: ‘When þou was 3onge þou girdyd þiselfe
and 3ode whedir þiself 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 nurysched *and* brought
 furth with swete mylke *and* dauntyng *and* playing to þe tyme þat þai be abyll to ete
 sadd mete3 as men does *and* do strange dedes, right so our lord nuresche3 sum men
 220 *and* wymmen fyrst with mylk of swetnes *and* deuocion *and* eftirwardes he makes
 þame strang *and* parfite thurgh sadd metes of *temptacion and tribulacion*. It es swete
and dilectabyll for to folow Ihesu with myrthe *and* joy of hert *and* pesfulnes and in
 sothnes of saule, bot it es full hard *and* full he3h *perfeccion* to folew our lord
withowten any comforth or ese of hert, *with* contenuelle *inpugnacion* of his mynde
 225 *and* of his fayth. It was swete *and* dilectabill to Sayn Peter for to be *with* Ihesu in þe
 mounte of Thabor in his joyfull *transfiguracion*, when he sayd to Ihesu: ‘*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
 ferefull to hym to be with Crist in his passion *and* his *persecucion* þat was so hard
and so fell, in so mekill þat he denyed hym *and* sayd he knew hym no3t.⁵³ And 3hit

202 þat²] *om.* H1 | þat³] *om.* H1 | þe] *om.* H1 204 vnto] to H1 205 thinges] thyng H1
 206 shuld] schal H1 207 sen...208 philosophir] as þe filosofere sais swilk vertu H1 210 to] \to/ H1
 212 medefull] *vertuus and more medfule* H1 213 autem] *om.* H1 215 te²] *om.* H1 216 bot] box B
 lede] led þe H1 218 abyll] olde H1 220 and wymmen] *om.* H1 223 sothnes] softnes H1 224 with]
and with H1 225 Sayn] *om.* H1 227 nos] nobis H1 228 his²] *om.* H1

218 dauntyng] ‘cherishing’ 223 sothnes] ‘righteousness’

neuerþelesse he þat for þe ferdnes of a lytill womans | voyce denyed Criste in his f. 126v
 passion, eftirward he was made so strang *and* so myȝti thurgh þe halygaste þat he
 knowlegged our lord before kinges *and* princes vnto þe ded.

And for as þis maner of passion comes ofte of a mans awne complexion, þerfor [XI.]
 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 235
 curiosite or sotelte of his thoght, ne þat he leue noght on his awne wytte ne presume
 ouer mekill of his awne felyngeȝ, bot þat he mekely fall to *and* folow þe counsell *and*
 confortyng of wise *and* discrete men, shewand *and* opynnand to þame his
 temptacions *and* his stirrynges. *And* þis es bath helefull *and* spedefull to hym. For haly
 wryte sayȝ þus: ‘Ve soli, *quia cum ceciderit non habet subleuantem se*’;⁵⁴ þat es to 240
 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*
 tariet, he es heuy *and* ferefull bath of his awne complexion *and* of his temptacion;
 bot he sall mak myrthe *and* ioy violently of force yof þat he may no better do thurgh 245
 lyfting vp of his awne hert. *And* euer þe mare þat he es put doune to sorow *and*
 drede, þe mare sall he stir hymselfe to myrth *and* gladnes. For haly wryte telleȝ þat þe
 apostels went joyand fra þe counsaile of þe jeweȝ for þat þai were worþi to suffer
 disese for þe name of Ihesu, as it es wryten þus: ‘Ibant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu
 consilij, *quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Ihesu contumeliam pati*’.⁵⁵ *And* þerfore 250
 yof a man sogates as I hafe sayd be temped, all yof he fele a lytill or nayn of gostly
 comforth, luk þat he suffer it mekely for gret mede of his saule, *and* 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 f. 127r
 cause of vanyte done or luste, bot it es done be cause of profite *and* coueryng of mans 255
 hele.

230 þe] *om.* H1 | womans] woman H1 233 for as] as for als mykel as H1 | of¹] *om.* H1
 ofte] oft tyme H1 234 whoso] who H1 235 hym] his H1 | ne¹] *and* H1 | noȝt] *om.* H1 236 ne¹]
 and H1 237 of] on H1 | felyngeȝ] felyng H1 239 þis] þat H1 240 quia] *quoniam* H1 241 awne
 felyng] felynges H1 242 nota in margin H1 | haueȝ] ne has H1 245 þat] *om.* H1 254 solace] (dis
canc.) ese H1 | noght] not doun H1 255 done¹] *om.* H1 | luste] lustynes H1

251 sogates] ‘in such a way’

[XII.] For þe fend ofte tymes transfigurez hym, vnseabyll, into ane aungell of lyght,⁵⁷ stirrand furth vises vnder lyknes of vertues *and* hilland errourz vnder colour of sothfastnes, euermare waytand how he myght ouercome a deuoute saule. For some he
 260 brynges to a mans thocht in tyme of Goddes serues 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 vndir colour of halynes *and* vertu he trublez *and* drawes away hys mynd fra þat þat he shuld say *and* think on. For it es wryten: ‘Omnia tempus habent’; ⁵⁹ þat es: ‘All thing haues tyme.’ Bot sothly a souerayne *and* assaied
 265 medecyn *and* a remedy for to put away swilk fantasies *and* vayne imaginacions *and* for to distroy gastly temptacions in tyme of detfull praying is þis: þat a man on na wise, als far furth as he may, gif na lystenyng ne behalding ne tak no tent to þame.

[XIII.] [S]ome tyme also þe fend brynges to þe mynde of a body þaire alde done synnes whilk he has before tyme done away thurgh trw confession *and* pure conscience, *and*
 270 makes hym beleue þat þai ar nozt forgiffyn hym, or els he brynges hym in dowte wheþer þai be forgiffen hym or nozt, whilk he knew before sothfastly. *And* þat dos þe ennemy thurgh a blynding *and* a withdrawing of þe mynd of his schryfte made before or of oþer gude dedes, smytand scharpely his mynd with drede of waiknes of herte. Þe wicked enmy menes nozt thurgh þis brynggyng to mynde for to clense þe saule fra
 275 synne thurgh confession, bot þat þe saule shuld thurgh swilk falsnes be trubled *and* taried *and* stirred fra pees *and* stabilnez of hert, or els to bryng hym to dispaire. For he es a spirite of pestelence *and* ouer all thing he hatis pes *and* quiete of hert, couetand euer mare *and* desirand bytternes *and* trublyng. To whase suggestyon in þis caas þou sall warly agaynstand on þis wise: when þou feles þus þi conscience trubled
 280 *and* taried for swilk maner of confession of þa synnes whilk þou knaweþ wele þou have bene schryuen of | before tyme and taken *and* done pennance for þame, whilk
 f. 127v conscience es stirred by temptacion *and* taryng of þe enmy, mak þan dissimilacion *and* feynyng werly, as þou roght nozt þerof, *and* leue of als sone as þou may *and* fle away preuely *and* folow it nozt in dede, yof all þi fals conscience agayne say þe. For
 285 confession of synne, yof it be profitabyll *and* nedefull to ilk man when trw conscience

257 vnseabyll] vnseabeli H1 259 some] sum tyme H1 260 a mans] mannes H1 261 for to] om. H1 262 vertu] vertus H1 | trublez] distrubles H1 268 Some] Nome *incorrect initial drawn* B þe fend] he H1 269 tyme] tymes H1 272 a¹] om. H1 | made before] rev. H1 273 of²] *and* H1 274 þis] om. H1 | fra...275 synne] om. H1 277 thing] thynges H1 278 To...279 wise] nota in margin H1 285 confession] confessicon B | and...man] *and* medful to ilk man/ H1

261 schrife] ‘confess’ 283 roght] ‘cared’

and helefull conpungcion stirrez it, neuerþelesse it es vnprofitabyll and vnspedefull when it es stirred be fals opynion or dowting and bitter and ferefull insending of þe fend. Bot þou sall vndirstand þat þis maner of confession is nozt 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 nozt so sum tyme in þe sight of men. For anely entent and cause makes euer ilk thing for to be medefull or vnspedefull. Þis es þe teching of our lord Ihesu Criste when þe fend temped hym and sett hym on þe pynnakill of þe tempill and bad hym if he wer Goddes sonne þat he shuld caste downe hymselfe to þe ground: ⁶⁰ neuerþelesse he did nozt onane as þe fend bad hym, bot he come doune esily be þe greces of discrecion, declinand wisely his desaytez and his temptacions; gifand vs ensaumpyll þat when þe fende stirres any thing vnder colour of gude and halynes we shall nozt onane bow to his bidding and fulfill his suggestions, bot we sall helefully be way of discrecion agaynstand þame.

Also þe wicked sprete of errour sum tyme vmbelappes þe mynd with dyuers perplexites and dowtes and wondirfull and preuee distraccions and waueryng of thoght, makand þat thing to seme vnleuefull and gret synne whilk es leuefull and no synne, and says þat es dedly synne whilk is bot veniall, and so contenuelly þat hym thinkes he es neuer shryuen ryght. And ouer þat, mare vndiscretely troubles | and trauailez his hert thurgh ferdnes, dredes, and vgsomnes, and bringes to his mynd fantasies of dyuers synnez, anely for to lett hym fra gude wirking and profitabyll occupacion thurgh swilk diseze and also to mak hym a fals conscience, in so mekill þat he sum tyme drawez a man and gers hym mare cleue \and/ leue to swilk falsnes and feyned conscience stirred be swilk sotelte and quayntez of þe fend þan for to consent to trewthe and be rewled be descresion. 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 errourz and nowþer trow ne drede þame ne folow þame, bot to folow sothfastnes. And if he say þat he may nozt put it away fra hym he says nozt sothe 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 nozt defoule his saule, yof all þe same errour dwell stille in his

290 and] and for H1 294 Goddes] God H1 296 greces] grece H1 | wisely] besely H1
298 and¹] and of H1 304 nota bene in margin H1 | troubles] he troubles H1 307 a] o H1 308 mare]
om. H1 310 descresion] des(creserecion *canc.*) crecion B | errour] heresy H1 311 discrete] discret
man H1 312 fals] om. H1 | trow] trow þaim H1 314 to put] put H1 | wold] wil H1

290 cautele] 'caution' 296 greces] 'steps' 308 gers] 'causes' | leue to] 'pay heed to'

inward felyng as it did before, if he will mekely ascente *and* be buxsome to wise mennes teching *and* counsaile.

- [XV.] Þis techez vs þe apostell, saying þus: ‘Nolite credere *omni spiritui*’; ⁶¹ ‘Will 3e nozt,’ he saies, ‘gif credence *and* beleue to ilk a spirite, bot *proues fyrst and* asayes be
 320 counsaile *and* descrecion of wise men whilk es þe spirite of Godde,’ *and* folow it *and* do eftir it, *and* luk *and* seke by descrecion whedir it be ane of þe hamely menezee of God or it be þe insending of þe enemy, *and* þeraftir wirke. *And þerfore* descrecion es a[l]way nedefull to euer ilk man; whilk descrecion, as Sayn Bernard says, is þe vpberer of all *oþer vertue*z. ⁶³ Þis descrecion demes rightly betwix gude *and* ill, þat a man be
 325 nozt desayued vnwarly ne ressayue na ill vndir colour of lyknes of gude. ⁶⁴ *And þerfore* Saynt Austyn says in 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 nozt lyghtly be knawen of what spirite it es taken, bot anely by þat, þat þe gude spirete techez vs *and* stirrez vs to gude *and* þe wicked disayue3 vs. He begyles men ofte
 330 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 vndescrecion or pride or ipocrisie to his werkes, *and* so ar þai | turned into synne. *And* so ofte tyme3 he reuesche3 mans thoght into hid *and* preuee thinges, þat it semes all ane, þe spirite of hym þat suffers *and* þe spirit of hym þat trauaile3 hym. ⁶⁵
 335 *And þerfore* it semys hym þat it war his awne thoght *and* trew consayte, *and* þat es broght in thwrgh wicked stirryng *and* desayte of þe enemy. *Þerfore* he sall nozt 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* descrecion of wise men. For oure ald aduersarie þe fend is a fals *and* a wicked trechcerus dissayuer of men saule3. *And* when
 340 he sees þat he may nozt lede þe saule into errour thurgh wiles, neuerþelesse he enforce3 to cast it doune be ouer mekill drede, shewand to it fals illucions *and* ferfull *and* hidous thoghte3, *and* thurgh in3hettyng of venom of his wickednes for to mak it pyntfull *and* bytter thurgh vnsufferabill heuynes 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
 345 wise, in als mekill as freelte suffers, *with* help of grace, agaynstand his desayueabill

317 counsaile] counsels H1 322 þe¹] of þe H1 323 alway] away B 324 oþer] *om.* H1
 rightly] ríztwisly H1 325 colour of] *om.* H1 326 in...buke] *om.* H1 329 nota bene hic *in margin* H1
 332 or²] of H1 333 reuesche3] ransakis H1 335 hym] to him H1 336 wicked] *om.* H1 340 þat] *om.*
 H1

321 menezee] ‘household’ 342 in3hettyng] ‘pouring in’

suggestions *and* to suffer patiently *and* mekely þe pyne *and* þe bytternes inficched in his ferefull thocht.

Also þe fend, when he sees þat he may noȝt ouercom a man wakand ne gar hym [XVI.]
 conscent to his wycked stirrynges, he es abowtward in slepe to dreche hym *and* disese
 hym thurgh dyuers scornynge of ferdnes *and* vgsomnes of dremes *and* fantasiez. And 350
 þefore says Sayn Gregour *super illud* Iob ‘Terrebis me *per* sompnia’; ⁶⁶ he says: ‘Þe
 fende, when he seeȝ þat he may noȝt ouercome a man ne mak hym conscent to synne
 wakand, he feghteȝ with hym mare greuously *and* mare felly slepand. And þat es
 sufferd of þe gret gudenes of God *and* of his mercy, þat will noȝt suffir þat þe slepe of
 his dere chosyn derlyng be *withouten* frute of gostly mede.’ ⁶⁷ 355

A dere lord Ihesu, on how many wonderfull wise is a chosen saule þat anely lufes [XVII.]
and dredis þe castyn hedir *and* þider thurgh dyuers | temptacions and smytyn togedir *f. 129r*
and thrungen togedir thurgh dredis *and* ferefullnes on ilk a side! Þis bers wytnes haly
 kirke in ane ympne sayand þus: ‘O tortuose serpens qui mille *per* meandros
 fraudesque flexuosas agitas quieta corda’; ⁶⁸ he says: ‘A, a, þou brukill neddir, þat 360
 thurgh a thousand wiles stirreȝ *and* trubleȝ restfull herttes, ga hyen þi way *and* melt
 to noȝt, Criste es *with* vs þat hase vs boght, þou wicked fend *withowten* [l]yght,
 Cristes crose þe dampneȝ *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 þusgateȝ trauailde *and* pyned, desolate *and* as it war forsaken 365
and all lefte as it war in þe handes of his enemy, *and* for to lede a man þat on þis wise
 gaes thurgh þe fire of temptacion owte of þe hete *and* brynnynge of tribulacion into a
 restfull caldnes *and* refresching *and* comforth of þe haly gost. And ȝit neuerþelesse
 yof he may noȝt als sone get ne hafe þis restfull comforth *and* refresching as he
 couettes, he sall noȝt þefore despaire; ȝa yof he forga it lang tyme, ȝa all his lyfe 370
 tyme, he sall think þat all þis lyfe is bot a preson *and* a place of penance *and* disese,
and fully trist þat þat comfort *and* joy is profitabill *withdrawing* fra hym here *and*
reserued *and* kepted to hym in þe blisse þat es endles.

350 of^l] or H1 351 Gregour] in his morals *add.* H1 355 of] *and* H1 358 thrungen] schronkyn
 H1 | Þis...359 sayand] *om.* H1 360 a] *om.* H1 | brukill] crokid H1 361 hyen] he sais H1
 362 lyght] myght B 363 a] *om.* H1 366 lede] kep H1 367 þe^l] *om.* H1 372 *withdrawing*]
withdrawn H1

348 gar] ‘make’ 349 dreche] ‘disturb’ 350 scornynge] ‘mockeries’ | ferdnes] ‘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.

[*Stimulus amoris*:] ⁷⁵

[XVIII.] Bonauentur in a buke þat es cald Stimulus Amoris says þus. A, a, þi wondirfull
 mercy, allmyghty lord Ihesu, þat suffers vs here to be assaid with dyuers temptacions,
 nozt 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 vnto þe as to þe mast sekir hald *and* hauen of our
 hele *and* a syngulere refute of our defence. Like to a gude modir, qwilk when sho
 380 sees hir child far fra hir *and* desirez to se hym sho makes hym fyrst ferd *and* feres hym
 by some ferefull thyng, *and* when he for drede rynnes to hir for socour *and* beldenes
 sho opyns hir armys *and* takez hir child to hir *with* gret joy, *and* hales hym *and*
 warnes hym þat he ga na mare so far away fra hir for drede of harme *and* diseze, sho
f. 129v comfortez | hym, sho halsez hym *and* giffez hym hir pappe to souke: right so dose
 385 þou our blyssed lord *with* all þi chosyn childir *and* derlynges, whilk þou ordans to be
 hairez of þine endles kyngdome. O a blystfull temptacion is þat þat constrenes vs to
 fle to þe swete halsyng of our lordis bosome! A, a, swete Ihesu, þat suffers vs on euer
 ilk a syde to be dreffen thurgh temptacion, tribulacion, *and* diseze, *and* euermare
 giffez þiself to vs a maste sekir *and* mast helefull refuyte, þat we may dwell *with* þe
 390 *withowten* end. Qwat so euer þou behafe, no wondir þat þou felez temptacions *and*
 diseze, bot fle to our lord *with* lufly drede; *and* if þou will nozt be temped, sit þare
with hym, elles may þou lyghtly be takyn of þine enmy *and* perisch.

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

375 a²] *om.* H1 381 drede] ferd or drede H1 382 hales hym] hals him *and* kissys hym H1
 383 þat] *om.* H1 385 to] for to H1 386 þine] *om.* H1 | O] a H1 387 halsyng] halsynges H1 | a]
om. H1 | Ihesu] lorde Ihesu H1 389 *and* mast] *om.* H1 394 þat] *om.* H1 396 preuee] þine H1 | þi
 \kynd/] (þi kynd *canc.*) \< kynd/ *partly cropped marginal correction of smudged words B* 398 nozt] *om.*
 H1 | nota bene in margin H1 | Mak] tak H1 399 þat] *om.* H1 400 to þe] *om.* H1 | depely...þe²]
 \depely *and* law to þe ber þou þe/ H1

377 skill] 'reason' 382 hales] 'embraces' 391 lufly] 'loving' 397 still marnyng] 'constant
 mourning' 398 thar] 'need' 399 helde] 'bend'

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* beseke hym mekely þat, sen it
 es noȝt semely þat he eftesoneȝ be wonded *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 405
 þe all fully red in þe same blyssed blode. And if þou be þus cled in þis blyssed
 purpoure, þou sall þan mow sekirly enter into þe kynges palace of heuen. [A]nd þou
 man þat art þus ilk a day temped, behald *and* haue in | mynde ilk day of þise blyssed *f. 130r*
 woundeȝ *and* þai sall be to þe contenuell refreschyng *and* comforth, *and* withouten
 any dowt, if þou fest þise blyssed woundes fast in þi hert, þer sall nane entre be lefte 410
 opyn to na temptacion. For what man es he þat durst eftesones 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 fra
 synne for reuerence *and* compassion of his blyssed woundes, neuerþelesse when he
 beheld þat mare greuous payn *and* penance withouten comparison is detted to a 415
 synner þan to ane innocent þat neuer did synne, *and* with þat behald what payne *and*
 passion our lord Ihesu Crist sufferd fra þe houre of his byrth to þe last poynt of his
 pynfull passion, whilk neuer synned ne trespass, *and* think þan what pyne es detted to
 hym þat has bene a synner all his lyfe tyme *and* a wreche: if he think þus, sothly I
 suppose þat yof nowþer reuerence ne luf myght lett hym fra synne, þis maner of 420
 behaldyng 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 [XX.]
 wickednes, fle þan to his blyssed modir Mary, whilk es made hope *and* triste *and*
 specially advocate to all synfull, *and* gif reuerence to hir honour *and* warship as to þe
 hie modir of God, *and* aske of hir helpe with wepand teres. And if þou cesse noȝt of 425
 lightly bot continues deuoutly in prayers *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 ȝouth
 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 fleeȝ or will fle to hir
 proteccion to purchace *and* gett þaim grace, | remission, and forgifnes of þaire synnes, *f. 130v*

402 þe¹] þi H1 404 he¹...be] he be eftsonnis H1 | at...lest] neuerþeles H1 407 þan mow] *rev.*
 H1 | And] nd *guide letter 'a' in space, but initial not drawn* B 412 and²] *and* so H1 415 greuous]
 greuously H1 | is] þat is H1 420 yof...luf] owthir reuerence or lufe H1 | of] *om.* H1 424 honour...
 warship] honours *and* worschips H1 425 of³] *om.* H1 426 and teeres] *om.* H1 427 what] what at H1
 429 hir¹] his H1 | to] til H1

407 purpoure] Cloth of royal purple.

and for to mak aseth for þame vnto þe fadir of heuen, whilk office sho fullfilles full besily *with* full tendir affeccion *and* gret compassion to all synfull wreches 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, know þan wele þat God lufeþ þe, *and* þerfore dose he all þis to þe þat þou myght know þe grounde *and* þe steyell of þi synnes *and* þat þou shuld nozt vnknow þine awne wrechidnes, *and* þat is a full gret gyfte of our lord. For sothly, *presumpcion* *and* pride of many man whilk haldeþ þaim gude *and* haly, whilk aprocheþ *and* preses of God allmyghty as to þaire
 440 hamely *and* familier frend, it es nozt 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 nozt knawand his awne wrechednes, *and* þat he come before God *with* gret confusion *and* shame of his synnes *and* *with* gret reuerence *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
 445 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 gudenez of our lord *and* þe lyttilnes *and* þe waykenes of hymselfe, sayand *with* þe man of þe gospel þus: 'lord, nozt anely I am vnworþi þat þou com into my house,⁷⁸ 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
 450 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 nozt ne leef nozt off lightly, he sall nozt anely loke on þe fra ferre bot he sall lede þe into his house *and* latt þe see þe maste præuete of his heuenly chambir, hauyng reward to þe
 f. 131r wordes of þe gospell: 'Qui se exaltat humiliabitur | et qui se humiliat exaltabitur';⁷⁹
 455 þat es: 'He þat hies hymself, he sall be made law; *and* he þat laweþ *and* mekes hymself, he sall be hied in blys.' To þat blis bryng vs he whas mercy is to all men fre. Amen.

432 fle] cal H1 439 gude and] om. H1 443 a...444 dignacion] for a gret thyng *and* hald it in grete deyne H1 447 þe¹] om. H1 448 vnworþi] worthy H1 | com] com to me H1 449 to²...nere] com negh þe H1 452 he!...anely] only he sal not H1 453 þe²] om H1 454 et...exaltabitur] *et cetera* H1 455 hies] enhyese H1 457 Amen] here endis þis tretice afir M. W. Hylton *add.* H1

431 aseth] 'atonement' 437 steyell] 'manner' 446 be aknawen] 'acknowledge'

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ME1b

Remedia contra spirituales tentaciones.

For as moche as þe apostle seiþ þat men may not plese God wiþoute stedfast [I.]
 feiþ,⁴ þerfore it is to wite þat oure olde enemy and aduersary þe deuel ful feiþ, þat is
 grounde and fundament of holy chirche and bigynnyng of alle vertues and of good
 worchyng, wiþ fals suggestionis and diuerse ymaginaciones or mysþinkyng in many 5
 wonderful maneris he bisyeþ hym what he may to anyntischen and destruye. And
 whomso he may not bryng away utterlyche fro sadnesse of þis feiþ, 3it natheles wiþ
 his wanlacs and his wyls he is euermore aboute to disturble hem and bryng into
 doute of þe same feiþ suche as wolde mooste bleþeliche stonde stable and sewr.⁵ And
 þerfore it nedith to wiþstonde suche maner missendis and fendingges wiþ good 10
 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 irreuerence
 or despit azens God and his seintis, how so euere þe deuel schewe hem to mannys
 soule, wheiþer þat it be bi seeyng or ellis by heryng, for to putte hem anoon away
 and despise hem and dispute hem not ne struggle no3t a3eins hem. And for to 15
 wiþstonde alle suche temptaciouns þe better, it is to vndirstonde þat as seiþ þe
 prophete Dauyd, þe þou3th and þinkyng of men ben ofte ydel and veyn;⁶ and as
 seyn doctoures þerupon, suche þenkyng of men ben diuerse and wiþoute noumbre.
 And þerfore a man schal not tary ne dwelle in suche þou3t ne wondre moche þeron
 ne enserche hem in hys soule ne dispute þe causis þerof. For þe more bisilyche þat he 20
 medeliþ hym wiþ suche erroures and falsnessis for to anyntischen hem or flaye h[e]m

1 Remedia...temptaciones] remedies azens spiritual temptacyouns H2a, om. W1 2 men] we
 H2aW1 | stedfast] good W1 3 feiþ¹] and byleue add. W1 | and aduersary] om. W1 | ful...6
 destruy] 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 werkinge W1 6 anyntischen] anytheren
 H2a | And...7 whomso] awhomso H2a, and whom W1 7 bryng...þis] vtterli bringe oute of his W1
 þis] hise H2a 8 wanlacs] lanlacys H2a | euermore] alway W1 | bryng] for to bryng W1 | into]
 hem in H2a, in W1 9 bleþeliche] gladly W1 10 maner...fendingges] myssendinges in and fending
 W1 11 clene] clere W1 | seyn] wyte W1 | fantomis] fantasies W1 12 mislikyng] mislikyngs
 H2aW1 | mene] say W1 13 hem] hym H2a 14 seeyng] þe sight W1 | ellis] om. W1 | anoon
 away] rev. H2a 15 dispute...not] loke that none suche dyspite suche vnkynde materes W1 | And]
 now W1 16 better] soner and the better W1 | seiþ...17 Dauyd] Dauyd sayth in the sawter W1
 17 þou3th] thou3tes W1 | þinkyng] be thynkyng H2a, the thynkes W1 18 seyn doctoures] holi
 doctours sayen W1 | þenkyng] thynkynges W1 19 And þerfore] wherfore W1 | þou3t] thoughtes
 W1 | þeron] on theym W1 20 ne¹] neyther W1 | enserche] serche H2a | hem] hym H2a | þerof]
 of them W1 21 falsnessis] falsnes H2aW1 | anyntischen] anether H2a, auayde W1 | hem¹...flaye]
 om. W1 | hem²] hym FH2a

6 anyntischen] 'ruin' 8 wanlacs] 'deceits' 10 fendingges] 'trials' 11 fantomis] 'illusions'
 21 flaye] 'flee'

f. 168v onelyche by soueraynte | of hys owne witt, þe more and furþer he wadiþ into hem-ward and dewpiþ hymself in hem.

[II.] Wherefore a man schal not for suche falsenessis rennyng into hys soule angre
 25 hymself or disese hymself or putte it into his owne witt. For suche manere temptacioun zif it be take mekelyche and esilyche is more to hys punyschyng here þan to encressyng of hys gilt or ellis of hys dampnacion. And why for to a man þat wilniþ to be feiþful suche temptacioun is displesyng and vtterlyche azein his wille, þerfore it is painful to hym but not giltful of synne to hym. Siþþe eueriche synne is
 30 wilful or ellis it is no synne, as seiþ Seynt Austyn.⁷ Also as seiþ Seynt Isidre: 'He þat is turmentid bi þe deuelis ensawt wiþ gostlyche temptaciouns or passiones, loke he trowe not ne bileue not þerfore þat he is vtterlyche alyened or forsake of hys God þat suffreþ hym so be temptyd, but loke eche suche þat he þe ofter and þe more herye his God.'⁸ And zit þe same clerk Ysydre seiþ ferþer in þe same book: 'Þe deuel temptiþ
 35 neiþer ferþer ne more þe chosen of God þan Goddis wille suffriþ and þoliþ, and þouz þe deuel wolde not it were so zit napeles mawgry hym he makiþ hem so þei be goodlich and meke to take profyt by his temptynge.'¹¹ Also in þe same book in þe ende: 'Oure aduersary þe deuel is neuer wery to greue þe rithful man ne he styntiþ neuere for to areyse batayl of temptaciouns azeyins hym. For eiþer he ful hepiþ hym
 40 wiþ angwisschis of herte or of soule, or ellys he reisiþ azeins hym bodiliche sorowes.

22 onelyche] *om.* H2a | and] and þe H2a, and also the W1 | furþer] ferder in W1 23 dewpiþ] perauenture ouerdeþeth and drenchyth W1 24 falsenessis rennyng] fals mysrennyng H2a, fals mysrennynges W1 25 hymself] in hem *add.* W1 | or¹...hymself²] *om.* H2a | hymself²] hym W1 putte...witt] wene that suche sory thoughte come oonly of hys owne malice or of his owne wytte W1 it] *om.* H2a | manere] a manere W1 26 zif] so W1 | take] *om.* W1 | here] *om.* W1 27 to¹] to hys H2a | hys¹] *om.* W1 | ellis] *om.* W1 | dampnacion] payne W1 28 suche] manere *add.* H2aW1 vtterlyche] moche W1 29 þerfore] and þerfore FH2a, wherfore W1 | to hym²] *om.* W1 | Siþþe] suche H2a 30 it is] *om.* W1 | Austyn] in his boke of perfeccion of rightwysnes *add.* W1 | de *summo bono libro tercio capitulum quarto in margin* F | as²...Isidre] as seyþe Ysidore H2a, Saynt Ysidere sayth W1 31 ensawt] ensautes W1 32 not¹] *om.* W1 | þerfore] for H2a | alyened or] *om.* W1 33 be] to be W1 | eche...he] on eche side W1 | þe¹...34 God] be after and þe more worcheþ and herye is god H2a, þe more ofter he worship God W1 34 eodem libro *capitulo secundo in margin* F | ferþer...book] *om.* W1 | ferþer] ferþeremore H2a 35 neiþer...more] neuer forþe H2a, neuer ferder W1 | Goddis...þoliþ] God wyll suffre W1 36 deuel] fende W1 | napeles] *om.* W1 | so²...37 temptynge] to take moche profyte by his temptyng so þat they be goodly and meke W1 37 in²...38 ende] the said Ysidere sayth W1 38 neuer] not W1 | rithful] rihtwys W1 | styntiþ] resteth W1 39 to...batayl] to reyse bataylles W1 | ful hepiþ] ful helpith H2a, fulfylleth W1 40 angwisschis] anguysshe W1 | reisiþ] areryth W1

23 dewpiþ] 'immerses' 31 ensawt] 'assault' 33 herye] 'praise' 35 þoliþ] 'tolerates' 36 mawgry] 'in spite of'

For ofte siþe he turmentijþ so wiþ sundry woes mannes þouzt þat oþerwhile he
bringijþ man into so moche disese þat man fallijþ almost þerby into desparacioun. But
zit napeles zif suche a soule dwellijþ þan stedefast in þe drede of | God *and* in hys *f. 169r*
loue, suche maner of angwisschis schulde moche availe hym and profite to encres of
hys mede. Þan suche a soule is not twynnyd ne departid fro his God but raþer ioyned 45
to hym, þouz he be tened and turmentyd wiþ suche maner angwysche. Many diseses
suffrijþ þe ryztful mannis soule by fals suggestioun or instigacioun of þe deuel, but zit
may he nozt do hym perische þerby ne lese þe blisse of heuen. For oure lord God þat
is so meke *and* so merciful acountijþ not to gilt or synne þer he of hys hoge maieste
and lordschipe wil þat man suffre. For as seyen holy doctoures, þer we doth amys *and* 50
synnen where þat we fallijþ wiþ couetise *and* wille, but þere þat by violence *and*
maugrey vs we be brouzt into wrecchidnesse, it is oneliche peyne to vs *and* not
synne.’ Þis seiþ Ysidir.¹²

Napeles it semeþ þat suche maner temptacioune of myswenyng and vntrust put [III.]
into mannes soule bi illusyoun or scornynge of deuelis were a gret gilte *and* synne, 55
whanne it is but onelyche an hesitacioun of þe feiþ. For iche gilt is do bi wille, or
ellys of vnknowyng, as if a man wil not knowe ne desirþ not to knowe of his froward
wille; þanne suche maner wille ledijþ more into errour þan into truþe. Þan siþ it is so
þat feiþ is habite of truþe, þanne whoso haþ wille to bileue bileueþ; whoso haþ wille
to hope hopijþ; whoso wil not dowte dowtijþ not. And in þis wyse þouz a man be 60

41 For] and W1 | siþe] times W1 | wiþ...42 desparacioun] mannes thoughte wyth dyseses of
suche manere temptacyons that a man falleth almoost in wanhope W1 | woes] wyse H2a 42 man¹] a
man H2a | man²] a man H2a 43 dwellijþ] stondest W1 44 angwisschis schulde] anguysshe shall
W1 | availe...profite] auayle *and* profyete hym W1 | profite] hym *add.* H2a | to] in W1 45 þan] and
thenne W1 46 þouz...tened] whan he is angred W1 | tened] temptyd H2a | angwysche] anguysshes
soo that that [*sic*] he kepe hym wythin the bondes of pacyence W1 47 þe¹] a W1 | ryztful] rightwys
W1 | or] and W1 | instigacioun] and stiryng *add.* W1 48 do hym] make hym to W1 | lese]
mynysse him of W1 49 so²] *om.* W1 | gilt] mannes gylt W1 | þer] þat H2aW1 | hoge...50
lordschipe] myghty lordshyp and mageste W1 50 man] a man W1 | seyen...doctoures] holy doctours
sayen W1 51 fallijþ] fallen and ben ouercome W1 | and wille] or lust W1 | þat²] *om.* H2a 52 it] þat
H2a 53 Þis...Ysidir] thus sayth thys worthy clerke Ysidere W1 54 and vntrust] *om.* W1 55 mannes]
a mannes H2a | or] and W1 | deuelis] þe deuyl H2aW1 | a] *om.* W1 | gilte...synne] synne and a
gylte H2a, gylte or sinne W1 56 but...feiþ] an excitacyon for to put away doubt W1 | is²] *om.* W1
57 ellys of] *om.* W1 | of¹] be H2a | as] and H2a | ne...knowe²] *om.* H2aW1 58 wille¹] or elles of
vncunnyng, as is sinne *add.* W1 | þanne] for W1 | ledijþ] torneth W1 | more...errour] into errowre
more H2a | it] þat H2a 59 truþe] wyll W1 | þanne] *om.* W1 | whoso¹] so he H2a | bileueþ]
leuyth H2a | haþ²] haue haþe H2a 60 wil...dowte] is not in wyll to doubt W1

45 twynnyd] ‘separated’ 46 tened] ‘afflicted’ 59 truþe] ‘faith’

diseded in *maner* as I seyde tofore, 3it nabeles 3if hys hert stonde to bileue wel, he bileueþ wel.¹³ For onelyche in wille þat may not be constreyned stant al mede and mawgre. But oþerwhile mannys þouzt is so derkyd *and* dymmyd þat he may not see what þat he wilneþ; but þerof no forse. For goode werkis and goode dedis witnessyn
 65 good wille, *and* yuel dedis yuel wille. And þerfore so men owen to suppose þerof til þe reuerse be opinliche yschewid.

[IV.] 3it ouer þis 3if it be so þat suche *maner* temptacioun dure forþ more harde þan
 f. 169v it dide *and* sese not for dissimulacioun | maad after cautel of þe first deuel, but spekiþ
 bi malice of þe serpent, moeuynge wiþinne forþ fantasmes and in many *manere* wyse
 70 driuyng fals þing for soþe *and* derkingg wiþ malycious complexioun mannis þout,
 greuyng it continuelich [and] turblyng, þan schal a man oþerwhile bi *maner* of
 dispisyng and of sad schewyng of þe contrary wiþ speche of mouþ priuyliche ouersette
 þilke errour, al be it þat þe conceyt of errour þat man haþ for þe tyme stonde þer
 azeyn. For holy writt seiþ: ‘Oris confessio fit ad salutem’;¹³ ‘Knowlechyng of mouþ is
 75 maad to mannes helpe.’ For he is deceyued þurgh þe gilis of hys enemy which not
 delyuerliche and aperteliche as wel wiþ woord as wiþ dede wiþstant hym as he
 schulde. And he is but a feble enemy and esy to ouercome, which ouercomeþ no man
 but he wil hymself,¹⁵ and þat wiþ avuse wille greed and approuyd.

[V.] Ne þer schal no man be diseded þou3 he see oure enemy þe deuyl in suche
 80 diuerse *maner* tempte Goddis chosen. For þis enemy asprieþ þe febilnesse *and*
 brotilnesse of euery mannys complexioun, *and* whom he seeþ most spreynd wiþ þe

61 diseded] ased W1 | 3if] and W1 62 al] mannes W1 63 þouzt] soule W1 | see] see for the tyme W1 64 þat] *om.* H2a | and...dedis] *om.* W1 65 þerfore] *om.* W1 | suppose] suppose *and* trowe W1 66 yschewid] prouyd or shewed W1 67 be so] *rev.* H2a | temptacioun] temptacyouns H2a | dure] last W1 | forþ...harde] ferþer more hardere H2a | more...68 dide] *om.* W1 68 sese... deuel] stinte not W1 69 malice] *manere* W1 | fantasmes] fantasies W1 70 driuyng] turnyng about offring W1 | þing] thinges W1 | soþe] true W1 | and] *and* also W1 | malycious complexioun] fals complexioun and malycious H2a 71 continuelich] duryngli W1 | and] *om.* F 72 and...contrary] shewe his byleue W1 | sad] a sad H2a | priuyliche...73 þilke] expresseli *and* ouersette to suche W1 73 al...errour²] *om.* H2a, al be it the whyche conceyte W1 | man] a man W1 | haþ] hath wythin hym W1 74 Oris] oris *autem* W1 | Knowlechyng] that is to say knowlegyng W1 75 helpe] helthe W1 he...not] it is not dysceyued thorough giles of his enmye whiche W1 | þe] þe þe F 77 schulde] ought W1 78 and¹] ye *and* W1 | avuse...greed] a besie wyll W1 79 Ne] no W1 | schal] sholde W1 diseded] ne wonder *add.* W1 | þe deuyl] *om.* H2a 80 maner] maners H2a | tempte] tempte suche W1 | chosen] seruauentes or chosen W1 81 brotilnesse] freylte W1 | and whom] *om.* H2a spreynd] spynd H2a

63 mawgre] ‘fault’ 64 no forse] ‘no matter’ 68 cautel] ‘caution’ 78 avuse] ‘well-advised’ greed] ‘agreed upon’ 81 brotilnesse] ‘weakness’ | spreynd] ‘sprinkled’

moysture of malencolye, þat is to seyn whom he seeþ most disposid to malencoly,
 hym he trubliþ and traueliþ most wiþ gostliche temptacioun. ¹⁶ 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 lyzt and turbliþ, lettyng þe soule þat it may 85
 not deme as it owghte. ¹⁷ 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 makþ many to wene þat false þinges be
 trewe. For þilke maner smoke of blak colre persyng to þe brayn lettiþ suche mennys 90
 doom þat þei seeþ not vtterlyche þe soþfastnesse of þinges.

This cursid enemy auisiþ hym how euery man is ordeyned or disposid. And \as/ [VI.]
 seiþ þe holy man | Leoun þe Pope in þe Circumcisioun of Oure Lord: ‘Þis olde f. 170r
 enemy leuiþ neuer of for to kaste forþ azeins man hys grenis of deceytes, þat he myzt
 þerby in summe destroye þe feiþ of hem þat bileueþ wel. For he knowiþ to whom þe 95
 foule lustis of gloteny, to whom also he schal putte þe steryng of leccherye, to
 whom he schal powre in þe venym 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 menys customes and he awayteþ her ocupaciouns and
 sechiþ out her wilyng and her desires, and þere he bisyeþ hym moost cause for to 100
 noye where he fynt a man moost studiouslich occupyed.’ Þus seiþ þis doctour Leoun
 þe Pope. ¹⁸

82 þat...malencoly] *om.* W1 83 trubliþ] trobelyd H2a | þese] *om.* W1 84 kyndes] kynde W1
 colre] colour W1 | to] into W1 | comiþ] conterith H2a 85 to] vp to H2a 86 it] ys H2a | owghte]
 sholde W1 | suche as] those that W1 | þis] suche W1 87 wiþoute...complexioun] for ouerthwartnes
 and heuynesse of her complexyon without oni skyle or cause W1 | drede...88 such] *om.* H2a, drede or
 W1 88 þat] *om.* W1 | it] *om.* H2a | vnwilly] vnwilfull W1 | to] *om.* H2a 89 many to] many a man
 W1 90 trewe] sooth, and that errour were trowth W1 | colre] colore W1 | persyng to]
 ouercouereth W1 | lettiþ] and letteth W1 92 This] therefore the W1 | auisiþ...disposid] considereth
 and beholdeth the state of euery man W1 | And] for W1 93 þe¹...man] holy H2a, *om.* W1 | in...
 Lord] tetryng of circumcysion W1 94 grenis of] greuows H2a | þat] soo that W1 95 þerby...
 summe] some wyse W1 | bileueþ wel] ben in good byleue W1 | knowiþ] wel ynough to whom he
 shall profere the desire and the eernyng of couetyse *add.* W1 | to...96 gloteny] *om.* H2a 96 putte]
 put forth W1 | to²] and to W1 97 enuye] enemyte H2a | whom²...and] *om.* H2a 98 and blisse]
 whom he shall dysease with sorowe [*sic*] W1 | also] *om.* H2aW1 | deceyue þurgh] dysease wyth W1
 99 discussiþ] takyth hede to W1 | customes] and weneweth the cures *add.* W1 | he²] *om.* W1
 100 wilyng...desires] wyynnenges W1 | wilyng] wyl H2a | cause...101 noye] to anoye W1 101 seiþ]
om. H2a | doctour] clerke W1

90 persyng] ‘penetrating’ 91 doom] ‘judgement’ 94 grenis] ‘snares’

[VII.] Wherfore ofte he puttith in so greet heuynesse and bittirnesse into dyuerse
 mennys soules and so ouertrauayleþ her complexioun þurgh smytyng in of drede þat
 105 hem semith a greet peyne to lyue and an huge remedye to sterne or be dead, insomych
 þat ofte it happith of suche þat þei falle nyz into dispeir and wanhope. For þei trowe
 þat by enchesoun of suche temptaciouns þei were forzete of her God, whiche þat
 suffriþ ofte hys owne chosun on suche maner to be asayed. For as seiþ þe wiseman
Ecclesiasticus: 'Vasa figuli probat fornax';¹⁹ þat is to seyn: 'Þe ouen assayeþ vesselles of
 110 erþe, wheþer þei wil lyztliche to breke or dure; and ryzt so þe temptacioun of
 tribulacioun assayeþ ryztful men.' And Iob seiþ: 'He assayed me as gold þat is zoten
 or molte in þe fyer, for he knowiþ alle my want and my weyes.'²⁰ Wherfore seiþ þe
 apostle: 'Suffreþ a lityl, for it bihoueþ zow to be disesed in þis world þat þe assaiyng
 of zoure feiþ be more *precious* þan gold þat persiþ þurgh þe fyer.'²¹ And þe aungel
 115 Raphael seiþ þus \to/ Tobbye: 'For þou were wel told of to þi God, it was nedeful þat
f. 170v he schulde assay þee.'²² | Þerfore in þis cas it nedith gretliche of goostly strengþe for
 to suffre suche maner sendyng in of temptacioun and tribulacioun pesibleliche and
 mekelyche, and for[to] seyn wiþ Iob in manere of pacience: 'Si bona suscepimus de
 manu domini, *et cetera*';²³ 'zif we haue take alle oure goodes of oure lord God, why
 120 schul we not suffre zif he wil take hem away?' And also moreouer how greet þe
 deserte of pacience is and what blysse a man schal haue þerfore hereaftir. And þerfore
 loke he seye wiþ Iob, and preye þat God spare hym of disese: 'And þouz he wil ille
 me, zit schal I hope in hym.'²⁴

103 Wherfore] and W1 | ofte...puttith] he puttith ofte H2a | puttith in] bryngeth W1
 104 soules] hertes W1 | in] *om.* W1 105 hem] it W1 | an huge] grette W1 | or] and to W1
 106 into] in W1 | wanhope] wanhope of body and sowle W1 107 temptaciouns] manere temptacyon
 W1 | were] ben W1 | God] or vtterly forsake of hym *add.* W1 | whiche...108 ofte] the whiche hathe
 suffred W1 108 on...be] soo to be tempted and W1 | on] in H2a | asayed] assayeth H2a | seiþ...
 109 Ecclesiasticus] the wyse man sayth W1 109 assayeþ] proueth þe W1 110 to] *om.* W1 | dure]
 elles dure *and* last W1 | and...111 assayeþ] in the same manere suche temptacions of tribulacion *and*
 disese assay *and* proue W1 111 And] loo what W1 | He...me] God hathe prouyd me W1 | zoten...
 112 molte] imolten and fyned W1 112 knowiþ] wele *add.* H2a | want and] wante *in* H2a | want]
 pathes W1 113 lityl] lityll while W1 | for] yf so W1 | zow...be] that ye sholde be W1 | world] and
 made sorowfull *add.* W1 | assaiyng] prouyng W1 114 be more] made be made more [*sic*] W1 | gold]
 ony golde W1 115 seiþ] sayd W1 | þus] *om.* W1 | \to/] *om.* H2a | For] *om.* H2a | wel] accepted
and well W1 116 þee] *om.* W1 117 suffre] *om.* H2a | suche...118 mekelyche] pacyently and mekely
 suche manere bytternesse put in to the hert of temptacion *and* tribulacion W1 | sendyng] sendyngys
 H2a 118 and forto] where for loue [*sic*] euery suche one W1 | forto] for F | in manere] that is ferme
 W1 | Si...123 hym] yf we haue receyued gode thynges of the lordes honde why owe not we to receyue
 euyll thynges ye *and* bethynke he the meryte of pacyence now *and* the mede of ioye after *and* say wyth
 Iob *and* pray thus Lord spare me not of dysease and thouz þou slee me yet I shal hope in þe W1
 119 domini] mala autem *add.* H2a | God] *om.* H2a 122 he¹] ze H2a | ille] slee H2a

What wondir is it þou3 a deadliche man and a synful be angrid and angwysschid [VIII.]
 here, siþe þat oure saueour seyde þus in þe gospel of hymself: ‘Tristis est anima mea’, 125
et cetera; ²⁷ ‘My soule is sorewful and dredeful to be dead.’ And also in hy passyoun
 he cryed and sayde þus: ‘My God, my fadir, why hast þou þus forzete me?’ ²⁸ Loke
 also he brynge to hys mynde þe woord þat Ysaye 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 mercy and for3yuyng I schal gedere þee 130
 to me a3eyn.’ ²⁹ It is but litil and passyng what so we suffre here, þou3 it were lastyng
 al oure lijf, in reward of þe peyne þat synful man disseruyþ to haue in an oþer world,
 saf þe mercy of God. Ne wondre no man þou3 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 temptacioun put out of feiþ ne hope ne charyte, but he is more sadlyche 135
 strengþhid þerby in alle goode vertues. The maner of þis temptacioun Crist schewed
 þat þer schulde falle to hys owne disciplis whan he saide: ‘Lo, Sathan þe deuel haþ
 coueityd 3ow þat he my3te syfte 3ow | as ho so siftiþ whete.’ ⁴¹ A man is ysisfte whan *f. 171r*
 he is inwardliche and vtirlyche examyned or asayed; but he is strengþid and maad
 perfytt whan bi þe vertu of pacience and of præyere and bi þe holsum counsel of hys 140
 euene cristen he is confermyd and saddid in goode. And herof folewiþ: ‘Ego autem
 rogauī pro te’, *et cetera*; ⁴² ‘I preide for þee þat þi feiþ fayle not in suche maner

124 synful] sinner W1 125 þat] *om.* W1 | seyde] 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] sowle is sorweful *add.* H2a 128 also] also that W1 | hys] *om.* W1 | seiþ] seyde H2a | Goddis] God the faders W1 | bihalue] to Jhesu Cryst his sone and to eche of his limens *add.* W1 129 yleft] lefte the W1 | moeuingg] moeingg F, moment W1 | vnsettyng...131 a3eyn] indygnacyon *and* lityll settinge by of the for a tyme I haue hidde my face a while from the but in many thynges I shall gader the ayen to me and in euerlastyng mercy I shall haue mercy on the W1 | of²] *om.* H2a | I²] þat F | a²] *om.* H2a 130 þee¹] *om.* F 131 passyng] soone passing W1 | þou3...132 lijf] *om.* W1 132 reward] regarde W1 | man] *om.* W1 133 man¹] thyng W1 | good man] chosen of God W1 | or...134 fondid] *and* assayed W1 134 be] 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 | temptacioun] *and* the remedye *add.* W1 137 þat...falle] *om.* W1 | saide] ecce Sathan expetiuit vos *et cetera*; that is to say *add.* W1 138 þat...3ow²] for to syfte you hether *and* thyder W1 | so] *om.* W1 139 or... strengþid] *om.* H2a | or] and W1 | asayed] assayed wyth dyuerse temptacions W1 140 perfytt] ful perfyttly W1 | þe¹] *om.* W1 | and²] and also W1 141 euene cristen] frende W1 | saddid] made sadde W1 | goode] god H2a | herof] herfore it W1 142 te] vt non *add.* H2a | cetera] that is to say *add.* W1 | I preide] but I haue prayed W1 | fayle] fayle þe H2a, fall W1 | maner] manere of W1

129 stounde] ‘time’ | moeuingg] H2a’s *meuynge*, ‘action’, has been accepted as a possible reading. 134 passyngliche] ‘exceedingly’

temptacioun; and þerfore þou3 sumtyme yturnyd to goode, make stedfast þi breþeryn'
 42 to stonde stiflich a3eyn suche maner temptaciouns, and for to seye þus wiþ þe
 145 prophete Dauyd as ofte as he is temptid or eny suche fals fantasye or inclyn[in]g falliþ
 into hys soule: 'Quare tristis es anima mea', *et cetera*; 44 'Why, my soule, art þou heuy
 and why disturblast þou me? Hope in þi God.'

[IX.] And also among loke he praye and synge 3if he kan and do oþer goode deedis,
 and also lat hym see holy writt and þe spechis of prophetis, and namelyche þe sawis
 150 of þe gospel. And al be it þat he fele no deuocoun ne swetnesse þerinne, for þe tyme
 let hym suffre mekelyche. For þe good wille þat he haþ þerto schal be ynow to hym.
 Ofte þe deuocioun þat a man schulde haue *and* fele is profitablich wiþdrawe fro hym
 þat hys preiere mowe be þe bisyer and þe more meritory or medeful. Lo Bernard
 vpon þe Canticles 'I haue souzt and I fond not': 45 'For oiþerwhile oure spouse and
 155 oure louer hidid þym whan he is ysouzt þat men schulde seche hym more bisyliche.'⁴⁶
 Also Seynt Austyn in a book, *De verbis domini*: 'God oiþerwhilis 3yueþ þe latter for
 men schulde telle þe more deynte of hys 3iftis. For þinges longe desyred beþ þe
 more swetter and likyng to þe asker, and þe gretter; and ofte þingys sone ygete but in
f. 171v litil pryse as | to regard. Aske þerfore and seche; bisy þee in þin askyng and holde on
 160 and wex in þi sechyng, þat þou mowe take and gete. For God kepiþ to þee þat he wil

143 þou3] thyself W1 | yturnyd] torned ayen W1 | goode] god H2aW1 | stedfast] stedfastene H2a | breþeryn] that is counseyle thy brodern *add.* W1 144 to¹] for to W1 | stiflich] sadly W1 maner... 146 soule¹] ghostli *and* griesli temptacions *and* fondynges wherfore loke that eche suche one as ofte as he is tempted in suche wise that he say with the prophete Dauid W1 | þus] þer H2a 145 fantasye] fantasys H2a | inclyning] inclyng F 146 *et cetera*] *om.* H2a | Why...heuy] that is to say my soule why arte thou soo heuy *and* sory W1 147 Hope] hope *and* trust W1 | God] how euer so he wil doo wyth the *add.* W1 148 among] *om.* W1 | he¹] suche one W1 | do] doo somtyme W1 deedis] dedes amonge W1 149 and¹... 150 gospel] also loke he beholde holy wrytte *and* the sawes of prophetes *and* pryncypally Crystis sawes is [*sic*] the gospell W1 | spechis] speche H2a | and³... 150 gospel] *om.* H2a 150 deuocoun] sensible deuocyon W1 | þerinne] get in H2a | for...tyme] as for that tyme yet W1 151 let hym] loke he W1 | be...hym²] suffyce *and* be sufficyent to him to saluacyon W1 152 Ofte] ofte tymes W1 153 bisyer...þe²] *om.* W1 | or medeful] *and* nedeful W1 Bernard] what Bernarde saythe W1 154 þe Canticles] this text of the Canticles W1 | Canticles] seiþ *add.* H2a | I²] *om.* W1 | oiþerwhile] he sayth *add.* W1 155 louer] lorde W1 | men] we W1 more] the more W1 156 Also] herto acordeth W1 | Austyn] Ancelme H2a | oiþerwhilis...latter] yeuyth otherwhile latter W1 157 men] we W1 158 swetter] swete W1 | asker...þe²] *om.* W1 gretter] g(r *canc.*)etter H2a, geter W1 | ofte] of H2a, ofte tymes W1 | þingys] þing H2a | ygete] be *add.* H2aW1 | but] *om.* W1 159 bisy...askyng] bisyliche in þi sechyng H2a, besely in thyne askyng W1 160 wex] encrease W1, waxe sad H2a | take] wyne W1

157 telle...deynte] 'have the more regard'

not 3yue þee anoon so þat þou schuldest lerne to desire grete and noble 3iftis.’⁴⁷
 Gregory: ‘þan be seyntis or halewen beste yherd of her God whan þei ben not herd
 aftir her desyr.’⁴⁸

God 3yueþ to summe in þe bigynnyng of her turnyng to hym a felyng of [X.]
 swetnesse in deuocioun bi þe whyche þei mowe be saddide in þe loue of her God, and 165
 aftirward he wiþdrawiþ it fro h[e]m, þurgh diseas of þe wiþdrawyng for þe more mede
 to hem aftirward. [Siþ] it is, so as seiþ 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
 semeþ 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 3onge and wylde þou 170
 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
 seiþ þe apostle Poule: ‘Whan 3e were newe yturnyd to þe feiþ, I 3af 3ow mylk, no3t
 sadde mete,’⁵¹ for 3e nere þo but as sowkyng children on þe swetnesse of deuocioun.
 But aftir þat 3e were strengere I fedde 3ow wiþ mete of diseas and tribulacioun. For it 175
 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 perfit for to folowe God wiþ vtter diseas of herte and
 wiþ a maner fi3tyng wiþinne forþ bitwene fleische, feiþ, and þe goost. For it was wel
 esy and swete to Petre for to be wiþ Crist at hys transfiguracioun, whan he seyde: ‘It

161 3yue...anoon] that a man yeue to the; and why doth he so W1 | þee anoon] anon to þe
 H2a | so þat] for W1 | grete...noble] gretly grete W1 162 Gregory] loo also what Saynt Gregory
 sayth W1 | seyntis...halewen] Goddes chosen W1 | of...God] om. W1 | herd] harde of hym W1
 163 her] her owne W1 164 God] for God W1 | to hym] om. W1 165 saddide] grounded W1 | and]
 and yet W1 166 hem] hym FW1, om. W1 | þurgh] so þat þurgh FH2a | diseas] þe dysseas H2a
 of...167 aftirward] that they suffre in suche manere þat they maye gete hem the more mede and meryte
 afterwarde for her huge paycenge and suffrynge W1 167 Siþ...168 man] for as wytnesseth the
 phylosophre W1 | Siþ] suche F 168 þinges...hard] harde getyng of thinges and in traueyles to come
 therto W1 | of] wiþ H2a | þan] þan yt H2a 169 semeþ] semith it W1 | þat þing] þoo þingys H2a
 þing...is] þe good gotten of full harde soo it be truly gotten is longest and W1 | of] wiþ H2a | Þis...170
 seyinge] and to betoken this our sauour sayd W1 170 schewyd] schewiþ H2a | and wylde] om. W1
 171 þiself] the W1 | wentist] walkedest W1 | þou] om. H2a | now...sad] whan thou shalte be elder
 W1 172 and¹...þee²] om. H2a | aftir¹...owne] whether thou wylt not W1 | Lo...175 tribulacioun]
 also the apostle sayth to men new conuerted I yaeu you mylke and not sadde mete for as childern they
 were as to be nourysshed wyth þe mylke of swetnes and deuocion and after he makyth hem strong wyth
 fode of sorowe and tribulacyon W1 174 nere] were not H2a | as] a H2a 175 For] om. W1
 176 swete...esy] easy and swete W1 | God] and serue hym add. W1 | of²] om. W1 | and likyng] om.
 W1 177 But...herte] om. W1 | vtter] bittyr H2a 178 a maner] contynual W1 | fleische] om. W1
 For] certes W1 | wel...179 and] full W1 179 whan he] for Peter W1 | It...180 stille] Lorde it is
 good that we dwelle styll here W1

166 þurgh] F's reading *so þat þurgh* slightly altered for syntactic sense.

180 is good to vs for to dwelle here stille.’⁵² But it was pure hard and ferful to Petir for
 f. 172r to be *witþ* | Crist in his cruel persecucioun, whan he seyde: ‘I knowe not þat man.’⁵³
 And napeles he þat for þe woord of a wenche denyed hym þo, aftirward he was so
 strengþid wiþ þe holy goost þat bifore kyngis and princis he knowlechid hym and
 stood wiþ [hym] stifliche al to þe deep.

[XI.] But now for as moche as suche *maner* gostliche temptaciouns fallen sum del of
 ouerthwertnesse of complexioun, loke eche suche þat is so ytemptid þat he be not
 moche alone bi hymselfe ne þat he bisye hym not ouer moche in þinkyng þeron, but
 in counsail and talkyng of wisemen and sadde, and what so þei seye hym in þe
 matier loke he stonde þerto. For þus seiþ þe wise man: ‘Þer falliþ ofte moche woo to
 190 hym þat is by hymself allone; for whan he falliþ he haþ noon to helpe hym vp.’⁵⁴ And
 for as moche as [a] man þat is þus trublid is heuy and ferful of complexioun, and also
 of hys temptacioun, 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 3iue hym, as I seyde, er to mirþe and to gladnesse. Þus dide þe
 195 apostlis, for þei went ioyeful fro þe doom of princes and of oþer domesmen.⁵⁵ And
 þou3 he fele litil goostliche comfort, or ellis noon, 3it loke he suffre mekeliche and
 drawe hym þere he may haue comfort outward wiþ honest folk and clene, lest, as seiþ
 þe apostle, such on my3t be destroyed vtterlyche wiþ such *maner* disese of

180 to¹] for H2a | stille] *om.* H2a | pure] full W1 | Petir] hym W1 181 knowe not] knewe
 neuer W1 182 þe] a W1 | denyed] forsok W1 | he²...183 hym] thugh yefte *and* strengthe of the
 holy goost he knowledged hym before kynges *and* prynces W1 183 kyngis] kyng H2a | princis] prynce
 H2a 184 hym] *om.* F | deep] therfore yf suche ghostly temptacyon come wepe in thyne herte therfore
 as soone as þou mayst afterwarde and praye besely God of hys grace and thou shalte be strengier in thy
 bileue after than euer thou were before *add.* W1 185 But now] ferdermore W1 | gostliche] *om.* W1
 temptaciouns] temptacioun H2a | sum del] somewhat W1 186 ouerthwertnesse] ouerweykenesse
 H2a | suche] suche one W1 187 moche alone] *rev.* H2a | moche²] whan he is alone *add.* W1
 þeron] on suche thoughtes W1 188 in counsail] lete him vse wyse counseyle W1 | talkyng] speke
 W1 | and³...189 matier] and as they wyll rede hym W1 189 matier] *maner* H2a | þerto] therto 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] traueled W1 194 mirþe] honest myrth W1 | to²] *om.* W1 | Þus] this
 W1 | þe²] Goddes W1 195 domesmen] thanking God that they myght be worthy to suffre payn *and*
 passion for his loue *add.* W1 196 þou3] all be it that W1 | litil...noon] noo suche goostli comforte in
 his sowe whan he is soo trowblid as thise holi appostles felten but perauenture he felith lityll or none
 W1 197 haue comfort] be comforted W1 | folk] companye W1 198 destroyed...199 temptacioun]
 spylled wyth ouermoche heuynes W1

186 ouerthwertnesse] ‘contrariness’

temptacioun.⁵⁶ For al be it þat suche a man drawe offer to honest cumpanye þan doþ
oþer þat be not so ytemptid, he synneþ not þerinne so he do it for hys heele and not 200
for mislust and vanite.

It is to vndirstonde after þe apostle þat þe aungel of debat and of derkenesse [XII.]
turniþ hymself ofte, al be it we see it not, into þe aungel of lizt,⁵⁷ makyng men deme
þat vicis be vertues and hidyng errour and falsnes vndir colour of truþe; | lo what seiþ f. 172v
Seint Gregori.⁵⁸ Þis aungel of þe deuyl oiþerwhile whan he seeþ þat a man is occupyed 205
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 þerof and for to muse þeron and
dispute þeron in þat tyme whan it myzt bettir be ydo or tofore or aftir. For as seiþ þe
wyse man: 'Al þing haþ tyme.'⁵⁹ And þerfore eche þing schulde be do in his tyme. Þe
most soueraygne remedye and approuid for to dryue away suche fantasies and 210
ymaginaciones of goostlich temptaciouns is for to praye, and in tyme of preier for
[to] lete alle suche þouztis and alle oþer slyde liztlyche away.

For þou3 he brynge into þi þouzt þilke tyme wheiþer þou art teweliche [XIII.]
yschryue as þou schuldist, and also bryngiþ þee in doute wheþer þi synnes be ful
forzyue þee or no, he doþ not þis but for to brynge þee into drede and disese of gost. 215
For it is not hys purpos by sendyng in of suche þouztes þat þi soule schulde be þe
more clene bi confessioun, but truble it and brynge it fro reste and fro pees. For þis
aungel and goost of pestilence and slauztre he desiriþ and wilneþ þe debat of soule

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...it¹] all though W1 | it²] hym H2a | þe] *om.* W1 204 and¹] *om.* W1 | errour] errors W1
falsnes] falsnes is F 205 þat] *om.* W1 | is] *om.* W1 206 to¹...to²] the whyche he is holden to doo W1
207 to²] for to W1 | þerof] of hem H2a 208 þeron] therof W1 | tyme] vnder coloure of good
thynkyng *add.* W1 | whan] wha(t *canc.*) H2a | myzt bettir] oughte W1 | seiþ...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...away] to slide awaye and tarye not vpon
hem W1 | and] and lete H2a 213 he] the enmye W1 | into...tyme] that tyme into thy thought W1
214 ful] *om.* W1 215 þee¹] *om.* H2a | he...gost] the whyche weren foryeuen and done away thorough
very confession and contricyon 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 crafte of the enmye that bringeth in thus to suche a mannes
mynde gastnesse and drede W1 216 For...purpos] ne he purposith not W1 | by] ben H2a | þouztes]
þoute H2a, for his sinnes *add.* W1 | þi] his W1 217 confessioun] or by suche manere of examynacion
and ransakyng *add.* W1 | but] but for to W1 | fro¹] for H2a | fro²] *om.* H2aW1 218 goost] spyrite
W1 | and²...he] *om.* W1 | wilneþ] wyllleth alway W1

202 debat] 'degradation'

and hatȝ reste þerof; whois sleyzt and false suggestions in þat partye a man schal
 220 warlyche wiþstonde, þat is to seyn for to leue suche maner confessioun [whiche] þat
 is brouzt into mynde bi suche trauail of temptacioun, þurgh whiche þi concience is
 þat tyme brouzt into errour and mysdemyng. For al be it þat confessioun be
 helpelyche and nedeful which is brouzt in þurgh verrey bityng of conscience, naþeles
 þat confessioun is not nedeful ne profitable whych þat is brouzt in by fals wenyng or
 f. 173r doute. Ne suche maner scryfte is not ylefte in despyt of relygioun and | holy churche
 but by cause for to putte away suche maner temptacioun. And þat þing is wel ydo þat
 is for good menyng, al be it þat it seme yuel to summe, for þe enchesoun 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 myzte come adoun zif he wolde: ⁶⁰
 230 he nolde noiþer wirke by hast ne come anoon down for hym, but he chees raþer for to
 come down by þe greces of vertues and in suche wise for to putte away alle his wyles,
 ziuyn vs ensauple 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 wiþstonde.

[XIV.] He bryngiþ in also oiþerwhile, þis fals goost of errour, suche turnyng hidir and
 þidir and pryue trauelynge into ma[nn]ys 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 þerof, but for he wolde truble hys soule and disese it

219 and¹...þerof] *om.* W1 | sleyzt] sleytys H2a, deceytes W1 | suggestions] tyzsiynges W1
 220 to seyn] *om.* W1 | to²] nozt for to H2a | confessioun] confessyouns H2a | whiche] wiþ F
 þat²] *om.* W1 221 mynde] the mynde W1 | trauail...222 mysdemyng] manere of traueyle W1
 223 helpelyche] helthfull W1 | in] into F, into þe H2a 224 not] neyther W1 | ne profitable] ne
 spedefull ne profytable W1 | þat²] *om.* W1 225 suche...scryfte] this confessyon W1 | and] and of
 W1 227 is] is done W1 | þat] though W1 | enchesoun] entent W1 228 menyng] menyng of
 thynges done W1 | bryngiþ] bryngiþ into FH2a, brynge fynall W1 | deuyl] deuyl þat F, fende W1
 229 adoun] downe fro the pynacle of the temple W1 | wolde] had wolde W1 230 he¹...hym] yet
 came he not downe in haast at his byddyng W1 | nolde] wolde H2a | anoon down] *rev.* H2a | he²]
om. W1 | for to] to W1 231 greces] grees H2aW1 | vertues] vertues and dyscrecion W1 | and...
 wyles] *om.* W1 232 beryng...233 honde] entysinge W1 233 by...234 wiþstonde] to withstonde
 holsomly by waye of dyscrecyon and of good dome W1 235 He...236 soule] also this fals spiryte of
 errour bryngeth in otherwhyle *and* wrappeth þe mynde wyth dyuers perplexytees and doubtynges wyth
 wonderfull and preyue sterynges W1 236 pryue] preyuly H2a | into] to H2a | mannys] mamys F
 man to] suche one W1 237 leueful] leefull and good W1 | is²] to be W1 | and¹...good] *om.* W1
 þat³] *om.* W1 | is⁴] to be W1 238 a...be] he must be W1 | þinges] sinnes W1 239 schryue þerof]
 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, 240
 in so moche þat he dryueþ mannes soule sumtyme more for to assente to errour þan
 for to meke hym aftir dewe discrescioun and good demyng, and þis is heresy. Þerfore
 iche suche schal leue hys errour aftir discrescioun 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 away,
 he seiþ not sooþ. For he may wilne to put it away, and 3if he haue wille to put it 245
 away, as for þat tyme it is away; and by þat as ofte as he wilneþ so, as ofte it is away.
 For al be it þat þe errour occupye hys soule, 3it he may haue wille for þat tyme to be | *f. 173v*
 meke and buxum.

Þis schewid þe apostle whan he seyde: 'Leuiþ not ne tristip not to eueryche [XV.]
 goost, but theruyþ an assayeþ first what he be.'⁶¹ In þis maner askid Iosue wheþer þe 250
 goost of prophecye was for hem or ellis for her enemyes.⁶² And þerfore discessioun
 and good doom is nedeful. For as seyde sumtyme a wyse man, it is nedeful þat þer be
 a [r]ulere of vertues⁶³ so þat a man mowe ryztwislyche deme bitwene good and yuel,
 lest a man vndir licknesse of good were bigyled wiþ yuel.⁶⁴ Lo what seiþ Austyn, De
spiritu et anima, þat is to seyn in þe book of mannes soule: 'Oiperwhyle a good gooste, 255
 oiperwhyle an yuel goost, rauschip a mannes soule; and of þis maner of rauyschyng
 men may wel wite not who it of hem beþ, but for þe good goost drawiþ a man to
 goode and to þe ryzt weye and þat oþer bigiliþ hym and lediþ hym awayward. And in
 so moche þe wickid goost rauyschip summe mennes soule wiþ hys gyles and hys
 sleiztis þat it semiþ to hym þat is trauelyde þerwiþ þat hys goost and þilke wickid 260

240 and¹...goode] *om.* W1 | man] a man H2a | goode] god H2a | hym to] a man into W1
 in] of H2aW1 | 3he] þere H2a 241 þat] *om.* H2a | errour] an erreure W1 242 þerfore] wherfore
 W1 243 iche suche] eueri suche one W1 | schal] *om.* W1 | errour] errours W1 | discrescioun]
 dyscrete counseyle W1 244 and¹...errour] *om.* W1 | 3if] and yf W1 | it] *om.* H2a 245 For] and
 W1 | to¹] *om.* H2a | it away¹] from him W1 | 3if...246 away¹] thenne W1 247 þe] *om.* W1 | for]
om. W1 249 Leuiþ] leue ye W1 | tristip] trust ye W1 250 goost] spiryte W1 | theruyþ an] lernyth
 and H2a, preueth and W1 | first] *om.* H2a | he] hem W1 251 goost...prophecye] angell W1
 hem] hym W1 | her] his W1 252 nedeful²] nede W1 253 rulere] kulere F, wyse ruler W1
 ryztwislyche] rightfully W1 254 lest] þat H2a | were] were nozt H2a | Austyn] seynt Austyn
 255 Oiperwhyle] he saith *add.* W1 | gooste] spiryte W1 256 goost] spiryte W1 257 men] we W1
 may...not] may nozt wel wyt H2aW1 | who...beþ] whiche it is of hem W1 | goost] spiryte W1
 258 ryzt weye] *om.* W1 | þat] the W1 | And] ye W1 259 goost] spiryte W1 | soule] soules W1
 wiþ...260 sleiztis] *om.* W1 260 trauelyde þerwiþ] thus traueyled W1 | hys...261 be] he and the spyrte
 whyche that traueyleth hym were bothe W1

250 theruyþ an] possibly 'one must' 253 rulere] Emended for sense (Latin: *auriga*, 'charioteer').

goost be but oon.’⁶⁵ And þerfore suche oon wenip þat þe vnkynde temptaciouns þat he haþ come onelyche of hymself, whan þei come [of] stiryng of þe wickid goost. And þerfore a man schal putt suche myswenyng away from hym and dwelle not ne hange not longe þervpon, but suffre pacientlyche and mekelyche as I haue seyde here
 265 afore. For þilke serpent is so fals, schrewyd, and bigilyng mannes soule, þat whan he may not bryng man into errour and mysbileue wiþ oþer wylis and wanlakis 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 azeyn is pacience and suffryng.

[XVI.] | f. Also | þis wickid goost, whan he seþ he may [no3t] bigile vtterlyche a man
 174r whilis he is wakyng, he doiþ what he may to disturble hym and greue hym wiþ dyuerse scornes and feris whan þat man is slepyng. Hereof seiþ Gregory vpon Iob, ‘Þe olde enemy þe deuyll haþ ferid me by sweuenes’:⁶⁶ ‘For þis wickid goost is euermore awaityng to hyndre man and anithre hym in al þat he may, and whom he may [no3t]
 275 acombte whiles he is wakyng he doiþ what he kan to bryng hym þerto slepyng. And 3it oure God suffriþ hym so do for þat a mannis bodily sleep schulde not be ydil but encresyng to þe soule.’⁶⁷

261 And þerfore] and H2a, wherefore W1 | þe] suche W1 | þat²] as W1 262 haþ] þat H2a come²] came W1 | of²] ofte F, by W1 | goost] spiryte 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 discrete rule W1 264 longe] *om.* H2a | as] and H2a 265 For...269 suffryng] For this olde edder is bothe fals and slye and wyckid and disceyuer of sowles; and whan he maye not put the mynde into errour by suche disceytes, he besieth him to make it paynfully bytter thruh smytyng in of a fals drede and by pouyng in the venym of hys wyckidnes. Therefore it behouyth in euery manere wyse to withstonde his dysceyuable entysynges put into man vnder likenes of good thyng, and suffre pacyently and mekely the payne of bytternesse that he putteth into a ferdefull sowle. And therefore a man shall put suche myswenyng away from hym ne dwelle not ne henge not longe therupon, but suffre pacyently and mekely and truste alway 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 | seþ] seþe þat H2aW1 | no3t] *om.* F | bigile vtterlyche] *rev.* H2a, vtterly make a man to sinne W1 271 and...hym²] *om.* W1 272 scornes] yllusions scornynge W1 | þat man] he W1 | Gregory] seynt Gregory H2aW1 | Iob] in this wyse *add.* W1 273 me] men H2a | goost] spiryte W1 274 and¹...hym] *om.* W1 | al þat] what W1 | and²...may²] *om.* H2a | whom] whan W1 | no3t] *om.* F 275 acombte] accombte ne ouercome W1 | what] þat H2a, all that W1 | to] the more to W1 | hym] *om.* W1 276 God] good God W1 so do] to doo in suche wyse W1 | for þat] for cause that W1 | but...277 soule] to the soule but rather encresyng mede therto W1

261 vnkynde] ‘unnatural’ 274 anithre] ‘destroy’

A lord in hou many wondirful maneres and wyles is mannes soule asayed and ytrauayled, al be it þat he loue and drede hys God! Also herto þou myzt be answeyrd by an ympne of þe Lente, wherinne is þus iwryte: ‘O tortuose serpens’, *et cetera*,⁶⁸ which amounteþ 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 trauayle and disese hertis þat ben in reste and in quyete.’ Þerfore siþ so many diseses and temptaciouns mowe falle to ryztful men and wel bileuyng, 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. Wherefore suffre mekeliche and þenk on Dauyd þat many tribulaciouns fallen to riztful men and goode; but what more, good God delyuereþ hem of alle þese tribulaciouns and angwyschis whan he seeþ it for hys best.⁷⁰ Amen.

[*Stimulus amoris*:]⁷⁵

O þou hyzest best and of most wondirful goodnesse þat suffrist vs be | temptyd, not for we schulde be kauzt or ouercome þerwiþ but for we schulde aspye þe ferynges of oure enemyes, þat is to seyn of þe world, of þe fleische, and of þe deuyll, and fle to þee as hauen of most sikirnesse. A lord, here þou doist rizt 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 abroad for to take hym to hir, falliþ on hym and kyssiþ hym and askiþ who

278 in hou] *rep.* H2a | many] many maner W1 | wyles] wyles and wayes H2a, wayes W1 asayed] tourmented W1 279 Also] and also H2a, *om.* W1 | þou...answeyrd] I answeere W1 280 þe] *om.* W1 | is...iwryte] it is wreten thus W1 | et cetera] *qui mille et cetera* H2a, *qui mille per meandros* W1 281 which...mochē] that is to meane thus W1 282 þat] *om.* W1 | sechist] sekyst *and* castest W1 | crokid] ouerthwart W1 283 ben] ben or wolden be W1 | in²] *om.* W1 284 diseses and] *om.* W1 | and¹] of H2a | to...men] vnto a righfull mannes soule W1 | wel] truly W1 285 and...wel²] *om.* W1 | nyl] wyll W1 286 helpe] his helpe W1 | woldist] A howe pyteous and prouffitable, howe charitable and helthful it is to comferte and strengthe the man that is trowblid and tormented, desolate and forsaken, and to leed oute into refute of reste and of comferte hym that passith thus by the fyre of preuyng and trybulacyon! And though he that is thus trowblid gete not anone but wante by longe tyme the rest and comferte of spiryte that he desireth, netheles hope he stedfastly that he shall haue it at the ende *add.* W1 | suffre] suffre he W1 287 Dauyd] this W1 | what...288 angwyschis] wete well what he sayth more anone afterward of all these tribulacions and anguysshes our good God deliuereth them W1 289 hys] her H2a, the W1 | Amen] *om.* W1 291 of] *om.* H2aW1 | be] to H2a 292 kauzt] tawte H2a 294 as¹] *om.* H2a | hauen...sikirnesse] to the moost siker hauen W1 | rizt] *om.* W1 295 wil...hir²] bryngyþ forþe hyre to clyppe H2a | brynge] brynge it W1 | clippe] 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 | and¹...askiþ] and sayth W1

282 holettis] ‘lairs’ | halkis] ‘corners’

wolde haue slawe hym or aferyd hym, and wiþ þis sche streyneþ hym to hir and zyueþ
 hym souke of hir breest. O þis is a temptacioun of greet wilfulnessse at þe last whiche
 300 þat dryueþ vs to fle and come to þe clippyng of oure God! O blessyd Ihesu þat suffrist
 vs seche refute al aboute and at þe laste þiself art ful refute and helpe and noon oþer;
 and þis þou suffrist for we schulde wilne alweye to dwelle wiþ þee. Wond[r]e not
 þerfore þou3 þou haue temptaciouns *and* fondyngis, O man, zif þou fle to God whan
 þou art so aferd of mysstiryng of temptacioun; zif þou wilt not be to moche
 305 ytemptid, holde þe wiþ hym, or ellis þou myzt be ouercome þerwiþ and ydampnyd.

[XIX.] 3it zif it so be þat þou wiþdrawe þiself so fer fro þi God and þi fadir þat þou
 myzt not wiþ ful wille of herte and deuocioun [ren] a3eyn to hym, zit þink þat he þat
 is þi God is þi ney3ebur and þi broþir; and hyze þee to hym and hyde þee in þe pit of
 hys syde, þenkyng on hys passioun, *and* holde þee stille þere; and þe enemye schal not
 310 fynde þee. ⁷⁶ 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 woundes in þin
 herte; and he þurgh hys *precyouse* bloodd schal *presente* þee to hys fadir ryzt as hys
f. 175r owne sone and he schal ordeyne for þee as fadir most louered. Come þerfore | to
 Crist Jhesu hardilyche and preye hym mekelyche þat, al be it not semelyche to hym
 315 to be woundid and dy3e a3eyn for þee, zit þat he vouche saaf wiþ hys blood to
 refresche hys woundes 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
 wiþouten 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 zif þou wil biþinke
 320 hem in þin herte þer schal no temptacioun ouercome þee. For ho is so hard hertyd

298 haue] a H2a 299 souke] to sowke W1 | wilfulnessse] welsomnes W1 300 fle] flee our foos
 W1 | of] þe H2a 301 seche] to seke W1 | refute¹] and ele *add.* H2a | and helpe] *om.* W1 302 þis]
 þis sone H2a, thus W1 | for] for that W1 | Wondre] wonde F 303 þou¹] they W1 | fle] wylte flee
 W1 304 mysstiryng] mysterynges W1 | temptacioun] temptacions W1 | zif] and yf W1 | to
 moche] moche W1 306 3it] *om.* W1 | wiþdrawe þiself] by suche temptacyon be wythdrawe W1
 307 ren] renewe F 308 þi¹] *om.* H2a | and²] and therefore W1 309 on] in H2a 310 þee] þe þere
 H2a | And] also W1 | for] as for W1 | souereyn] remedye *add.* H2a 311 þi] our W1 | God] *om.*
 H2a | his] þese H2a 312 bloodd] grace and mercy H2a 313 fadir] a fader W1 | louered] goodly and
 kynde W1 | to...314 hardilyche] ardelyche to Ihesu cryst H2a 314 Crist] thy sauour Cryst W1 | al...
 it] al be yt þat yt ys H2a, sith it is W1 315 þee...þat] þat the 3et H2a | þat...317 euere] beseche hym
 that he wolde vouchesauf to renewe his woundes *and* make the all reed in hem and so bathe the therin
 that thou maye be clothed come into this kynges palays where shall be full joye *and* ful blisse W1
 318 ende] *add., canc.* F | bi day] *om.* F 320 hem] hem well W1 | ho] who soo W1 | hertyd]
 of herte W1

299 wilfulnessse] 'happiness'

þat he syȝe þe kyng of blysse so greuouliche hurt and woundide for hys sake þat he nolde leue hys synne? *And* namelyche ȝif he took heed þat myche harder peyne wiþoute ony comparisoun or liknesse is dewe to euery synner þat wikkidlyche worchiþ. And þerfore þis ryche on þat oo syde and peyne on þat oþer syde schul hugely brynge a man to drede and leue synne.

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ȝit ȝif it be so þat þou fyndest Crist wrooþ wiþ þee and set aȝeyn þee for þi wickidnesse, to hir þat is modir of mercy and hope of forȝyuenes, oure lady Seynt Marye, loke þou praye hertilyche *and* bisilyche þat sche vouchesaaf as sche is Goddis moder to gete of hym reles of mercy, and I hope þou schalt haue þin askyng and þi bone. And if þou do þus ofte wiþ wepyng teeris, doute not it schal be as þou wilt. For wiþ hir ful mercy wax ferste,⁷⁷ and also it falliþ hir of offyce and longiþ to hir for to haue mercy on þe synfulle; and þat [sche] doiþ of hir greet goodnesse comenlyche to alle, sche þat is so worþi and good nyl not denye to þee þat prayest | hir so bisilyche.

[XX.]

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f. 175v

ȝit ouer þis whan þou art harde ytemptyde truste riȝt wel þat God loueþ þee, and he suffriþ þis for þou schuldist knowe þi heuynes and depnesse of synne and also þin owne wrecchidnesse and vnmyȝth to wiþstonde; and þis is an huge ȝifte of God. For þe *presumpcioun* and ouertruste of summe synnres plesiþ hym nouȝt; for þei holde hemself so ryȝtful and comiþ as homelyche as þei were ryȝt goode. But he wil þis, þat be a man neuer so yuel or synful, þat he come to hym wiþ dewe reuerence and drede and lityl setting by hymself. And þerfore it is nedeful þat a man wiþ all hys herte, what euer so he be, þat he knoweleche Goddis myȝt and hys owne frelete and feblenesse, seiynge þus: ‘Lord, I am not worþi of myself þat þou schuldest come into

[XXI.]

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321 þat¹] *om.* H2a | he syȝe] sawe W1 | þat²...322 synne] *om.* W1 322 harder] harde W1 323 ony] *om.* H2a | or liknesse] *om.* W1 | euery] any H2a 324 þis] *om.* W1 | ryche] ryȝt H2a, ruthe and pyte W1 | þat¹] the W1 | and...syde²] *om.* W1 | schul] sholde W1 325 hugely] strongly W1 | synne] his sinne W1 326 ȝit] and H2a, *om.* W1 327 wickidnesse] sinne W1 | modir] well and moder W1 328 Goddis] Crystis W1 329 gete] kete H2a | of hym] to the of hym W1 | of¹] *om.* H2a | of²] and H2aW1 330 teeris] of eyen or elles of herte W1 | not] not thenne W1 | as...wilt] well and graciously wyth the W1 | wilt] haue yt *add.* H2a 331 hir¹...wax] his moder Mary in mercy wexyth W1 | ful] ful of F 332 þat...doiþ] sith she dooth thus W1 | sche] suche F | of...333 þat¹] comeneleche too alle of here greet godenesse sche haþe H2a 333 alle] all other W1 | so¹...good] worthy and of good wylle W1 | nyl] wyl H2aW1 | þee] the alone W1 334 þis] all this W1 ytemptyde] tempted and not comforted W1 335 he suffriþ] suffryþ þe H2a | for] þat H2a | þi] the W1 336 wrecchidnesse] bretilnesse W1 | wiþstonde] stonde W1 | huge] grete W1 337 hym nouȝt] not God W1 | þei] to H2a 338 holde...goode] ben to homly with her God there as they oughte to wythdraw hym W1 | so] *om.* H2a | he] God W1 339 þis] thus W1 | þat¹] *om.* W1 | yuel...synful] good or synful H2a, sinfull W1 340 And þerfore] wherfore W1 | nedeful] medefull W1 341 euer so] *rev.* W1 | þat he] *om.* W1 | he²] *om.* H2a 342 come] entree or come W1

myn house,⁷⁸ ne dwelle wiþ me, ne also to neyze 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 y3e and
 345 of þi mercy.' And I seye þee surelyche þat 3if þou holde on þis maner doynge wiþoute
 styntyng, not onelyche he schal loke to þee, but he schal bryng þee out of al maner
 disese into hys ful ioye and blysse. Now God graunte it mote so be þat is euere
 lastyng in trinite. Amen.

343 ne¹] ne to H2a | also...þee²] ouer that I am not worthy of myselfe 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 afferre
 W1 | louerede] louely W1 | y3e] eyen W1 345 surelyche] souereynly H2a | maner] manere of W1
 doynge] doynge 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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ME2

A souereyn counfort for a soule dishesyd.

‘Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo.’ For as mechil as þe apostle seyth: [I.]
 ‘Withowtyn feyth may no man plese God’,⁴ þerfore oure olde ennemy þe fend, with
 wikkyd thouhtis, fantasiys, and errouris, in many a meruelious maner, strenkthith
 hym to bare doun þe feyth, quiche is þe ground of holy chirche and þe begynnyng of 5
 goode thewys. ⁵ And þerfore wisly 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 zeue non fors of non fondyngis, 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, think hem, or feele hem in his body. For he been mater of 10

1 A...dishesyd] *om.* LeH2b, agayns despayre A, her ys a tretys techyng vs to knowe the dyuersytes of temptacyons and to chose that ys good and leue the euyle Br, an argument azens wanho<pe> G, here may men lerne how thay shold suffre desaises gladly and nat dispeire be þay neuer so grete and also some of the gret and suttle temptacions of the fend and mannys fleysh agayns the sowle and of þe gracious remedies ayeys ham Lo 2 Sine...Deo] *om.* H2bABrGLO | For...as²] *om.* Le apostle] seynt powle *add.* H2b | seyth] seyth that LeAGLo 3 may...man] yt is onpossible ony man or womman to Le, no man may H2bABrGLO | God] god of heuyn Le | olde] *om.* A | with] ys abowte wyth Le 4 wikkyd...errouris] fals suggestyons which he puttyth yn mannys mynd of thowhtes of fantasyes and ymagynacyons and other errours Br | fantasiys] abhomynabyll fantasies Le | errouris] fals errours Le, (<e> *canc.*) errours A | in] oo H2b | a...maner] merueylous manerys LeH2bGLO strenkthith...5 quiche] doth strenkth hymself other to turne men fro ryght fayth and whom he kanne not bringe from the grownde of the feyth of holy chyrche at the lest he contynuelly ys abought wyth hys deceytes to trowbel for he doth know well that the feyth Br | strenkthith...5 hym] *om.* Le strenkthith] strengþed G 5 feyth] feyth of holy cherche Le | quiche] þe whiche GLo | þe²...6 thewys] oure most defens azens all the fendys wyls and wrenchys Le | þe ground] grounde(d *canc.*) H2b | of¹] all *add.* Br | þe³] *om.* H2b | of²] al *add.* Lo 6 goode thewys] all vertue wherfor ayenst oure feyth he begenneth hys batayl Br | goode] *om.* H2b | thewys] vertuys H2bA | And...8 fondynggis] and therefore the remedye to avoyde and wythstonde the fende yn all suche temptacyons and false deceytys Br | nota in margin Br | And] *om.* A | and...8 to] rewle þee first to withstonde þe fende [and G, in Lo] suche [fondyngis G, temptacions Lo] and GLo | a] euery Le 7 fondynggis] the temptacions *add.* Le, temptacions A | fend¹] fende oure olde enmye Le | of²...8 thouth] ys to wythstande the fende myghtly that ys to vndyrstande noght to yeue no charge of no fondyng of thoghtys Le, ys to withsette þe feende in such foundyngys ys to zeue no fors of non foundyng ne of no thowt H2b, is to withstande hym in swylk temptacions to gyf no force of no temptacion nor thought A 8 zeue] \3/if þou G, yeve þou Lo | non²...9 dispit] theme, wheder yt be thought of errour or of blasphemy or despyte Br | non fondyngis] temptacions Lo | of²...thouth] *om.* GLo | of³...errour] ne (<e> *canc.*) errour A, ne of errours Lo | of⁴] ne of LeH2bA | non⁴...9 dispit] dyspeyr Le 9 non¹... leuyng] falsheed Lo | leuyng] beleuys Le, leyng A | ne²] non H2b | ne³...trauaylis] or any other trouble Br | of non²] *om.* A | non²] *om.* Lo | trauaylis] that comyth into a mans soule by sterynges and wyls *add.* Le | fend] fende azens a mans wyll Le | qwethir so] wherder Br | a...10 man] þou GLo 10 hem¹] him GLo | see hem] *om.* A | hem²] hym GLo | hem³] him GLo | hem⁴] him GLo | in...body] wheder yt be in hys soule or in hys body drede he hym not Le | his] þi GLo | For] forwhy Le | mater] sterynges Le | of...11 mede] *om.* A

6 thewys] ‘virtues’ 7 fondynggis] ‘trials’ | wrenchis] ‘wiles’

gret mede and on no wyse synne, qweþer þei be trauaylis *and* angwyschis þat comyn of schrewydnesse 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 entendyn to hem, but mekely suffryn hem til God wil doon remedye as mater of gret mede. Ne he
 15 owith nouth to strywen þerageyn, merueylyn, ne thynkyn, ne sekyn be qwat skyle he is so trawaylyd. For þe more þat a man duellyth ransakyng *and* thenkand in errowris *and* in angwyssis, þe more deepe he fallith bothe in errowris *and* in angris. *And* þerfore, as mekyl as mannys thouhtis ben oftyn veyn,⁶ dyuers, *and* *non* ende han,
f. 61v [þei] owe to be sett at nowt, ne *non* heed owyth to be taken of hem. |

[II.] And also a man owyth not to angryn hymself, ne blame, ne arectyn to his defaute þat he is so trauaylid. For swiche trauaylis arn peynful *and* nouth synful, for

11 mede] mede by the suffrance of god Le | and¹...synne] for all such trauayles arn no senn
 Le | qweþer...be] alle Le, but H2b, *om.* A | be...12 disposicioun] comen to vs by the malce of the
 fende or by shrewdnesse Br | and²] or GLo | angwyschis] angrys LeA, angr H2b | þat...12
 schrewydnesse] *om.* G 12 of¹...er] *om.* H2b | schrewydnesse] shrewde wylys *and* sleytys Le | er] *and*
 LeA | þe schrewyd] euyl Le, sch(y *canc.*)\r/ewd A, schrewed GLo | þe²] *om.* A | a mannys] mannys
 H2bBrGLo | complexiun] owne complexion Le 13 *And*...trauaylis] *om.* Le | *And*...of] to A
 trauaylis] trauels *and* angrys A, trauaill Lo | to¹...heed] not to take hede at hem Le, non hede to take
 H2b | ne nouth] to Lo | nouth] *om.* LeABr | entendyn] tente LeH2bA, tende GLo 14 but] *rep.*
 H2b | til] to A, tyl ys Br | remedye] remedye to hem Le | as...mede] so shal he dysserue grete mede
 of god for hys gode pacyens *and* best to ouercome hem Le, *om.* Br | mede] medicine H2b | Ne...15
 nouth] and no man ought Lo | Ne he] and also he ne Le, a man H2b, ne a man A | he...15 owith]
 thowe owghtest Br 15 þerageyn...16 trawaylyd] ayenst such troubuls ne wondir of theym nor too
 dyscusse the cause of the comyng of them Br | þerageyn] aȝen H2bA | merueylyn] ne mervell AG,
 of such *add.* Lo | thynkyn...sekyn] þinke H2bLo, seche ne þenke G 16 trawaylyd] trauaylyd in hys
 soule Le | *nota in margin* Br | For] why for Le | duellyth...17 angris] troublth or besyeth hymself
 wyth discussynt of such errors or fantasyes or taryeth in them the forere and the depper he doth fall yn
 to the same thoughtys of errors fantasyes or troubles Br | duellyth...thenkand] ransakes *and* þinkes
 A | duellyth] stodeth and duellyth thervpon with Le | ransakyng] in sechyng GLo | thenkand...17
 angwyssis] thynkyng or to sekn in hys herte for what skele he ys so trauaylyd *and* taryed Le | in] of
 GLo | errowris] eroour A 17 in¹] *om.* GLo | angwyssis] angrys H2bA | þe] *om.* H2b | more
 deepe] depper Le, more depper G, more despeire Lo | he] he (he *canc.*) H2b | fallith] fallyth down
 Le | bothe...angris] in þaim A | errowris...angris] angrys *and* in errors LeH2b, angwisches *and*
 errours G, errors *and* in angwisshes Lo | manes <>howte <>y cause yt <> vayne <>*and* owthe to <>
 set ate <>owthe *in margin, in db, page cropped* G 18 as mekyl] in as mekyl LeH2bBr, for als mykyl
 AGLo | mannys] a mannys LeALo | thouhtis ben] þouȝt is GLo | oftyn] euyr or often Br | dyuers]
om. Lo | and] ne H2b | non...han] has none ende A, none hede hath Lo | han] ne haue Le, haþ G
 19 þei] we Ca, he G, hit Lo | owyth] (ag *canc.*) awe A | to²...hem] to take therof Le | hem] him G,
 hit Lo 20 *nota in margin* Br | *And* also] ne Lo | *And*] *om.* A | hymself] *om.* Le | blame] blame
 himself ne deme himself Le | ne²] neythyr to Le | arectyn] arekkyn Le | his] hys owne BrGLo
 21 defaute] defawtes A | trauaylid] trauaylyd in hys soule or in hys body Le | For] why so for Le
 peynful] wol peynfull Le | and nouth] but they be nothing Le | for] *om.* Lo

13 entendyn] 'pay attention' 15 skyle] 'reason' 16 duellyth] 'remains' | ransakyng]
 'scrutinising' 17 angris] 'sufferings' 20 angryn] 'grieve' | arectyn] 'attribute'

þei arn ageyns a mannys wil. And Seynt Austyn seyth þat euery synne is in wil, and qwat so be ageyns a mannys 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 suffrith hym doon.¹¹ It is *sumtyme* þat þe feend trauaylith so mychel a rithful soule 25 þat it is ouyrleyd *with care and* driuen to dispeyr. 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 trauayle is to his mede afor God. *And* þouh is care be neuere so mekil, it dapartith hym not froo God. For oure lord ful of goodnesse *and* mercy arettith nouth to synne þat he hymself suffrith þe feend to werkyn in þe soule *withoutyn* any wil of þe self. For 30 qwanne we be fals *zernynggis and* wikkyd likyng frelich don ageyns Goddis byddyng, þanne synne we. But qwanne we be driue *and* turmentid in wikkid bileus *and* dispeyrynge thouhtis ageyns oure wil thourh violent fondyng of þe feend, we suffre peyne, but we don *non* synne.’ *And* al þis seith þe holy doctour Isidre.¹²

22 ageyns] angweshes of BrG, angwishes agayn Lo | a mannys] mannes Br | austan *in margin, in db* G, nota *in margin* Le, ihesu *in margin* Lo | seyth] seyth þus to confort of mans soule Le | is... wil²] that is it stant in mans wyll alone Le, þat is in wil H2b | and] for Le 23 qwat so] whatsomeyr that Le, what þat GLo, what soo euyr Br | be] be yt þat ys H2b | a mannys] mannys H2bBr | wil] wyll as thes temptacions byforseyde and also pollucions þat fallyth in mans slep Le | it is] they beth Le | synne] senne but grete meryte Le | isidre *in margin, in db* G, ihesu *in margin* Lo | þe...doctour] hereof beryth wytnes a gret doctor Le | Isidre] om. H2b, seynt ysydre Br 24 in...book] *libro tercio* H2b, in a boke þat he maked Lo | þe] his Le | seyth] he seyth Le, ysidore seiþ H2b, þat *add.* A temptith] tempnyth H2b | non] om. Br 25 doon] om. LeH2bABrGLo | It...sumtyme] but yt fallyth oftytyn tyme Le, but yt falleth sumtyme H2bGLo, (a *canc.*) bot it happyns sumtyme A, butt sumtyme it befallyth Br | rithful soule] ryghtful mans soule Le, symple sowle H2b, rightful man A 26 þat it] þa he A | care] and sorowe *add.* Br | al] om. H2b | þe soule] om. ABr | þowh] þof al þat A 27 it] om. LeH2b | nouth] he *add.* Br | and...loue] om. Br | for...28 God] om. Br | for al] and Lo 28 his] hym AG | mede] soule grete mede Le | afor] befor H2bALo | And] ne H2b, om. A 29 nota *in margin* Br | arettith] arekkyth Le | nouth] (<y> *canc.*) yt *add.* A 30 suffrith] suffrede G | þe²] om. H2b | any] the Br | of...self] of þe soule Le, om. H2bA, of oure self Br, of þe self soule GLo | For] but H2bLo 31 we be] om. H2b | we] om. LeABr | fals...and] om. GLo | zernynggis] desyryng Le, (styrynges *canc.*) desyres A, zernyng Br | likyng] lykyngys H2bA, wille Lo | frelich don] don fully Lo | frelich] wilfully G | don] we do LeH2bABr | Goddis] (godsbyd *canc.*) gods A, hys Br byddyng] byddyngs A, wille Lo 32 synne we] *rev.* BrLo | qwanne] (qu | *canc.*) qwanne Ca, \when/ A and turmentid] om. Lo | turmentid] temptyd Le | in] to Lo | wikkid bileus] wykkydnesse Br bileus] veleynys LeLo, violence H2bG, *and* vyolent A | and²] om. A, trined *with add.* Lo 33 dispeyrynge] (dyspy *canc.*) disparyng A | fondyng] fondynges LeH2b, temptacion A, temptyng Lo, working Br 34 And] om. A | þe] this Le

26 ouyrleyd] ‘overcome’

[III.] But oftyn þe fondynggis of þe fend þat makyn þe soule to weeryn in þe feyth
f. 62r and to | fantasiyn in dispeyr semyn gret synne to mannys soule, and it is not soo. For
 as witnessyn alle hooly techers, feith *and* hope ben *vertuis* of a mannys wil. Qwerfore
 qwhoso wil rith leeuyn, he is in [rith be]leeue afor God, and qwoso wil trostly
 hopyn, afor God he is in ful hope, þouh he be neuere so mekil trauaylid in weerful
 40 thouhtis. Þe apostle Seynt Poule seyth: ‘In a mannys wil is þe beleue of rithfulnesse’;
¹³ vp quiche wordis seyth þe glose: alone in a mannys wil, þe quiche may not be
 constreyned, is bothe mede *and* gilt. Þat is to seyne, a man afor God hath neyir
 meede ne gilt of non deede, but onliche of þoo deedis þat he doth be his fre wil. But
 sumtyme a mannys though is so fortrauaylid *and* forleyd þat he knowith not his owyn
 45 wil. And þouh it be soo, he owyt not caryn. For always goode dedis schewyn a good
 wil, and euyl deedis an euyl wil. Qwerfore þat man þat doth in deede þe seruice of

35 leo in margin G | the deuel to mak man erre in þe faythe in margin, in db, slightly cropped at edge G | But oftyn] also oft tymes A | oftyn] of Lo | fondynggis...fend] fendes temptaciouns A fondynggis] temptacyons Br, temptynge Lo | þat] þat/ A | þe³] <>e text missing due to torn page A weeryn] erryn LeBrGLO, waxe weery H2b, dowte A | þe⁴] om. Lo 36 to¹...in] falle in to H2b | to¹] om. LeAGLo | fantasiyn] haue fantasies of Br | gret...to²] <> text missing due to torn page A | to²... soule] om. GLo | to²] vnto H2b | nota in margin Br 37 as...techers] as holy wrytt beres wytnes A, as al holy doctoures wittenen G, al holy doctours wittenen þat Lo | alle] all the Le, om. H2b hooly] the holy Br | vertuis] werryours Le | a mannys] mans A, a mannes G 38 qwhoso...leeuyn] whos wylle ys ryght to beleue Br | wil¹...leeuyn] wald (and *cancel.*) \in/ wyll lyfe in ryght belefe A rith¹] rightfully Lo | leeuyn] beleue H2bGLO | he] om. H2bA | rith beleue] be rith leeue Ca afor] befor H2b | ihesu in margin Lo | qwoso] who\so/ A | wil trostly] ys yn will trustly to Br wil²] wolde G | trostly] (trayfully *cancel.*) traystfully A 39 hopyn] hope in god A | afor...hope] (he GLo) is in fulle hope [before ALo, afore G] god AGLo | afor God] om. Br | afor] before H2b he¹] om. LeH2b | neuere] (neruy *cancel.*) \neuer/ A | weerful] fals H2b, dowtful ALo, ferful G 40 nota sign in margin Ca, nota in margin Br, poul in margin, in db G | þe] for þe A, as the Br | Seynt] om. Lo | seyth] om. H2b, seith þat Lo | a mannys] mannys H2bA | is...41 wil] om. H2b | of] om. Le rithfulnesse] rightwysnes ALo, ryghtwesse Br 41 vp] vppon LeABr, of GLo | quiche¹] the whiche LeALo | wordis] worde Br, þynges Lo | glose] \glose/ A | alone] a belyue Br, al onliche GLo | a mannys] mans LeAGLo | þe quiche] wyche H2bABr 42 is¹] om. H2b | and gilt] om. Le | gilt] gyltesse H2b, payne A | seyne] (s<> *cancel.*) to \say/ A | nota in margin Br | afor] before H2bALo neyir] neuyr Le, nower A 43 ne] nor H2bA | of¹...deede] om. Br | of²] for Le | þoo] þe H2bBr, om. A | deedis] om. Lo | þat] whiche Lo | be...wil] wilfulliche GLo | be] \of/ Br | ihesu in margin Lo 44 so] om. A | fortrauaylid] traueid AGLo, farre trauaylyd Br | forleyd] ouerlayd ABrGLO 45 þouh] if A | be soo] *rev.* H2b | caryn] to karyn LeBrGLO | For...47 contrarie] of good wyll in margin Br | For...46 wil¹] for though hys mynd be soo darkende wyth ignorance, euyl the wyll yet shall apyere by the workyng of the man; for allway good wordys wyth workes which ben good and vertues shewyn the wyll of a man good Br | dedis] dedys (and euyl wyl *cancel.*) H2b | schewyn] schewene in GLo 46 euyl¹] ylle A | deedis] deedys shewyn Br, dedes schewen in GLo | euyl²] yll ALo | nota sign in margin Ca | Qwerfore] therfor LeBr | doth] doþe (þe *cancel.*) H2b

35 weeryn] ‘doubt’ 44 fortrauaylid] ‘exhausted’

God, þat man hath a good wil to God, þowh his traualous herte deeme þe contrarie. And also a man owith not for non weerous fantasiys deemyn his euene-cristene but if he haue a verry opyn knowyng of þat thyng þat he schal demyn. For it is a gret synne a man to demyn euyl of his neyhore for a thyng þat is in weer. Rith soo it is euyl 50
and nouth skilfulliche don | a man to demyn his soule in eu\y/l plyt and partid fro *f. 62v*
 God for any werous fantasye. And if it falle þat a man knowe apertly certeyn poyntis in quiche he hath grewyd God, of þoo poyntes he owyth to crie God *mercy and* mekyn hym to þe sacramentis of holy chirche *and* anoon owyth he to leeuyn trostlyche þat he is resseywyd to þe grace of God. For God seith hymself be his 55
prophete Ezechiel: 'Qwat owre þat a synful man sorwith for his synnes, he wil neuere more haue mende of hem.'¹⁴ And if a man mow perceyuen in his herte no verry repentaunce, and þowh he thynkith qwan he byddith his bedys or ellis crieth God *mercy* þat he doth altogedyr ageyns herte, heerfore he owith not caryn ne demyn hymself graceles. For qwhoso wolde han sorwe for his synnes, in þe doom of God he 60
 hath verry sorwe for his synnes, *and* qwhoso wele in herte cris God *mercy*, verrily

47 a] *om.* LeLo | to God] *om.* Le | herte] *fantesyas and temptaciouns* A | deeme] has bene A
 48 ihesu in margin Lo | a] as a Br | not] *om.* H2b | non weerous] errors or Br | weerous] *om.* Le,
 false H2b, dowtful ALo | fantasiys] *fantasy* A | deemyn] too demen BrGLo | if] *om.* LeH2bBrG
 49 haue] hadde H2b | a verry] *om.* A | knowyng] knowleg Br | þat¹] *om.* A | nota bene in margin
 Br | For...50 demyn] *om.* GLo | For] for by cause Br 50 a¹] for a Br | to] (*d canc.*) to A | euyl¹] yl
 A | for] of Le | is¹] he ys H2b | in] *om.* Lo | weer] dou3te H2bALo, a doughte Br | it is] *rev.* Br
 euyl²] ylle A 51 and¹...don] *om.* Br | soule] owne soul Lo | eu\y/l] ylle H2bA | partid] departed
 ABr 52 any werous] a veyn Le, false H2b, a dowtful þoght and A, an erroneous Br, doutous Lo | any]
om. G | fantasye] *fantasies* GLo | And...þat] but yef Br | And...it] but 3if yt *rep.* Le | if] *om.* H2b,
 þat G | it] *om.* Lo | þat] *om.* G | apertly] certeynly Br, openly Lo 53 quiche] þe whilk ABr | he¹]
 he hymself Br | grewyd God] begreued Lo | of...mercy] hym oweth to cry god *mercy* of þo poyntes
 Lo | poyntes] thoughtys or offences Br | he owyth] *rev.* H2bBr, oweþ him G 54 owyth he] *rev.*
 LeA, oweþ him GLo | to²...55 trostlyche] verryly to truste Le | leeuyn...55 trostlyche] trostyn *and*
 beleue H2b, belefe trewly A | leeuyn] beleue BrLo 55 nota bene in margin Le, nota in margin Br,
 ihesu in margin Lo | God²] our lord Br | seith hymself] *rev.* H2b 56 Qwat...þat] whan þat Br, whan
 GLo | synnes] senne Le | he wil] þat he wold Lo 57 if...man] though he Br | if] þowh H2bA
 mow] kan Le, *om.* H2b, may nocht A | in...58 repentaunce] verry repentaunce in his hert A | in...
 herte] *om.* H2b | his] *om.* Lo 58 nota in margin A | and] *and* so Lo | þowh] if A | he thynkith]
 him thinke LeGLo | he¹] (*3e canc.*) he H2b | byddith...bedys] says his prayers A | ellis] *om.* A
 God...59 mercy] to god Le 59 herte] his hert ABr | heerfore] 3yt herfore Le | he owyth] *rev.* H2bA,
 oweth hym Lo | caryn ne] *om.* GLo | caryn] to karyn LeABr | ne] nor Br | demyn] to deme
 BrGLo 60 graceles] wytbout grace Br | For...61 synnes] sorow for synnys in margin, in db G
 qwhoso] whosoo euyr Br | wolde] wil GLo | for] of H2bLo | synnes] synne G | he] *om.* LeH2b
 61 verry] *om.* Br | for] in G, of Lo | wele...cris] [wolde Le, wyl H2bALo] in herte crye LeH2bALo,
 ys yn wyll yn hys hert to crye Br, wilneþ in herte to crie G

60 doom] 'judgement'

crieth God *mercy*. For as I haue oftyn seyde, God takith oonly heed at a mannys wil *and* nouth at a mannys traualous fantasiys.

[IV.] Now if it be so þat a man do as I haue tauhte, þat is to seyne, tak *non maner*
 65 heed at his traualiys, *and* deme verrili, as I haue lerid, þat he ben *non synne*, but
mater of gret meede, and neuerþeles þe temptaciouns cesyn nouth but alweyis waxyn
 f. 63r more *and* more, þanne it is good sumtyme, | but seldom, in dispit of þe fend, to ben
 aknowe his beleue and his hoope *with* his mouth, and thenkyn of Seynt Powlis
 wordis þer he seith þat knowyng of mouthe is doon to helthe of soule.¹³ For þat

62 crieth] he cries ABrGLo | oftyn seyde] sayd oft A, seid bifore Lo | oftyn] ofte H2b, tofore G | oonly heed] *rev.* ALo | oonly] *om.* Le | at] to Le | a mannys] mannys H2bBrGLo 63 at] to Le | a mannys] hys LeH2bABrGLo | fantasiys] þou3tys *and* fantasyes H2b, fantasy A, fantasyes and thoughtys Br 64 leo *in margin* G | Now...73 God] *om.* A | Now...65 þat] therfore yef a man aftyr as y haue taught take noo heede to such vayn thoughtys than Br | Now] þow H2b | if] if þat GLo | be so] *rev.* LeH2b | I...tauhte] in chaunce Le | tak] to take Le 65 traualiys] trauaile GLo | verrili... haue] *rep.* H2b | lerid] lerned G, taght Lo | he ben] yt be LeGLo 66 meede] mede. Also Seynt Ysyder sayth that a souereyne mene to foryet such thoughtis ys not too stryue *wyth* them. But the best way ys whan he begennyth to feel þat vnlefull thought, myghtyly to occupy hys mynd *wyth* some vertues thought contrary to that wykkyd thought, and soo shall he best and lyghtlyest *ouercome* the temptacyon. [Note well þis narracyon *in margin*] 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 *wyth* hym, 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 *wythout* jeopardy as wel of þe furst dog as of þe remenant. [Nota *in margin*] Ryght so ys it *wyth* vs: yef it for\une vs *wyth* one vnlefull thought alone to be meuyd in the begynnyng, yef we stryue *wyth* it as and we wold by vyolens put hyt away [Nota *in margin*], we than do cause the thought mor ferfly to troubull vs, and not oonly we than doo tangyll ourself *wyth* þat thought alone but it causith oodur troubulls also, whych *paraenture* 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 anythyng, the lengar that thyng wyll abyde *wyth* hym. And therfore we should peasybylly goo forth yn our way and not stryue *wyth* thoo thoughtys but by good warkys and holy thoughtys, let the euyl passe, and not rekke of them. Br | and...68 mouth] but yf the temptacyon be so stronge on the þat by none of þe meanys afore rehercyd thow kannys haue yt away but þat it waxe more and more oon the than summetyme it ys good to mete hym spekyng hys byleue *wyth* hys mouthe to þe contrary of thy temptacyon þat he ys meuyd *wyth* soo þat he doo it not to ofte Br | and] but Lo | neuerþeles] napeles GLo | þe] *rep.* H2b | waxyn] *om.* Lo 67 and more] *om.* Le | it] *om.* H2b | is] \is/ G but seldom] *om.* LeH2b | seldom] selde GLo | fend] deuyl Lo | to] *om.* H2b 68 thenkyn...69 soule] nota *in margin* Br | of] on LeBrGLo | Seynt...69 he] þe wordes þat seynt paul Lo 69 þer... seith] sayng thus corde creditur ad iusticiam ore autem confessio fit ad salutem Br | þer] þat G þat¹...soule] the beleue of a mannys hert ys necessarye yef he will be ryghtwese and farthermore he sayth the knowlege of our fayth *wyth* our mouth ys helthful to the soule Br | þat¹] *om.* Lo | knowyng] the knowyng LeH2b, knowelechyng GLo | mouthe] many Le, þe mowthe H2b | to] the Le | helthe] þe(le *canc.*) hele H2b | soule] þe sowle H2bG | ihesu *in margin* Lo | þat²...70 may] he þat ma(n *canc.*)y H2b

67 dispit] 'defiance'

man may not be disseyued *with* þe feendis wrenchis þat in good avisement bothe in 70
word *and* wil *withstondith* 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* qwemful *with*
verry assent of herte, for a werous *and* a traualous wil puttit not a man froo God.

Ne þer owyth no man to caren þat is so trauailyd more þan anoþer—lat hem [V.]
thenkyn qwat care Goddis chosyn seruauntis han suffrid in erde. Þe holy doctour Leo [VII.]
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 turment *and* here deth an heese, in so mekil þat sumtyme
for dishese he begynne to dispeyren boþe of þe liff *and* of þe bodi *and* of þe soule, and
he wenyn þat þei weryn forsakyn of God, þe quiche asayith *and* prowith his chosyn 80
frendis be fondynggis *and* angris. Þe wiseman seith in holy writt: ‘Rith as þe feer

70 man] soule Br | with...wrenchis] of the fend Br, wiþ þe wiles of þe fend G | wrenchis] wiles
Lo | in¹] *with* LeBr | bothe...73 God] of hys hert and openly also wyth hys mouth do ayenstond
hyme. 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 hym [voluntate deliberata grata et rata in margin], and þat wyth
such a wylle that cummeth by a delyberacion of a mannys hert frely and wyllfull wyth very assent of hert.
Br 71 for...fend²] om. CaH2b 72 and¹] but H2b, and wiþ GLo 73 werous] false H2b, doutous Lo
froo] away fro Lo 74 leo in margin G | Ne...75 erde] and let not a man be meuyd though he see sech
as ben chosyn of god troubled in dyuerse maner of wyse by the fend, but let men thynke what sorowe
holy fadres before vs yn diuerse maners haue suffred by the ordinaunce of god Br | Ne...to] a man awe
not A | Ne þer] neythyr Le, þan H2b | no man] no3t a man H2b | to caren] for Le | caren] take
G | þat is] for þat þat he ys H2b | is] he ys LeALo | anoþerlat] ane oþer man A | anoþerlat] but lat
A 75 qwat] \what/ A | Goddis chosyn] om. G | chosyn] om. Lo | seruauntis] chyldyrn Le | han
suffrid] suffreden Lo | leo in margin G | Þe...doctour] seynt Br 76 þe pope] papa LeH2bA | seith]
say/s/ A | þe²...77 of] om. LeLo 77 complexioun] a mannes complexion Br | swiche] (swylk *canc.*)
swylk A | taryis] and taryengis LeALo, taryyngys H2b, sororws Br, taryinge G | dredis...79 soule]
dredys, and derknes mynd þat a man kanot discerne good from euyl. For þe fend knowyth home he
shall meue wyth 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 whertoo 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 besyly ocupeyd. And oft such troubls he puttyth in
mannys 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 | here¹] here
hys Le | an] and H2b 79 to] for to Lo | þe¹] om. Lo | and¹] \and/ H2b | þe²] om. GLo | of þe³]
<> text missing due to torn page A | þe³] her LeH2bGLo 80 þat] om. LeBr | weryn] ar ABrLo | þe...
81 writt] wher it ys of the gret mercy of oure lord that he sufferth hys chosen soo to be troubuld for
ther gret merit Br | trybula<> in margin, end of word cropped G | quiche] <> text missing due to torn
page A | asayith] aspiew GLo 81 frendis] chyldyrn Le, frend Lo | fondynggis] temptaciouns Lo
and] temt<> text missing due to torn page A | Þe...writt] which wytnessith holy wryt, there yt is wretyn
Le | Rith] for lyke Br | as] (ag *canc.*) as A

77 taryis] ‘troubles’ 80 asayith] ‘tests’

profuyth þe vessel of þe pottere, rith so fondynggis *and* angris prouyn þe rithful.¹⁹ 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 prouyd in þe feer.’²¹ The aungel seyde also
f. 63v to Tobbye: ‘For as mechil as þou were qwemful to God, it was nedful þat fondynggis | xhuld proue þe.’²²

[V.] Wel þanne it is knowe þat seekness fallith to a man aftyr þe disposicioun of his compleccioun. And as Leo þe pope seith, þe feend aspyith in iche man what vice he is most disposid to, and þerfore þe complexioun þat he fyndith ful of humurs of
 90 melencolie, hem he *tur[ment]y*th most *with* gostly temptaciouns.¹⁶ 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 lettith þe soule þat he ne may nouth, for þe tyme, knowyn noon resonable skyl, but it makyth hym demyn

82 vessel] vessels A | pottere] potter whether it be good Br | rith...prouyn] so doth troubul proue Br | rith so] right A | fondynggis] þe foundyngys H2bG, temptaciouns ALo | rithful] ryghtful man Le, rightwis man ABr 83 And...84 feer] *om.* Br | And] and as ALo | Poule] saynt paul A, *om.* Lo | þis] þe GLo | þe²] *om.* H2b 84 þe¹] *om.* LeH2bGLo | gold] gold is G | nota bene *in margin* Br, ihesu *in margin* Lo | The] for þe A, for an Br | also] *om.* H2bABrGLo 85 For...as²] by cause that Br | qwemful to] chosyn of Br | qwemful] dere A | was] (*ys canc.*) was H2b | fondynggis] foundynge H2bG, temptacione A, troubul Br, temptynge Lo 87 Wel...97 hemself] And Iob sayth: ‘My lord hath proued me *wyth* trouble as the fyre doth proue gold.’ And some men, by the dysposycioun of colours, as clerkys sayen, ben darkynd yn ther mynd *wyth* a smoke that stryket to ther brayn and causeth oon to wene þat he syeth ymagys myshapen and causeth þat for þe season they kanne not dyscerne resonablylly thyngis, and such demen fals for trewe by occasyon therof. And than they waksen sory and ben dredful wythoute resonable cause by þe mean of þe same complexion, for they by dry of complexion of hemself. Br | Wel...knowe] it is knawen wele A | it is] ys þis H2b | a man] man H2bG | þe] *om.* AG | disposicioun...his] *om.* H2b 88 þe pope] papa LeA | aspyith] spyeth Le | in iche] euch a Lo | vice] wyse Le, weies G, wey Lo 89 most] *om.* Le | to] (to LeH2bAG) of complexyoun, and therto [he temptiþ H2bA, temptyth he LeGLo] [most a man LeH2bGLo, a man moste A] LeH2bAGLo | þerfore...complexioun] þe complecciouns þerfor Lo | complexioun] complexyouns H2bG | of²] and Le 90 hem...turmentyth] he turmenteth ham Lo | hem he] hem hem H2b | turmentyth] turnyth Ca | mistice prolata *in margin* Le | Also] and also LeA | þese clerkis] þe book G, þis clerke Lo | þese] the Le, *om.* A 91 of¹...seyn] *om.* A | seyn] seiþ G | þe²] *om.* H2b | colere] cole Le, colery A | comyth] smytiþ H2b, styes A | to] vp in to A | cernel] femerell Le, (*brayne canc.*) attrell of þe hede A, brayn Lo | it...92 and¹] *and* A | skyith] dymmyth H2b, ouergoiþ GLo 92 merkyth] maketh derke Lo | place] (*place-canc.*) place A | doom...heued] þe hous Le | quiche] þe whiche GLo | is] ys in H2bAGLo | heued] (*deth canc.*) heed H2b | and²] it A | a] þe H2b | as] (*þat canc.*) as A 93 ymagis] ymage H2b | And] and in lyk wyse Le | lettith] settiþ H2b | he²] she Le, yt H2bA 94 ne] *om.* H2bAGLo | nouth] *om.* Le | resonable] resoun ne able GLo | it] *om.* GLo | hym] yt H2b | demyn] to deme LeH2b, to mene GLo

83 werd] ‘world’ 85 qwemful] ‘acceptable’ 91 cernel] A translation of the Latin *cerebrum* as ‘kernel’ (centre, pith) rather than ‘the brain’. | skyith] ‘clouds over’ 92 merkyth] ‘darkens’

fals for trewth, thyng ageyns hym þat is most for hym.¹⁷ And þese men of 95
 complexioun ben sory dreedful *withoutyn* skilful enchesoun, drie of complexioun, and
 dispeyryng of hemself. But heerfore owyn he nouth to blamyn hemself, for he
 mownys not; peyne þei han, but *non* synne.

But þese men, if þei wiln ben ful medid of God, þei must schape hem as mychel [VII.]
 as þei moun to a gostly strengthe and gostly pacience, *and* þei owen to seyn *with* 100
 Iob: ‘Sithen we ha takyn of Goddis hand bouchef, qwy schulde we not suffre
 myschef?’²³ And þerfore qwat myschef falle to hem, lat hem seyn stedfastly *with* Iob:
 ‘Si occiderit me, sperabo in eum’;²⁴ ‘þou he sle me, I schal trostyn in hym.’ And alwey
 among þei auhtyn to thenkyn on þe greet mede þat longith to pacience and how oure [VIII.]
 soules spouse Ihesu hymself so mychel putt to þe mater of pacience þat he seyde: ‘Mi 105
 soule is | sari to þe deed.’²⁷ And anopir tyme he seyde: ‘Mi God, qwy hast þou *f. 64r*

95 trewth] trwe H2bLo | thyng...hym¹] and to think aȝens that thing Le | thyng] *and/* þinge
 A, þynges GLo | ageyns] þat is agayns A | þat is] *om.* A | of...96 sory] be of complexion sory LeA,
 be of sory complexioun H2b 96 dreedful] and dredfull LeH2bA | withoutyn] *without* ony Le, wiþ
 wiþ owtyng H2b | skilful enchesoun] skylful cause Le, encheson skylful H2bG, (*caus canc.*) cause
 skylfull A | drie] and dry Le | and] *om.* A 97 ihesu in margin Lo | he nouth] *rev* G | he²...98
 synne] in as much as thys dysposycions beth yn them ayenst ther wyll they ben to them peyn but not
 synne Br | he²...98 not] they may not do therwith Le, he synnyth noȝt H2b, *om.* AGLo 98 peyne...
 han] þai hafe pyne ALo, payne þei G 99 But] þerfore A | if] *and* A | wiln] *om.* Lo | ben...medid]
 haue full mede Br | ful medid] in ful meede H2b, wele rewarddyd A | þei²...schape] lete hem shame
 Le, schape H2bLo, must schape A, theym behoueth to shapyn Br, shape þei G | hem] themself Br
 as...100 moun] *om.* Br 100 a] *om.* H2bAGLo | gostly¹] *spirituell* Br | gostly²] a gostly Le, *om.* A, to
 gostly Lo | and²...seyn] sayng Br 101 nota in margin Br | Iob] iobe which ys the myrroure of
 pacyence Br | takyn...102 myschef¹] of our lord receyuyd good thyngys why shall we not as well suffer
 euel by hys sendyng Br | hand] handewerke H2b | we not] *rev.* Le | suffre] take H2b 102 qwat...
 hem¹] remembryng þe gret meryt of pacyence both yn thys lyff present and in þe lyff euerlastyng Br
 qwat] what euere GLo | myschef²] dysese or tribulacioun A | falle] so falle LeH2b | hem¹] him Le
 hem²] hym Le | seyn] yet sey Lo | stedfastly] *om.* H2bGLo, also Br 103 Si...he] *om.* BrLo | þou
 he] yef þat our lord wyll Br | I...trostyn] yet shall y putt my trust Br | And...106 deed] And what
 merueyl ys it thou a man that ys mortall and ful of wrechydnese suffer troubul yn thys vale of
 wrechydnese, seyng that oure sauour hymself suffred so much trouble, sayng by hymself yn the
 gospels: My hert ys sorrowful to goo to the deth. Br 104 on] of A | ihesu in margin Lo | oure...105
 spouse] þe spouse of oure soule Lo 105 soules] *om.* H2b | Ihesu] *our* lord ihesus criste A | so...putt]
 putteth hym so myche Lo | mychel] mekly A | putt] put himself Le, put hym H2bAG | þe...of] *om.*
 H2b | þe] *om.* Le | pacience] gret pacience A | nota <>ryst sade my soul ys <>ory to the <>ethe in
 margin, in db, page cropped G | þat] when A 106 to] on to H2b | euangelium in margin Br | Mi
 God] o my god my god Le

96 skilful enchesoun] ‘reasonable cause’ 98 mownys not] ‘could not prevent it’

forsakyn me?’²⁸ Sithen oure lord in his manhed seyde þese wordis, quiche arn ful of al
 maner grace, let not a synful man merueylin þowh his herte be sory *and* þow hym
 þinke God hat forsakyn hym, but myhtily he owith to abyden þe comfort of God, *and*
 110 dredles qwan it verrily nedith, he schal not faliyn þerof. 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 euere schal lestyn.’²⁹

Ne merueyle no man þow a gostly man *and* a good synglerly be temptid, for þe
 115 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 3ow as qwho siftyth qwete.’⁴¹

107 Sithen... 110 þerof] and thow man thynk yn such troubul þat our lord hath forsaken hym lett
 hym wyth a good hope pacyently abydd the confort of our lord and wythout dought our lord yn tyme
 conuenient wyll helpe hym Br | Sithen] and seþen Lo | þese wordis] þus Lo | quiche] the whiche
 LeH2bAGLo | arn] was LeAGLo, ys H2b | al...108 maner] *om.* LeH2bA, al Lo 108 *nota bene in*
margin G | man...his] mannes Lo | his...be] he (thynk *canc.*) in hys herte he be H2b | and þow]
 althogh Lo | hym] he H2bA 109 þinke] thinke that Le | myhtily] mekely LeGLo, myleely H2b,
 myghtyly *and* mekely A | comfort] good confort Le 110 dredles] *witbowten* dowte A | it] he A
 þerof] 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 | þe¹] hys LeH2bABrGLo | A litel] <>el *text missing due to torn page*
 A | haue forsakyn] forsake H2b 112 fro...but] <>ot *text missing due to torn page* A | fro þee] *om.* Le
 many] my many LeH2b, my Br | han...113 of] shew my mercy to Br 113 of...mercy²] <>y *text missing*
due to torn page A | of] on LeH2bGLo | mercy²] þe mercy H2b, that mercy Br | euere] euer more
 A | lestyn] rest Le, last and neuyr haue end the troubul 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 Br 114 Ne...116 thewis]
 and let not a man meuayle [*sic*] þoue þe man þat ys *spirituel* be soo troubuld with hys *spirituel* enemy
 whyll þat hys good wyll doth abydd he ys nother put frome hys feyth fro hope nor fro charyte þerby but
 he ys þe more growndly mad stedfast yn all vertue Br | Ne...man¹] no man mervell A | merueyle]
 gurche Lo | no] not a Le, not no H2b | þow...temptid] azens goddis wil G, agayns goddis wille ne
 merueil he nat of þis maner of temptacioun Lo | gostly man] (gow man *canc.*) gostly man A | man²]
om. Le | a²] \a/ A | synglerly] singuler man Le, syngerly H2b | for...115 wil] *om.* G 115 he...
 charite] a man or a woman is tempted in þis maner or in any other *and* he mekely *and* pacyently
*witbston*d hit nat assentyng theerto Lo | be it] both A | or in¹] *om.* LeA | or in²] *and* A | in³] *om.*
 Le | charite] charite for þe more a man is tempted in hem *and* proued G | þe...116 is] he ys more *rep.*
 H2b 116 he...God] afore 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 | ihesu *in margin* Lo
 þis...117 temptacioun] thys temptacyons Br 117 þe¹] *om.* H2b | touchith...saueour] our sauyour
 thoght Br | touchith] techith Le | saueour] lord H2b | in...118 disciples] to his disciples in the
 gospel þer he seith þus Lo | þer...118 disciples] sayng to seynt petyr Br | þer] where Le
 118 euangelium *in margin* Br | myth] my H2b | 3ow] the Br | qwho] whoso LeBr

110 dredles] ‘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 seruauantis but of his sufferaunce. *And* þat was 120
 opynly schewyd in þe fondyng of hooly Iooþ, þat he wolde syften hym as qwhete.
 Qwete, þe moore it is castyn fro syde to syde in þe sywe, þe moore clene it is. Rith so
 þe more a man be trauaylid | *witþ* þe fend ageyns his wil, þe moore clene he is aforn *f. 64v*
 God. And heere arn we lerid opynly þat God suffrith not his seruauant[is] to ben
 fondid but for heere goode, so þat he schapyn hem to *witþstandyn* þe feend as Goddis 125
 seruauantis schuld doon. But forasmekil as no man may *witþstande* þe feend *witþoutyn*
 þe helpe of God, of his helpe God makith vs sekyr *and* seith þus: 'I haue *preyid* for þe
 þat þi feith faile nouth.'⁴² For þer þat a man fyndith in his herte a good pacience redi
 for to suffryn al woo mekely for Cristes sake, nouth recchende of alle þe feendis
 trauailis, þat man thourh myth of Cristes *grace and* his *preyere verryli* berith doun þe 130
 deuyll. And to swyche men seith *Ihesus* þus: 'Þou þat art þus turnyd to God in
 pacience, conferme þi bretheryn,'⁴² *and* lere hem to suffren as þe *grace* of God hath
 lerid þe, and ellis þou art vnkende. Salomon seith: 'Oo broþer þat is helpyn of anoþer

119 In...126 doon] And as Seynt Poule sayth, In that þe fend asked þat of our lord [Nota in margin] it shewyth that þe fend hath no myght to tempt Goddis seruauantis farther than our lord yeuet hym lyue. A man ys syftyd as whete when he ys huggely troubuld and so yprovt yn *profe*. But the *properte* of what ys that þe more þat it ys syftyd fro sydd to sydd, the more clener it ys. Ryght so a trewe soule, þe more it ys troubled by temptacyons [Nota in margin], þe more stedfast yt ys made in trewe fayth, hope, and charite. Br | luke in margin G | seith...schewyd] seynt iohn shewyth yt Le, seynt austyn seiþ yt semyth H2b, seint luke it scheweþ G, seynt luyk seith hit sheweth Lo | fend] deuyll Le 120 hath] had | myhte] power Le | fonden] fondis Ca, shendyn Le, offenden GLo | of] at Le | iob in margin G | þat was] rev. H2b 121 fondyng] shendyng Le, *temptynge* Lo | hym] hem H2b 122 Qwete...it'] for þe more þat whete GLo | þe'] þat the Le | moore'] more þat H2b | castyn... sywe] [shakyn Le, caste H2bG] in [the LeH2b, a G] seve fro syde to syde LeH2bG | þe'] a Lo moore clene] clennere Le 123 þe'...be] a man euermore H2b | more] more that LeGLo | aforn] bifor Lo 124 arn...lerid] we leryn Le | lerid] lerned GLo | seruauantis] seruauant Ca, seruauantis of god Le 125 fondid] tempted GLo | ihesu in margin Lo | to] for to H2b 126 doon] om. Le | may] ys able of hymself to Br | withoutyn] wiþ H2b 127 þe'] om. H2b | of'...þus] therfor our lord sayd to hys apostels thus peter Br | of his] and þerfore of þis H2b | of'] þerfor of Lo | God'] he Lo 128 þi] þe Br | faile nouth] shall not fayle Br | þer...129 woo] wher a man fyndyth in hymself a goode hert redy to suffer pacyently all such troublis Br | þat'...man] as he Lo 129 for to] to Le | woo] disese G, desaises Lo | Cristes] goddis GLo | recchende...alle] yeuyng reke for Br | recchende] takynge hede Lo | alle] om. H2b 130 man] a man G | myth] þe myght LeBrGLo | of...grace] *and* þe grace of crist G, of þe grace of criste Lo | and...131 deuyll] bereth doun þe deuyll þrogh his *preyere* Lo | his] of Br | verryli berith] dothe verreyly bere Br | verryli] om. G | doun] adooun G 131 to swyche] so schulde H2b | seith Ihesus] rev. H2b | Ihesus] our sauour Br | nota in margin Br | þus'] om. Le to'...132 pacience] (to Le) (be H2b) pacyens to god LeH2b | God in] me by Br 132 bretheryn] broþyr Le | lere] lerne LeG, teche BrLo | hem] om. H2b 133 lerid...vnkende] taught Br | lerid] lerynd LeG, taght Lo | and] or Le | salomon in margin Ca | Salomon] for salomon H2b | Oo] a LeH2bLo | þat...134 cite] is a myghty citee a cite Lo | anoþer] another brother Br

- is as a myhti cite ageyn þe feend.⁴³ And þerfore he þat is sori *and* trauailyd, qwanne
 135 he heerith þe goode 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, qwi art þou sory *and* qwi trubblast me? Trost in God, for
 to hym wil I ben aknowe’, *and* hym zet schal I serwyn, be I neuere so mychel
 [XIV.] trauaylid. And swiche a man þat is þus trauaylid, he owith to heryn *and* felyn þe
 140 techyng of wyse men þat ben bothe discrette *and* goode, *and* be non wise folwyn hise
 owyn fantasys, for þat wolde vtterly schendyn hym.
- [IX.] |f. 65r 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 pacience. And þow he fynde in hymself no swetnesse ne wil to Goddis seruice, he
 145 owyth not to caren, for it is inow to helthe of soule þat a man wolde han reste *and*
 swetnesse in þe seruice of God. For euyr in Goddis doom þe wil stant for dede. And
 Saint Bernard seyth þat sumtyme God *withdrawit* deuocioun fro prayer to make þe
 [X.] prayer moore medful. Aristotil a resoun seith þat vertu, þe more hard *and* þe more

134 is¹...cite] he ys as myzty zet H2b | as...cite] the myghtyer Br | as] *om.* LeG | sori...135
 with] confermyde and made stedfast by hys neyghburos techyng and so made perfyte yn cryste let hym
 in tyme of his troubul say wyth þe holy prophete Br 135 or] or of LeH2b | dauid *in margin* Ca,
 propheta *in margin* Br 136 Quare...137 illi] *om.* Lo | quoniam...137 illi] *et cetera* LeG 137 illi] illi or
 or thus muche to say Br | Mi] o þou my Le | trubblast] troublest thow LeBr, turbyst þou so H2b,
 trowblest þou so GLo 138 to...serwyn] hym wyll y serue and to hym wyll be aknowe Br | to...
 aknowe] zut i schal knoweliche to him GLo | wil I] *rev.* H2b | zet...I?] i schal GLo | be I] thow y
 be Le 139 And...trauaylid²] *om.* H2b | And] *om.* Lo | swiche...141 hym] a man thus troubled
 oueth not to folowe hys owne wayys but he must heere and feel þe techyng of wys men and doo
 thereafter for yn folowyng hys owen wayys he myght destroye hymeself Br | felyn] to folwe H2b
 140 techyng] techyngs Le | þat...bothe] *and* H2b | wise] wey Lo 141 fantasys] wyl ne fantasye
 H2b | þat] it Le | wolde...schendyn] vtterlyche sendiþ G, entierly shendeth Lo 142 Also...144
 pacience] *om.* Br | Also] and also H2b | meene] *om.* H2b | owith he] *rev.* LeH2bLo | he²] *om.* G
 synggyn] say H2b | þe²...143 God¹] dyuine seruice Lo 143 ihesu *in margin* Lo | prayer] preyng Le
 of²...144 and] for too helpe *and* strenkthe hys H2b | strengthe] of strenghte Le, *and* streynthe Lo
 144 of deuocion *in prayer in margin* Br | in...148 medful] no swetnesse yn prayers or redyng of good
 thinges he shall not reke for euer afore gode þe wyll ys taken for þe dede and þat our lord at seasons
 take deuocyon from vs it ys medful Br | in...swetnesse] noo swettenesse in hymselfe H2b | ne] noon
 H2b, ne no Lo | to] to seye H2b 145 owyth] ne owyth LeG | to¹] for to Le, *om.* H2b | inow]
 many Le | helthe] helpe H2bG | soule] (s *canc.*) soule Ca, mannys soul Lo | a man] he Lo
 146 ihesu *in margin* Lo | For] *om.* LeH2b | euyr] *om.* GLo | Goddis doom] þe doom of god GLo
 dede] a dede Le, þe dede G | And] as Le 147 bernardus *in margin* Ca | þat] *om.* Le, þus that H2b
 sumtyme...withdrawit] god owt drawyth Le | prayer] þe praier GLo 148 aristotil *in margin* Ca | a...
 seith] seiþ a resoun GLo | a resoun] *om.* Br | a] and H2b | vertu...149 gotyn] *with* þe more [trauayle
and harde G, *and* the hardre trauaill Lo] vertues ben geten GLo | and...149 with] wyth þe more
 LeH2b

141 schendyn] ‘ruin’

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 seruyn God þan 150
 qwan a *man* is in ful swetnesse of reste *and* pees of soule; querfore dredles it is moore
 meedful. It was *non* maystri to Seynt Petyr qwan he saw Ihesu transfigurid in þe hil
 in blisse to seyn: ‘Lord, it is good we duellyn heer.’⁵² But qwan he saw Ihesu among
 his turmentouris, a gerlis voys made hym so aferd þat he seide þat he knew not Ihesu.
⁵³ But aftyrward qwan he was confermyd thourh þe myth of þe holy gost, þer was *non* 155
 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 seruyn God, but þe maistrie is qwan a *man* is
 owt of reste and traualyth, and þe more trauaile, þe moore maistrye. But swyche a
man, if he wele suffrin pacientliche til he is aftyr trauaylis | strenkthid of þe holy *f. 65v*
 gost, þer schal *non* feend in helle han myth to afeeryn. And þowh it be longe heer he 160
 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,
 þou he knowe not Goddis abidyng. And þus lerith vs þe greeete doctour Seint Austyn.
 Þe *maner* of God is qwan a *man* is febil *and* newly turnyd to hym, to zeuyn hym pees
 and swetnesse *and* so stabilyn hym in his loue; but qwanne he is stabilished, þan 165

149 it²...thankworthi] and more merite is it to hym þat geteth it Br | thankworthi] medefull
 Le, thank he \is/ worthy H2b | But...is³] For hys it Br | But] for Le 150 trauaile] trauailed GLo
 and vnreste] *om.* BrLo | vnreste] on reste H2b 151 qwan...152 meedful] yn tyme of ful rest and
 deuocyon Br | ful...pees] good lykyng *and* ful swetnesse *and* rest Lo | and pees] of body *and* G
 ihesu *in margin* Lo 152 It...153 seyn] seynt petyr sayng our lord transfigured yn the hyll he sayde Br
 to] for H2b | Seynt] *om.* Le | in...hil] *om.* Lo | in] on H2b 153 in] of Le | Lord] *om.* Le | we
 duellyn] to vs to dwell Br | we] þat we GLo | duellyn] ben H2b | Ihesu...154 turmentouris] him in
 hys turment Le, hym in turment Br 154 gerlis] womans Br | þat²] *om.* LeH2bBrGLo | Ihesu] our
 lord Br 155 aftyrward] ryzt aftirwarde H2b, after Br | confermyd...of] made stedfast by Br
 thourh...myth] *om.* Lo 156 in erde] harde H2b | erde...kyng] herte ne lykyng Le | ne¹] 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 hert] *om.* Lo 158 owt...traualyth] trauailed *and* out of
 rest Lo | traualyth] trauaylyd LeH2bG | and²...maistrye] *om.* Le | trauaile] trauaylyd H2bG, þat he
 is trauailed Lo | maistrye] may stire G, maistrie hit is Lo | swyche...159 he¹] certis if a man GLo
 159 wele] wolde H2b | aftyr...strenkthid] strengþed after trauayle GLo | aftyr] of hys (of hys *canc.*)
 H2b | trauaylis] hys trauaylys Le 160 to] hym to H2b | afeeryn] fere hym Le, afere hym GLo
 161 he thar] lete him LeH2bGLo | not] \not/ G | hym] *om.* GLo 162 coumfort] hys comfort H2b
 he may] lete him LeH2bGLo | þe] hys LeGLo 163 agustinus *in margin* Ca, nota bene *in margin* Br,
 ihesu *in margin* Lo | And...Austyn] saynt austyn lernes vs þat A | And] for Le | lerith] leryth Le,
 techyth BrGLo | þe...Austyn] seynt austeyn the doctour þat Br | þe...doctour] *om.* Le 164 God] our
 lord Br | is¹] ys þis H2b, is þat Lo | pees] confort pes Le 165 and²...loue] *om.* Br | and²...hym] tyll
 he be stabelyd Le | so stabilyn] susteyne A | stabilyn] to stable Lo | his] \his/ A | but] and Le | is
 stabilished] seithe hym deped in loue Lo | stabilished] stabelid LeH2bA

suffreth he hym for to ben al tottrauaylid, 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.

[XI.] And for as mechil as þei þat ben þus trauaylid ben dreedful and sori of complexioun, 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 conseil 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
 175 swyche thouhtis, for it may neuere turnyn hem to dampnacioun þe conseil of heere
 f. 66r wysere þat is 3owyn for here sauacioun. 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 trauallyth to makyn a man dreedful and sori, in dispit of þe feend and in þe trost

166 he] *om.* Br | for to¹] to LeH2bABrLo | al tottrauaylid] \al to/trauailled Lo | tottrauaylid] trauaylyd H2b, fortrauaylyd Br | skilles] causes Br | Oon] on ys LeH2bABr | for to²] to H2b and] *and* for to Lo 167 moore...hym²] heigher Lo | hym²] *om.* G | þe...of] *om.* Le | þe] his A of heuene] *om.* Br | Þe...skill] anoper Lo | þe] and the Le | skill] cause Br | for to] to H2b 168 hym¹] hym and clense hym A | of...synnes] *om.* Lo | synnes] synne G | in¹] here in H2b | þis] þe G | he] zee Ca | schul] shulde LeH2bABrGLo | non wyse] not Br | non] in no LeG 169 þat oþir] the tothyr LeALo, toþir worlde H2b, þe oþer world Br 170 And...177 good²] *om.* Br | þat] *om.* GLo | þus] so Le, þus moche H2b | ben²] þei ben GLo | dreedful] dreedfullous G 171 nota in margin A, ihesu in margin Lo | to] vnto H2b | 1 in margin G | first] firste þing GLo | mekyl] to moche Le, *om.* H2b 172 aloone] alone by þaimselfe A | 2 in margin G | thynkyn] þenke not GLo ne] no H2b, (o *canc.*) nor A | sekyn] seeke not G | non þingis] ne thynk Lo | þingis] thing LeH2bAG 173 be þe] aftyr H2b | be] in Le | þe daliaunce] commynycacioun A | þe²] *om.* LeH2bGLo | good...wys] wyse man that ys bothe gode and wyse Le | man...wys] wysman A | man] men GLo | And...175 thouhtis] *om.* A | it] \hit/ Lo 174 schul] shulde LeGLo | for] (þa *canc.*) for H2b | non...takyn] to take noon hede GLo | non] (mo *canc.*) no H2b | takyn] to take LeH2b | to] at Le, *om.* H2b, in GLo 175 thouhtis] fantasyes Le | it...176 wysere] þe gode counsell of þair wyser may neuer turne þaim to dampnacioun A | it] (ys *canc.*) yt H2b 176 þat...for] ys gynnyng of Le þat] þe whilk A | 3owyn] gyfen \to/ þaim A, 3ouen hem G, yeuen to hem Lo | for] of H2b, to GLo dominus in ewangelio in margin Ca, ihesu in margin Lo | seith] techith Le, seye H2b | if] þat if GLo a...177 mannys] mans Le 177 Þe...188 heuene] and a specyal remedy yn tyme of such angwyshe and peynful temptacyon as much as oon may to stery hymself to myrth yn dyspyght of þe fend and thynke howe þe apostles whan the iewes had forebeten hem they went away mery and glade also for thre causes we shuld be glad whan the fend troublth vs on cause ys for he þat troubleth vs ys goddys enemy the secunde cause ys þat we may perceyue therby þat the fend ys enny [*sic*] the thred cause ys þat by such turmentys a man not oonly dryueth away þe peynys of purgatory but also getythe þe blyse of heuyn for our lord sayth by hys apostle seynt iohn blessyd ys he þat suffyrth temptacyon for whane he ys prouede by þat temptacyon he shall receyue þe crowne of lyfe euerlastyng þat our lord ys to yeue to all þat loueth hym Br | 3 in margin G, ihesu in margin Lo 178 dispit] þe dysseyth H2b | in þe] *om.* H2b | þe²] *om.* LeAGLo

173 daliaunce] 'conversation' 174 beheldyn] 'obey'

of Goddis helpe owith a man to strenkthyn hymself to be glad *and* merie *and* nowth
 to dredyn þe malice of þe feend, þowh it be al ageyns hert. For þe lesse gladnesse he 180
 fynt in his herte, þe moore meede he is worthi þat strenkyth to be glaad in dispit of
 þe feend. Þe apostelis, as seith hooly writt, qwan þe Iewis, goddis enemyis, h[e]m
 haddyn schamely beetyn, hee zedyn away 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 185
 ful enemy. Þe thridde skile is þat be swiche *turmens* a man not oonli byith away þe
 peynes *and* *purgatorijs* of synne but þerto þe blisse of heuene. Ihesu seith in þe
 gospel: ‘Blissed arn he þat suffryn *persecucioun* for heere is þe blisse of heuene.’

And 3eet of thre thinggis owith a man to bewar þat þe deuyl begile hym nowt | [XII-XIII.] |
 be colour of good. Þe first is þowh a man be neuere so weel ne so ofty n schriuen, þe f. 66v
 feend be mychilhed of trauailis makith a man fulliche to forzetin 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 ofty n schriuen but fulliche for to tarien hym *and* makyn

179 owith...man] a man awe A | to²] and to LeLo | and²...180 hert] þogh hit be agayns hert
and nat to dred the malice of the fend Lo 180 to] *om.* LeH2bA | al] *om.* G | hert] hyr hert A
 For...181 herte] *om.* Le | gladnesse] gladnes þat A 181 he is] *rev.* LeH2b | worthi] wurthy to haue
 Le | strenkyth] strengthith him LeH2bGLo, strenthys hymselfe A 182 vt dicit sacra scriptura in
margin Ca | Þe...183 glad] holy writt seiþ þat þe aposteles zeden [away G, alwey Lo] [myzty G, mery
 Lo] *and* glad whanne þe iewes goddis enemyes hadden schamfulliche beten hem GLo | as] *om.* H2b
 seith...writt] haly wrytt says A | hem...183 beetyn] had shamely bete hem LeA | hem] hym Ca
 183 hee zedyn] than zede they Le | mery] (*myr canc.*) myry A | Also] and also GLo | owyth...man]
 a man awe ALo | owyth] yt houyth H2b 184 of...feend] *om.* Lo | to] for to Le | glad] mery *and*
 glad Le | First] one ys Le, firste ys H2b, þe fyrst is A | enemy] enemys Lo 185 turmentith]
 turmented Lo | secunde] secunde ys þat H2b | for in] for Ca, thorw3 Le, in H2b | turmentis]
turment Le 186 ful] hys ful H2bA | enemy] enmye and therfor owyth euery man to be glad þat gods
 enmye ys hys enmye Le | þat] this Le, *om.* A | turmens] *turment* Le | not...byith] oonly beyth not
 Le | oonli] al only GLo | away] *om.* GLo 187 peynes] payne H2b | and...of¹] of purgatory for A
 and] and the LeGLo | purgatorijs] purgatory Le, purgacyon H2b | of¹] for Lo | synne] synnys H2b,
 (*sy canc.*) syn A | þerto] þereto yt encresiþ H2b, þerto purchases A | Ihesu...188 heuene] *ihesu* in
margin Ca 188 gospel] gopell of mathew Le | persecucioun] persecucyon for riztwisnesse
 H2bAGLo | heere is] þei shal haue Le | blisse] kyngdom GLo 189 And...242] *om.* A | And...230
 soule] *om.* Br | And 3eet] *om.* Le | 3eet] *om.* H2b | a] euery Le 190 be¹...good] *om.* Le | be¹] by
 vndyr H2b, vnder Lo | 1 in *margin* G | Þe...is] fyrst Le | is] *om.* H2b | þowh] if GLo | so¹...ne]
om. H2b | ne] and Le, ne neuere Lo 191 mychilhed of] ful mych wey *and* Lo | mychilhed] the
 mekylheed LeH2b | trauailis] trauaylous thouztyts H2b, trauail GLo | to] for to H2b | hym] hem Le
 192 it...eftsones] he ys or be efte H2b | it is] he be Le | eftsones] ofte Le | And...193 schriuen] *om.*
 H2b | þis] þus Lo | for] *om.* Le 193 þat¹] *om.* Lo | he...oftyn] a man shulde ofte be Le | a] eche
 GLo | ofty n] oft Lo | for to] to Le | and...194 hym] to Le

hym oleeue þat he were blent for synne *and* hadde non grace to makyn hymself
 195 cleene. Þe secunde gile of þe enemy is qwan 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 bringgith he a mannys synnes to meende for to tarien hym. But þe remedijs
 ageyns þese two poyntis arn þese. Ageyns þe first, fro þe tyme þat swyche a man hath
 doon his ful besyness to ben clene schriuen, he owith neuere to dredyn hym of non
 200 synne but of þoo þat he woot verrily *wit*houtyn weer þat he is gilty inne aforn God.
 Of quiche synnes, as sone as he crieth God *mercy*, he schal han it. Anemptis þe
 secunde, for as michel as al thing hath tyme in Goddis seruice,⁵⁹ owt a man tendyn
 to non thing, be it neuere so good, þat schuld lette hym of þe attendaunce of Goddis
 f. 67r seruice. Ne also a man þat is trauaylid *and* takith to hym solas in dispitt | of þe feend,
 205 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* forþeueness of alle his trespas. And if
 his synne come out þanne to mende, þe first mende was but a tarie of þe feend, for
 he þat is endeles God schuld rathere steryn a man to thenkyn of his synne in helpe
 of his liff þan in tarye of his liff or of his soule.

194 oleeue] beleue LeGLo, on leuy H2b | hymself] hym H2b 195 2 *in margin* G | enemy]
 fende LeH2b 196 þe tarijs] taryengys Le, taryunge H2b, tranes G, þe trauaille Lo | in] *and* Le | þe³]
 hys LeH2bGLo 197 a mannys] mannys Lo | for...hym] *om.* Le | for to] to H2b | But] *om.*
 LeH2b | remedijs] remedye H2bGLo 198 ageyns] here aȝens Le, þer agayns Lo | þese¹] þo Lo
 Ageyns] *om.* Le | swyche] *om.* Lo 199 doon] onys do LeH2b | besyness] desyre H2b | owith] ne
 owyth Le | neuere] *neuer after* Le, no more GLo | hym] *om.* Lo | non...200 synne] tho sennys Le
 200 þoo] tho sennys Le, *om.* H2b | woot] (haþe dow *canc.*) wetyþ H2b | verrily] vttyrly Le, *om.* GLo
 weer] where Le, dowte H2bGLo | inne] *om.* H2b, of Lo | aforn] befor Lo 201 quiche] suche
 LeH2b | crieth] ys shreuynd *and* askyth Le | he²] *om.* H2b | it] forþeuenes *and* *mercy* Le, *mercy*
 H2b | Anemptis...202 seruice] godys *seruyce in margin, in db* G | Anemptis] aȝens LeGLo 202 for]
 in Lo | thing] men Lo | owt] *om.* Lo | tendyn] to attende Le, to tenden GLo 203 non thing]
 goddys *seruyce and* to non oþir þinge H2b | hym of] *om.* Le | of¹] fro H2b | þe...of²] tendynge to
 Lo 204 Ne] *and* LeLo | þat is] *rev.* H2b | feend] deuele H2b 205 owyth¹] ne owyth LeH2b
 tende] to attende Le, to tende GLo | thingis] thing LeH2bGLo | hym...tarien] wolde tarye him
 LeLo | he²...to²] only H2b 206 to] whan he owith to H2b | crien] be *confessyd and* to aske Le
 forþeueness] ask foryeuenesse Lo | alle...207 mende¹] hys senne þat comyth þanne to hys mynde for
 Le, alle hys trespasse *and* hys synnys þat come to mynde H2b, alle his trespases *and* synne þat þanne
 comeþ to mynde þenke þat G, al his trespasse *and* syn þan oght to cum to mynd þat Lo 207 a tarie]
 taryeng Le, taryunge H2b, a taryunge GLo 208 God] good GLo | rathere steryn] *rev.* H2b | of] on
 LeH2bGLo | his] *rep.* Le | helpe] helpynge H2b 209 liff¹] (synne *canc.*) lyfe or of hys sowle H2b
 tarye] taryeng LeH2bGLo | of³] *om.* Lo

194 oleeue] 'believe', perhaps a form of *ileven*. | blent] '(spiritually) blinded'

The thridde *and* þe werst gile of alle is þat he makith in mannys conciense so [XIV.]
mekyl errour þat þat thing þat is non synne semyth synne, and a litel synne he
makith to semyn greuous *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 þis wile
is a man hooliche to rewlyn hym aftyr swiche men þat han cleer consciencis *and*
goode, *and* nouht aftyr his owyn. For swyche a man, if he folwid his owyn consience, 215
it weere a gret *pride* þat he wolde leetyng his witt betyr þan þe trewe loore of holy
chirche. And þerfore a man þat wolde so doon must nedynngis fallyn in vile heresijs
and fulli in þe bondis of þe feend. | And if swiche an errour of consience seye þat oþer f. 67v
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 220
of swiche thoutis, and he owith to puttyng away his errour consience. *And* if he seye
he may not, he seith nouth rith. For qwhoso wil don aweye a fals consience, afor
God it is away, þow þer leewe neuere so many domis *and* fals tarijs in his soule. And
swiche a man þat hath fals doomys *and* tarijs in consience ageyns his wil, he thar
neuere dredyn hym, for dredles God schal comforyng hym or þat he deye. And þe 225
lengere þat he suffre suche tarijs, þe moore is he worthi.

210 nota bene hic in margin Ca, 3 in margin G, ihesu in margin Lo | and...gile] gyle *and* the
werste LeLo | is] *om.* Le | he] *om.* Lo | in mannys] *rep.* Ca 211 þat þat] that Le | þat¹...semyth]
he thynkith ys noo synn(y *canc.*)e he demyþ ys synne (he makij *canc.*) H2b | þat²] þe Lo | synne¹] he
makyth | <to seme senn(e) top of letters cut by cropping of page Le | synne²] (non *canc.*) synne Ca | a]
thyng(e) a H2b 212 greuous] a grete senn(e) Le, so greuous G | deedly] a dedly synne Le | and²] þinge
H2b | to semyn²] hem senn(e) Le 213 as...doon] done as hit were Lo | it] they LeH2b | þe¹] *om.*
GLo | Nota in margin Le 214 is] ys þat Le | hooliche] onlyche Le, to obleche G, *om.* Lo | to] *om.*
Le 215 if...folwid] that folwyth Le | folwid] folow Lo 216 it] þat H2b | wolde leetyng] shold hold
Lo | witt] owne witte Lo | trewe] *om.* H2b 217 a...þat] 3yf a man Le | so] \so/ G | must] he
must Le | nedynngis] nedys LeH2bGLo | in vile] (in euyll *canc.*) in euyll Le | vile] *om.* H2b, foul
Lo 218 in] in to Lo | bondis] hand Lo | if] *om.* Le, \yf/ Lo | an] and H2b | of²] in LeH2bGLo
seye] he seyth Le 219 felith] felyd H2b | and²] but Le 220 for þat] for Le | not] not but Le
fantasie] fantasies Le | beholdyn] bownde Le, holde GLo 221 of] at Le | thoutis] fantasies Lo
and] but H2b | he¹] hym Lo | his] suche Le | errour] errourys of H2b, errour of GLo | And...
seye] *rep.* H2b 222 concyennce in margin, in d.b. G | wil] wilneþ to G | afor] bifore Lo 223 many]
\many/ Lo | domis...tarijs] fals domys *and* (fals H2b) taryengys LeH2bG, fals domes Lo | in...224
tarijs] *om.* GLo | his] þe H2b | soule] herte or sowle Le 224 tarijs] taryengys LeH2b | in...wil]
agens his wil in consience G, *om.* Lo | consience] his herte or concyens Le | he...225 neuere] him dar
not G, hym dar neuer Lo | thar] dare Le 225 hym¹] *om.* Lo | schal] schal euere G | þat] thanne
LeH2b, *om.* GLo 226 þat...227 Dominus] *om.* Lo | tarijs] taryengys LeH2bGLo | moore] more
mede Le | is he] *rev.* LeH2bGLo | propheta in margin Ca

216 leetyng] 'regard'

[XVII.] 'Multe tribulaciones iustorum et de omnibus hijs liberabit eos Dominus';⁷⁰ þe prophete seith: 'Many ben þe tribulaciouns of þe rithful men, and of alle God schal delyueren hem.' Many, diuers, and meruelious been þe maneris, as seith Seyn Austyn,
 230 ⁷³ be quiche þe wrong neddere, enmy to al mankende, turmentith mannys soule. And
 f. 68r 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 tarijs.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
 235 bodily, witbowtyn 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 Ihesu hymself schal confortyn hem in endeles blisse

227 Multe] the prophet dauid seyth: multe Le, for multe G | þe...228 seith] om. Le | þe] for þe Lo 228 ben...tribulaciouns] traveylys arn Le | tribulaciouns] tribulacyouns and (a *canc.*) trauayles H2b | þe rithful] riȝtwis GLo | þe²] om. LeH2b | alle] alle þes Le, alle þoo GLo | schal...229 delyueren] haȝ delyuereð GLo 229 Many] many be H2b | been...maneris] traueyls fallyth to man Le þe] dyuerse H2b | *augustinus in margin* Ca | seith...Austyn] seynt austyn seiȝ H2bGLo 230 be quiche] thorwȝ Le | quiche] þe whiche GLo | al] \al/ Le, om. H2bLo | turmentith...soule] om. Le turmentith] temptiȝ G | mannys] a rythful mannys H2b | And...231 Gregori] and seynt gregory seyth Le, seynt gregory sayth Br, and seint gregory seiȝ þat G, an gregory seith þat Lo 231 *gregorius in margin* Ca | is] ne ys H2b | in] by Br | been] thynke ourself Br | so sekyr] sekerere Le | so] om. H2b | of...232 cumfort] om. G | þe...232 cumfort] eyr lastyng yoy and of loue Br 232 and¹... cumfort] om. LeLo | in...tarijs] whan we suffer such troubls an trayyng Br | turmentis...tarijs] taries and turmentis G, tarynges and tormentes Lo | tarijs] taryengys Le, in taryngys H2b | *nota in margin* Br, gosty tormentis *in margin, in d.b.* G | if a] any H2b | man] wyse man Le | þat] the Le 233 turmentis] troubls Br | medful] nedeful G | but] and LeBr | gostly] the gostly traueylys Le, goostly troubls Br | nouth rith] to trouth Br | dredles] dowghtles Br 234 turmentis] troubls and lettyng Br | wers] much worse Br | bodily] bodyly turmentys Le | and...235 bodily] om. G | þei been] yt is Le | þan²...235 dred] om. Br 235 dred] dout Le, ony drede H2b | a] gret Br | with good] wiȝouten ony G, without Lo 236 seith...meedyn] so sayth. And whan þe enemy kanne by no menyis wakyng departe the soule fro God, than suffurth our lord hym to vex them whyle they ben slepyng, and þat ys of þe gret mercy of our lord that not oonly hys troubls wakyng to hym shuld be merite, but as well þe troubls suffred yn tyme of slepe. O yn howe many maners þe soule of a trewe and a ryghtwese man, dredyng God, ys tormentyd yn thys short and passing lyff! Br | may¹...werd] in þis world may H2b | moore turmentyn] do more turment G | Qwerfore...238 tarijth] And therfor ful profytable and a deed of gret charyte yt ys the soule þat so ys troubl to conforte and to strenkth Br 237 dredles] wythout dowte Le | chariteful...meedful] medeful, more charytefull Le | chariteful] charyte H2b | moore meedful] om. Lo | to] om. Ca 238 and...þat¹] the soulys and confort whiche Le | þoo...þat¹] þe soule whiche H2b, þe soule þat GLo | qwoso...239 desolaat] he þat so dothe Br 239 þe] our Br | comfort] all conforte Br | Ihesu hymself] ihesu Br, ihesu crist Lo | hymself] om. Br hem] hym BrLo

with his fadyr. Þe quiche lord, þourh þe myth of his precious blood, fel þe myht and 240
 þe bost of þe feend, and graunt Cristen mannys soule victori owyr þe qweed to
 worchepe of þat lord. ‘Qui viuít et regnat *Deus per omnia secula seculorum*’. Amen.

240 *with*...242 Amen] and also hym þat so doth suffur pacyently wyll our lord refreshe *wythout*
 dowght other yn thys world or ther as much better shall be to hym yn hys yoye euerlastyng to the
 whych he bryng vs þat *wyth* hys *precyouse* blode bought vs Br | Þe quiche] qwiche Le | þe¹...blood]
 his *precyous* passyoun Le | þe¹] *om.* H2b 241 graunt...242 Amen] sende vs grace to come to hys
 euerlastyng ioye and solace *with* hym to regne *withouten* ende Le | mannys] *mennys* Lo | soule]
 sowlys H2bGLo | þe³] þat H2bG | qweed] fend Lo 242 worchepe] the worschip G | þat lord] þe
 lord god G | Amen] *om.* GLo

241 qweed] ‘devil’

ME3

Here seweth a souereyn and a notable sentence to comferte a persone that is in temptacion.

Capitulum primum

Oure merciful lord God chastyseth hese childirn *and* suffereth hem to ben tempted for many *profytable* skeles to here soule *profizte*,¹ and þerfore ther schulde 5
no man ne woman ben hevy ne sory for no temptacion. For Seynt Iame the apostele thecheth vs þat we schulden haue wery gret joy *quan* we ben tempted *with* diuers temptacions: for as the goolde is purged *and* pured be fier,² and a knyght in hard batail is *preued* good but if he suffre hymself to ben ouerecome, right so is a man be temptacion *proued* for good but if he suffre hymself to ben ouerecome; þat is to seye, 10
but if he consente therto be *deliberacion*. Soothly *quan* a man is scharply tempted he may thanne hopen of gret vertu. For Seynt Austyn seyth þat þe *perfeccion* of euery vertu is for a man to be meche troubled *with* temptaciones,³ for euery vertu is *proued* be his contrary.

Oure enemy the fende is besy day *and* nyght to tarye *and* trauaylen goode men [I.]
and women *with* diuers temptaciones in doutes of the feythe, and dredes of sauacion, and other many mo in diuers maneris.⁵ And specially now in these dayes he is ful besy to dysese *and* to disseyve mannes soule. And þerfore wysely reule 3ou to *withstondyn* the fend in eche foundynge or vyolent temptynge of temptacion, and

1 Here...2 temptacion] A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns Wo, these remedies of temptacions þat folwen is named consolacio anime Ho | Here...comferte] Here after foloeth gret comforthe for D seweth] foloweth and enseweth W2 | and a] *om.* W2 3 Capitulum primum] *om.* WoHoW2D 4 God] god jhesu Wo, god cryst jhesu W2, god cryst D 5 skeles] causes W2D | soule] *om.* Wo profizte] helth W2D | ther] *om.* W2D 6 ne²] or W2D | no²] ony W2D | temptacion] but rather be glad and joyful *add.* Wo | For...7 þat] as þe apostell sanct Jamys sayth D | For] for as W2 7 thecheth] seith and techith Wo | þat] *om.* W2 | diuers] grete 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 | and²] and as Wo | hard] *om.* W2D 9 but...ouerecome] *om.* W2D | man] man or womman Wo | be] in D 10 for] *om.* WoHo | good] bifore god *add.* WoHo | if] *om.* Ho, yff þat D | suffre] lete WoHo | þat] which D 11 but if] but W2D | be deliberacion] wilfully bi deliberacioun WoHo | Soothly] for sothely W2, for doutles D | quan] when as D | man] man or a womman Wo 12 hopen] haue hope W2, haue a specyal hope D | gret] grace W2, grace and D For...13 is] and (þerfor D) it is necessary W2D | For] *om.* Wo 13 for¹...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 enemy] goostly enmye D | besy] euermore besy bothe D | tarye...trauaylen] trauaile 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 dysese...soule] deceyue many soules W2D | dysese...to²] *om.* Ho | wysely] se þat 3e discretly D | to³] for to WoHo 19 the...temptynge] his vyolent sterynges W2D | eche] euery Wo | or...temptynge] *om.* WoHo temptacion] temptacions D

20 3eue 3e no fors of alle his asawtes of doughtes, ne of dredis, ne of erroures, ne of
 dyspitt, ne of false lesynges, ne of fantasies, 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
f. 100v materis | of grete mede and no synne in no wyse, whether they ben trauelous or
 angwyschiouse þat comen of malice of þe feende or of yuel disposicion of mannes
 25 complexioun. And þerfore alle suche trauels men ouzten nouth to charge, but suffren
 mekely and abyden pacyently tyl God do remedye þerto. And for as moche as they
 ben materis of gret mede, no man aughte not to stryuen þerazens, ne merueyle of
 hem, ne seeke þe cause, ne þenk be quat skylle he is so traueiled. For þe more þat a
 man duelleth in sechyng *and* þenkyng of erroures *and* angwysches, þe more deeply
 30 he fallyth bothe into erroures *and* in angwyschis. And þerfore, for as moche as a
 mannes þought is often veyn⁶ and diuers *and* non ende hathe, it oweth not to ben
 chargede ne to be taken heed off.

20 3eue...22 hem⁴] *and* for all that take ye noo dredes of his assawtes ne haue ye [ony W2, noo W2bW2c] doubte of [his W2, this W2bW2c] erroures ne dyspytes nor of his false leasynges or fantasies or any maner of trauayle of that foule fende whether ye here hym se hym or thynke of hym take noo hede therof W2W2bW2c, se þat ye haue not drede of hys assauyttyng ne haue 3e no doute of hys false erroreyngs nor of hys lesyngys fantasies or any other maner of trawel of þe fowle fynde whether þat 3e here hym se hym or thynke apon hym D | 3e] *om.* Wo | alle] *om.* Wo 21 trauaylynge] trauaile Wo, trauailes Ho 22 þou] ye WoHo | hem¹] (hym *canc.*) hem Cb, hym WoHo | here] or here Wo hem²] hym WoHo | hem³] *om.* Wo, on hym Ho | hem⁴] hym WoHo | *nota mark in margin* H3 they] all W2, all theys D 23 no¹] nat WoHo | whether...24 comen] be they neuer soo troublous or [full of anguysshes W2, greouse D] whyles (þat D) it cometh W2D | ben] *om.* Wo 24 of¹] of the W2D | malice] the malice WoHo | or] or 3ett D | yuel] yll D | mannes] mannes or wommans Wo 25 complexioun] nature or compleccyon W2D | alle] of al WoHo | trauels men] traweld man or wemen D | trauels] trauaile WoW2, trauayled W2bW2c | men] men and wymmen Wo | charge] dred Wo, charge theyme to myche tharwith D | suffren] suffre hem WoD 26 tyl...remedye] to it please god at sende a remedy D 27 ben] \been/ H3 | materis] mater H3 | no...not] none ought W2D | no man] man ne womman Wo | no] *om.* Ho | stryuen þerazens] stryue ouermyche agayne thaym D | ne] nor W2D | of²...28 hem] þerof WoHo 28 ne¹...traueiled] nor gruche in hys thought thynkyng why or wharfore is he so gretly traweld D | ne²] nor W2 | skylle] cause Wo | traueiled] troubled Wo | þe²] *om.* D 29 man] man or a womman Wo | duelleth] laboureth W2D | sechyng] schynyng H3 | and¹] or D | of] nf [*sic*] W2b | erroures and] suche W2D | and²] and in WoHo angwysches] anguyse D 30 he] he or she Wo | fallyth] shal fall D | bothe] *om.* WoHoW2D | into] in WoHo | erroures] gret erroers D | and...angwyschis] *om.* W2D | for] in W2D | a...31 mannes] mannes H3W2D 31 mannes] mannes or a wommans Wo | often] oftyms D | non...hathe] hayth no ende D | oweth] ne ought Wo | to...32 off] gretly to be regayrdyd or set bye D 32 chargede] forced W2 | ne to] or W2 | to...off] take hede therto Wo, take hed therof Ho

21 lesynges] 'lies'; ME2 has *leuyng*, 'beliefs'

Ne a man schulde not angre hymself *witbal*, ne blame, ne arette it to his owne [II.]
 defaute þat he is so traueiled. For swiche trauailes ben peyneful *and* not synful, for as
 moche as þei ben gretly ageyn his wil. Seynt Austyn seyth þat euery synne lyeth in 35
 wilful wil, and quat þat is azens a mannes wil, it is not synne.⁷ And þe holy doctour
 Ysodre, De summo bono, seyth þat þe fende tempteth a man no more þan God
 zeueth hym leue.¹¹ Þerfore lete vs alwey haue a good wil to wilne weel *and* to do wel,
 and God wil kepe vs *and* zeue vs þe victorye, and þe fende schal ben confounded.
 Feith *and* hope ben grounde of al perfeccion *and* roote of al vertues; þerfore oure olde 40
 enemy þe fende is ful besy *with* all his slyghtes to drawe þe soule doun þerfro. And it
 falleth somtyme þat þe fende tempteth and trauaileth a rightful soule so scharply þat
 it is ouereleid *with* care *and* dreuen to dispeir. Al þat tyme, þou3 the soule perseyue it
 nought, it dwelleth stille in þe dreed *and* in the loue of God, | and all þat trauaile is *f. 101r*
 to his soule gret meede afore the sighte of God. For oure lord of his endles mercy 45
 arettip 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 azens þe wil of God *with*
 deliberacion, þanne synne we; but quan we ben drawn *with* wykkyd vilenous

33 Ne] nor D | a man] man ne womman ne Wo | hymself] hem or hysilf Wo | withal] þere
 wipalle H3, therwith WoHoW2D | ne¹] nor D | ne²] nor D | arette] impute W2, repute D 34 he]
 he or she Wo | traueiled] troubled W2D | peyneful] euermore D | and] but W2 | for as] in soo
 W2D 35 gretly] *om.* D | his] *om.* WoHo | Seynt...36 synne] *peccatum est adeo <oluntarium quod
 < non sit volun <m non est peccatum in margin, possibly in scribal hand, cropped* H3 36 wilful] his
 wylful W2c | quat...is¹] what that euer it be that is Ho, what so euer be D | a mannes] mannes
 W2D | mannes] mannes or a wommans Wo | it...not] is no WoW2D, it is no Ho | synne] synne to
 hem Wo | doctour] *om.* Wo 37 De...bono] *om.* WoHo, de summo bono *tercio libro* H3 | a...no] no
 man D | man] man or a womman Wo | no] (neuer mo *canc.*) no H3 38 leue] lycense exemplum de
 Job D | Þerfore] and þerfor D | alwey haue] haue alwey WoW2, haue euermore D | wilne...to²] god
 and W2bW2cD | wilne] wyll W2 | and...wel] *om.* Wo | to²] *om.* W2D | wel] well in as meche as
 we may in quantum possimus D 39 and¹...wil] and than wyll god D | God] he Wo | and³] *and* so
 W2D 40 ben] is WoHoW2D | vertues] vertue W2D | þerfore] and therfore W2D 41 soule] soule
 of man WoD | doun] *om.* D 42 falleth] happeth W2D | rightful] *om.* Wo, ryghtwyse W2D 43 it
 is] *om.* Ho | dreuen] drivith it Wo | Al] and al Wo, and yet all W2D | þou3...perseyue] the soule
 perceivith Wo | þou3] yff D | perseyue] *percey* | *perceyue* H3 44 it] and Wo | dreed...loue] drede
 and loue W2, loue and dreyd D | in²] *om.* H3 | and²] and doutles D | all þat] his WoHo | þat] thys
 D 45 his soule] theyr W2D | soule] *om.* H3WoHo | afore] befor D | the...of] *om.*
 H3WoHoW2D | lord] lord god jhesu Wo, lord gode Ho 46 to¹...soule] *om.* WoHo | þat¹] þat for
 H3 | þat²] whiche W2D | the²...47 soule] to any man without any wil of the same man Wo, *withoute*
 eny wil of this ilke soule Ho 47 soule] *withouten* ony wylle of the selue soule *add.* H3, without the
 consente or wyll of the sayd selfe soule *add.* W2D | be...don] do wiked synne wilfully Wo | be...
 fully] wylfully W2D | be...owne] ben Ho | owne] *om.* H3 | with] by D 48 deliberacion]
 deliberacion and avisement Wo | synne we] we *commytte* synne actually W2D | ben] *om.* W2c
 vilenous] *om.* WoHo, vyolence or vyle W2D

boughtes and turmented *with* dispeir and þoughtes azens oure owne wil þurgh
 50 fondyngge or violent temptyngge of þe fende, we sufferen peyne, but we don no synne.
 12 And zet þe sely soules knowliche is hid be þat turment.

Capitulum secundum

[III.] But often the temptyngge of þe fende þat maketh þe soule to erre in feyth and
 to fantasye in dispeire semeth gret synne to a manis soule, and is not so. For all holy
 55 doctoures seyn þat feith *and* hope ben vertues of a mannes wil. Wherefore whoso
 wolde rightfully beleue, he is in right beleue afor God, and whoso wold trustely
 hope, he his in trusty hope afor God, þough he be neuere so moche trauailed *with*
 weerful þoughtes or doughteful. Þe apostle Seynt Poule seyth þat in a mannes wil is
 þe beleue of rightwysnes,¹³ of whiche wordes seyth þe glose þat al only in mannes
 60 wil, whiche may not be constreyned, lieth bothe meede and gylt. Þat is to seyn, a
 man afor God hath neuere meede ne gylt for no dede, but only of tho dedes þat ben
 don wilfully. But sumtyme mannes þoughtes and womannes ben so trauailede and
 ouereleid 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

49 turmented] turmentis Wo, tormenteth W2c | and þoughtes] *om.* W2D | and²] *with* Wo,
om. Ho | owne] *om.* WoHoW2D 50 fondyngge...fende] the fendes vyolent temptyngge W2D
 fondyngge...temptyngge] mocvyng Wo, funding Ho | we¹] then we WoD 51 zet] *om.* H3 | turment]
 turment that it may nat see it ne have the trewe [knowlacyng of it Wo, knowing therof Ho] WoHo,
 malicyose turnamentyng of þe feynde D 52 Capitulum secundum] *om.* WoHo, the seconde chapytre
 W2, to knawe when a man hayth true faythe and hope and a gud wyll. *Capitulum secundum* D
 53 But...54 so] *om.* WoHo | often] yet ryght often W2, zet ryght ofte tymys D | þat] whiche D
 and...54 fantasye] and foule fantasye *and* W2, with fowle fanteseys and D 54 semeth] appareyth D
 gret...soule] to the selfe soule grete synne W2D | and] but it W2, bot doutles it D | For] *om.*
 WoHo | all] all the H3 55 feith...hope] feelith and hopith that al suche Wo | of] to Wo | a
 mannes] mannes W2D 56 wolde] wolde and is in wil Wo, wele Ho | rightfully] ryghtwysly
 WoW2D | beleue¹] to bileue Wo, byleue in this lyf W2D, byleue in his lyfe W2c | afor] bfore
 WoW2 | and] and lyke wyse W2D | whoso] who that Wo | wold] wolde here W2D, wele Ho
 trustely] trustfully Wo 57 hope¹] haue hope doutles D | trusty] true D | afor] before W2D
 þough] alof D | neuere...58 doughteful] taried never so moche in contrary thoughtis Wo, neuere so
 taried in werisum thouztes Ho | trauailed] troubled W2D 58 weerful] wer\e/fulle H3, ferefull W2D
 or doughteful] *om.* H3W2D | Seynt] *om.* Ho | in] *om.* WoHo | wil...59 beleue] byleue is wylfull
 byleue W2D 59 of²] on Wo, appon D | whiche] the whiche W2D | mannes] a mannes Wo
 60 whiche...be] that is nat WoHo | not] \not/ D | þat...61 gylt] *om.* H3 | þat...seyn] *om.* Wo, and
 Ho | þat] whyche D 61 man] man or a womman Wo | afor] before HoD | neuere] neither Wo
 ne] nor D | for] of WoHo | only] al onely D | of] for H3D | tho] the W2D 62 But] *neuer*þelaysse
 D | mannes...womannes] a mannes or a wommans thought Wo | mannes] a manes Ho | þoughtes]
 thought W2D | and¹] or Ho | trauailede] troubled W2D 63 knowen] so knowe Wo | And] and yet
 W2 | þough] yf D | thei] yit thei Wo | not...64 care] to knowe Wo, *om.* Ho 64 *nota mark in*
margin H3 | For] for euermore D | alwey] euer Wo, furthe D | a¹] *om.* W2 | and...wil²] *om.* Wo
 euele] yll D | yuel wil] schewys fourthe *an* yll wyll D | Werfore] whereappon D

a man þat doth in dede the seruice of God, þat man hath a good wil to God, þou3 his 65
 traualouse herte deme the contrarye. Also þer schulde | no creature demen his euen- f. 101v
 cristen for no werse fantasies or douteful but if thei haue a very opyn knowynge of
 þat þinge for whiche thei schulden deme hem. Fore þer schulde non demen yuel of
 man ne woman for a thinge þat 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 70
 plyght þat it were parted fro God for ony versum fantasies or douteful.

Capitulum tertium

And if it so be þat 3e haue consentid and fallen in ony temptacion, beth sory
 and crieth God mercy þerof and beth not discomforted þerfore. Þenke wel on þe grete 75
 mercy of God, how he forzaf Daudid his grete synnes, and Petir, and Maudeleyn, and
 not only hem but also alle tho þat haue be or mow bee *and* schulen ben contrite for
 here synnes and cryen God mercy. Þerfore, sustir, fle to hym þat al mercy is jnne, and
 aske mercy, and 3e shuln haue mercy and for3euenesse of all 3oure synnes; and meke
 you louly to þe sacramentis of holy cherche, and þanne 3e owen to beleuen trustily

65 man¹] man or a womman Wo | in...God¹] the seruice of god in dede Wo | man²] man or
 womman Wo | hath] doutles haythe D | to] vnto Wo | þou3] alof D 66 Also] and therfor Wo
 67 no...douteful] ony doubtfull fantasies W2D | werse...douteful] weersum or douteful fantasies H3
 werse] werisoum Wo, wersum Ho | or douteful] om. WoHo | opyn] om. Wo, true D | knowynge]
 knowlege W2D 68 for...Fore] whiche (þat D) they sholde deme hym for W2D | hem] hym Wo
 þer...69 doute] om. W2D 69 man] a man Ho | ne] nor Wo, or Ho | þat] \þat/ Wo | oncerteyn] in
 none certein Ho | weere...doute] doute Wo, weer Ho | And...so] than W2D | right so] sey þat Wo
 70 yuel] rep. Wo, yll D | not...resonable] vnreasonable 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 thyrd
 chapytre W2, howe a man þat fallys in syn may ryse agayne and howe a man scholde constauntly stande
 in temptacion. Capitulum terciū D 73 And] and than W2D | it so] also H3, so Wo | it] om. D
 þat] om. W2 | 3e] I Ho, \3e/ D | in...temptacion] to synne by ony temptacions W2D | in] into
 Wo | beth] thou be D, than be W2 74 crieth God] crye to god for D | beth] yet be ye W2D
 discomforted þerfore] gretly discomfourth D | þerfore] om. WoHoW2 | Þenke...on] but thynke well
 on W2, bot remember well D 75 synnes] synne Wo | and¹] om. W2 | and²] with D | Maudeleyn]
 Marie Magdalenne Wo, þer synys add. D 76 haue...for] bien sory and contrite and shryven of Wo
 be...bee] om. Ho | mow] now H3W2D | and] or H3W2D | schulen] schal HoW2D 77 and¹...
 mercy¹] *and* meke them lowly and crye our lorde mercy W2, beyng in wyll no more to fall and meke
 theymselffe lowly and crye to oure lorde ihesu for mercy D | Þerfore...to] and therfore good broder or
 suster fle fast vnto D | Þerfore] and therfore W2 | sustir] euery man and womman in suche plite
 Wo | al] \al/ D 78 and¹...mercy²] om. Wo | shuln] schal D | mercy and²] it with W2D | synnes]
 synne Wo | meke...79 sacramentis] take \þe sacra/mentys D 79 to þe] *and* take the W2 | trustily]
 om. Wo, faythfully W2D

66 demen] 'judge' 71 versum] 'doubtful' (*weresom*; ME2 has *werous*)

80 þat thei ben forʒouen, *and* ʒe receyued into grace of God. For God seyth hymself be
 his profete Ezechiel þat quan a synful man sorowth for his synnes he wele neuere
 more haue mynde þerof.¹⁴ And if a man may parceyue in his herte no verry sorwe,
 and þouʒ he þenke quan he biddeth his bedes or cryeth to God for *mercy* þat he doth
 al aʒens herte, herefore schulde he not deme hymself *graceles*. For whoso wold haue
 85 very sorwe for his synnes, in þe doom of God he hath very sorwe for his synnes, and
 whoso wolde in herte crye God *mercy* veryly, he crye God *mercy* veryly. For as I haue
 seyde afore, God taketh heed to mannes wil and not aftir his trauelous fantasies. It is
f. 102r good þat a man take non heed of alle swiche trauelous | fantasies and stringes þat
 comen on this wyse, for God heydeþ fro hem the knowleche for grete skeles, to here
 90 profyʒte of soule. Suyche passyons is no synne, but mater of grace *and* of grete
 merite, *and* so þenke alwey.

[IV.] And if it be so þat þe temptacyons cesen 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, ʒoure crede, and knowlyche ʒoure beleue *and* ʒoure hope be mouthe, and þenk

80 thei] your synnes W2D | forʒouen] youe *add.* D | ʒe] that ye bien WoHoW2D | grace] the grace WoHoW2, \þe/ grace D | hymself] *om.* Wo 81 his¹] the Wo | Ezechiel] *om.* WoHo synful man] *rev.* Wo | sorowth] makys sorowe D 82 more haue] *rev.* H3 | more] *om.* WoHoW2D mynde] on hem *add.* Wo | þerof] thereafter Wo, ther of aftir HoD | a man] a man or a womman Wo may] *om.* W2D | no] as Wo 83 þouʒ] alof D | he¹] he or she Wo | he²] he or she Wo | biddeth... bedes] sayth hys prayers D | his] their Wo | for] *om.* WoHo 84 herte] his hart D | herefore] yit for al that Wo, yet for <þat?> Ho, yet therefore W2, yet therof D | he] he or she Wo | hymself] hym or hir Wo | whoso] whoso that Wo, whoso euer D 85 very¹] varey true D | in...synnes²] he hath veray sorowe for his synnes in the dome of God WoHo, *om.* W2D | and...86 veryly²] or wold crye god mercy for them or in his herte wold crye for mercy he cryeth god mercy truly W2, or in his hart crye to god for *mercy* of theyme doutles he schall haue *mercy* and forgeuenes of all hys synnys D 86 whoso wolde] wil Wo | mercy¹] *om.* Wo 87 afore] before W2D | to] vnto D | mannes] a mans WoHo wil] mynd H3 | aftir] to WoW2D | fantasies] a man (or a womman Wo) shal nat be deemed after that he feelith but after that (þat Ho) he wold feele with a ful advised wil *add.* WoHo | It] therfor it D 88 good...man] a goode man or a womman Wo | þat¹] *om.* Ho | of] to DW2bW2c | alle] *om.* W2D | swiche] whiche Ho | trauelous] *om.* W2D | and] or W2D | stringes] (*strin canc.*) sterynges H3 89 on...wyse] *om.* WoHo, in suche maner W2D | hem] hym Wo | knowleche] knowleche of hem H3, [knowleges W2, knowlege D] of suche fantasies W2D | for²...skeles] for many causes W2D for²] and that for Wo | to...90 soule] [vnto W2, for D] the proufyte of theyr soules W2D | here...90 soule] grete profite of their soulis Wo 90 soule] soules Ho | Suyche] wherfore suche W2, whereapon suche D | is] ben H3WoW2 | no synne] not synfull W2D | but] but rather W2D | mater...and] *om.* D 91 so] therfore D | þenke alwey] thynke ye alwey hardily Wo, good syster thynke ye alwey W2, gud broder or suster thyngke ʒe thus euermore D 92 temptacyons cesen] temptacyon cease W2D waxen...more²] wexen more and more allewey H3, waxen more Wo, wexen more *and* more Ho, wax euermore and more apon you D 93 aferd] afrayed W2, afrayed þerapon D | sey] \sey/ H3 | among... 94 crede] your crede emong in þe worschip of god and in dispite of þe feynde D | in¹] to WoHo | in²] *om.* Wo, to Ho | dispite] the spyte W2 94 crede] credo WoW2bW2c | ʒoure³] *om.* W2D | be mouthe] *om.* W2D

on þe wordes of Seynt Poule þat seyth: ‘knowleche of mouth is don to helthe of 95
soule’.¹³ And thei mow not ben disseyued be the fendes wyles þat *with* a good
ayusement bothe in warde *and* wil withstondeth þe feende. For was þer neuere man
disseyved 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 douteful
trauelous wil putteth not away a man fro God. 100

Capitulum quartum

And þerfore þer schulde no man kare ne ben hevy þat he is so traueiled more [V.]
þan another. 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 writings, for al is mankende. And
forthermore as touchynge 3oure troubles, þenke 3e in alle 3oure diseses qw\h/at 105
troubles and diseses Goddis seruauantis haue suffred, what peynes *and* quat tormentes
þei haue had here in erthe in many sondre maneris, and 3e schal fynden cause to
suffre. Leo þe pope seith þat it falleth somtime þat goode *and* r[i]ghteful soules ben [VII.]
sterde be þe feende, and somtyme be sterynge of complexion, to angres, troubles,

95 on] apon D | þat seyth] *rev.* H3 | þat] for he D | knowleche] knowlachyng WoHo
mouth] the mowth Wo | don] euermore done D | helthe] the helth Wo, the helpe W2D 96 soule]
the soule Wo, soules W2D | mow] shall W2D | disseyued] dissolved ne be disceived Wo | be] with
Ho | fendes] devils Wo | wyles] gylders D | þat] wych D | a¹] *om.* WoHo 97 ayusement]
wysement D | þe feende] hym strongly W2D | For] for doutles D | was...neuere] ther was never ne
never shal be Wo | was þer] *rev.* W2D | man] man ne womman Wo 98 *manicula in margin* H3
withouten assent] but by consent W2, but throughe consent D | with] that with W2, þat is D | a]
om. Wo | þat...100 God] as the herte consented with the same for other fantastycall troublous wylles
putteth not away man from god W2, as þe harte consenttes (to *canc.*) vnto þe same for all other
fantastycall troubelouse wyllys putttes no man frome god D 99 ful] fully Wo | herte] his owne wil and
herte Wo | wersum...douteful] *veray* Wo | or douteful] *om.* Ho 100 away...man] a man away H3
away] *om.* Wo | a man] a man ne a womman Wo 101 *Capitulum quartum*] *om.* WoHo, the fourth
chapytre W2, howe it is profitable to man or woman to haue and suffer temptacion. *Capitulum quartum*
D 102 þerfore] *om.* D | þer] *om.* H3W2 | man] man ne womman Wo | ne] nor W2D | ben] \be/
D | so] *om.* WoD | traueiled] troubled W2D 103 Sister...104 mankende] *om.* D | Sister] but lo
Wo | man¹] a man WoW2 | take it] takith Wo 104 ment] takyn Ho | for²] *om.* Ho | And...106
suffred] moreouer all 3e that dothe feyll yourselfe troubled in any of þes temptacions thyngke in all your
deseyases what panys and troubles goddys seruauantys hayth sufferd D 105 forthermore as] *om.* Wo
forthermore] sustir Ho | troubles] troublis that so arn troubled Wo | 3e] *om.* W2 | qw\h/at] and
Wo 106 and diseses] *om.* W2 | haue suffred] suffreth Wo | haue] *om.* Ho | what] wiþ Wo, and
what W2D | quat] *om.* W2D 107 erthe] this worlde W2D | in²] after D | sondre] sundry and
dyuers Wo, diuers D | and...108 suffre] *om.* WoHo | 3e...108 suffre] doutles then schall 3e fynde gret
cause to suffer pacyently al thyng for þe loue of god D 108 seith] seith in his omelies Wo | þat¹] *om.*
W2D | falleth] happeth W2D | righteful] rghteful Cb, ryghtwyse W2D 109 sterde] styred sharpely
W2D | and...complexion] *om.* WoHo | sterynge of] theyr owne W2D | sterynge] stre styrynge H3
to] vnto D | angres] grete angres Wo

97 ayusement] ‘deliberation’

110 taryenges, *and* diseases of dredes þat it semeth to h\ē/m her lif a torment and here
 deth an ease, in so moche þat somtyme for disese þei begynnen to dispeire bothe of
f. 102v here | lyf of body and of here soule. And thei wenen þat þei ben forsaken of God,
 whiche asayeth and proueth his chosen frendes be temptacyons *and* angres. But these
 fondynges or vyolent temptynge *and* angwischis ben but purgynges *and* preuynges of
 115 the soule, for as I sette *and* seyde at þe begynnyng of þis wrytynge, right as þe feir
 purgeth golde, *and* a knyght also is preuyd good *and* hardy be bataile, right so
 temptacions *and* trubles proueth *and* pureth þe rightful man.¹⁹ This is proued wel be
 Thobie, for the aungel Raphael seide to Thobie thus: 'For as moche as þou were
 rightful to God, it was nedeful þat temptacion schulde prouen thi wil.'²²

[V.] It is weel knowen þat seknesse falleth to a man aftir the disposicion of his
 complexion. And Leo þe pope seith þat the feende aspyeth in euery 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

[VII.] hym most *with* gostly temptacions.¹⁶ But þese, if thei wiln be meded of God, schape

110 taryenges...dredes] dredes [and W2, with D] suche other taryenges W2D | diseases of] *om.*
 WoHo | h\ē/m] h(y *canc.*)\ē/m Cb | her] that their Wo | lif] lif is WoD | and²...111 ease] *om.*
 W2D 111 in] in to Ho | disese] very drede W2, verey fereyful drede D | begynnen to] fallen in
 WoHo | bothe...112 soule] of body (lif Ho) and soule WoHo | of...112 here¹] in W2D 112 of here]
om. W2D | And...wenen] thynkyng W2D | þat] *om.* W2 113 whiche] the which Ho | asayeth...
 angres] bien his [preued Wo, priue Ho] and chosen chieldren and special friendis WoHo | asayeth...
 proueth] dooth it but to [assaye and proue W2, preyue and assay D] W2D | proueth] proue(d *canc.*)th
 Cb | frendes] chylidren and frendes W2D | temptacyons...angres] suche temptacyons W2D | But...
 115 soule] *om.* W2D 114 or...temptynge] *om.* WoHo | but] nat but (p *canc.*) but Wo | and²...115
 soule] of the soule and preuenges H3 | and²] *om.* Ho 115 sette and] *om.* WoHo, afore haue W2,
 before hayth D | right] in lyke maner W2D | þe²] *om.* WoHoW2D 116 purgeth] puriþ H3WoHo
 and¹] and also as Wo, and as W2D | knyght] k\ŋ/y3te H3 | also] *om.* HoW2D | preuyd] proved for
 Wo, preuyn and for Ho | be] in sharp Wo, be scharpe *and* hard Ho, in D 117 temptacions] sharp
 temptaciouns Wo, hard *and* scharp temptacions Ho, (in *canc.*) temptacyons D | trubles] tribulacyons
 D | preueth...pureth] purgeth W2D | pureth] purgen H3 | þe...man] a ryghtwyse soule W2D
 þe] a Wo | man] man and womman Wo | This...wel] whiche may wel be proued D | is proued]
 preuith Ho | wel] *om.* Wo 118 for] for as W2c | to...thus] this to hym W2, thus vnto hym D
 For] Toby for W2D | were] arte W2D 119 rightful] rightwis Wo | was] is W2D | temptacion]
 temptacions Ho 120 It...weel] and (ryght D) well it is W2D | aftir] accordyng to D 121 And] so
 lyke wyse (temptacyon W2) as W2D | þat] *om.* W2D | feende] fende our [ghostly W2D ghohly [*sic*]
 W2c] enemy W2DW2c | man] man and womman Wo | in²...122 in¹] what wyse he is dysposed by
 his W2, what he is most disposyd vnto by hys D 122 and...123 complexion] *om.* Wo | aftir] by W2,
 accordyng vnto D | disposicion] same disposycyon D | a...123 complexion] hym W2D 123 as] *om.*
 WoHo | a man] *om.* Ho | humors of] *om.* W2D | he²] ne he Wo, then he D 124 gostly] *om.* D
 temptacions] temptacyons of ire W2D | þese...God] they that wyll attende to withstande it for the
 loue of god (doutles D) they must W2D | wiln] wold Wo | meded] moeved Wo | schape] lete shape
 Wo, prepare D

hem to pacyens, and seye thei *with* Iob: 'Sethen we haue receyued of God benefetis, 125
 why schulde we not receyue *and* suffre disese?'²³ \And þing on the disese/ þat oure [VIII.]
 lord Ihesu Crist suffred hymself here on erthe, and suffred his blissed modir to haue
 also. And þenk weel also þat ze may not in þis frel worlde ben so free as [an] aungel
 þat is conformed in grace, but while zoure body *and* soule beth togydre in this lyf, ze
 most receyue troubles as weel as esys. And þenke not þat God hath forsake zou, but 130
 mekely abydeth the comfort of God, and dredles quan it veryly nedeth, ze schul not
 failen þerof. | For trusteth weel þerto þat quan ze felen zou in suche plyghte, þat *f. 103r*
 grace is veryly with you.

But som men, quan thei haue dredes of sauacion or ben tempted to dispeir, or
 if thei haue any vycious gostly sterynge or grete felynges of here owne frelte, thei 135
 wenen anon þat thei haue synned in the holy gost.²⁵ And þanne þe fende putteth in
 hem þat it may neuere ben forzouen and þerfore thei may not be saued. Þus speketh
 þe fende *withinne* hem, and afrayeth some sely creaturis þat þei wenen þat thei schuln
 gon oute of here mynde. But ze þat ben þus tempted, answeere þe fende azen þat he is

125 to] myghtaly vnto Wo | seye thei] lete hem sey Wo | thei] *om.* W2D | Iob] þe holy man
 Iob D | *manicula in margin* H3 | benefetis] many goodis and benefettis Wo, so grete benefaytes W2,
 mony gret benefactys and plessurs D 126 we not] *rev.* Ho | receyue...suffre] suffre and receive
 WoHo | and...disese] also dyseaces and suffer temptacyon D | disese] diseases W2 | \And...disese/
added in margin Cb, *om.* Wo | \And] and in most specyall D | on] apon D | disese/] grete
 anguysshes sorowes and diseases W2, gret panys and sorowys D | þat] of H3Wo 127 Ihesu] swet
 ihesu D | hymself...128 also¹] his blissed moder to have in erth Wo, his blissid modir haue here in
 erthe Ho | on] in W2D | and] and also (he D) W2D 128 also¹] the same W2D | And] and howe
 dyseesy ys the way to heuenwarde and H3, and thynke that to suffre dysease pacyently is the way to
 heuenwarde and W2, then thynke for to suffer temptacyons or sekenes pacyently is þe next way to
 heueynwarde and D | þenk...also²] *om.* W2D | ze...not] ther may non WoHo | may...worlde] in
 thys frayle worlde may not D | an aungel] aungel CbH3Ho, angel is Wo 129 þat] wiche D
 conformed] *conserved* Wo | in¹] by W2D | but while] for doutles as long as D | body...soule] soule
 and body Wo | soule] your soule H3 | ze] they W2 130 troubles] trobles and temptacyon D | esys]
 helthe or plesurs D | not] weele also Wo | hath] haþ not H3Wo 131 abydeth] abide yee Wo
 God] hym W2D | dredles] *verily* 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 Wo, ther be þat D | dredes] drede W2D | or²...135 vycious] by vysyons or W2D, vysyons or
 W2c 135 if] *om.* Ho | thei¹] thow Wo | sterynge] stirynges H3W2D | or...felynges] *om.* W2D
 grete...frelte] feelyng WoHo | thei²...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] whan WoHo, so
 D | fende] devil Wo | in²] a thought in D 137 hem] him Ho | it] they W2D | neuere] not Ho
 forzouen...saued] saued [nor W2D, or W2c] (zet D) forgyuen of theyr [trespaces W2, synnys D]
 W2DW2c | Þus] for thus D 138 þe...withinne] \þe fende *with/* in D | hem] him Ho | and...sely]
 so ferynge synne good W2 | afrayeth...139 mynde] makys mony good creaturis so ferde þat they are
 lyke to go cleyne oute of theyre wytte D | þat²...schuln] to W2 139 mynde] myndes W2 | But...
 ben] and therfore all suche as be D | ze] they W2 | answeere] aghte to answeere D | azen] thus agayne
 W2 | þat²] and sei to hym that WoD | is] is as he hath be ever and wil be Wo

140 fals and a lyer; it is his nature to ben soo. For the synne of þe holy gost, as clerkes
 seyn, is infenyte *withowten* repetaunce, and þat is *quan* a man wilfully be deliberacion
 wole not ben repetaunt, ne aske of God *mercy* ne forzeueneesse of his synnes, ne wole
 not be turned, but wilfully departeth hym from the godnesse of God, and in this
 wretchednesse abydeþ wilfully *with* ful consentynge of wil, and leueth *and* deyeth
 145 þerinne. He þat dooth þus synneth in þe holy gost, whiche may not ben forzeuen
 here ne elleswhere. For he wolde not truste in þe goodnesse of þe holy gost and aske
 forzeueneesse of his synnes, and a man þat wil no *mercy* aske may no *mercy* haue.
 This is infenyte *withouten* repetaunce. But þough a man or woman haue or feele alle
 þe vycious sterynges and as many mo as ony herte kan þenke, aʒens here owne free
 150 wil, and alwey *quan* reson cometh to hem thei ben mysplayed *withal* and fleen alwey
 to goddys *mercy*, it is to hem but *preuyng* *and* clensynge of synnes, þouʒ thei been
 often in the nyght *and* in the day now vp, now down, as wrasteleris ben. And þouʒ ʒe
f. 103v haue | ony tyme vturly fallen in ony synne gostly or fleshly, and lyen þerinne wilfully
 be deliberacion and ful consent of herte, þanne beeth soory *and* aske God
 155 forzeueneesse, and euere more þenke fully þat þe goodnesse of þe holy gost

140 fals...a] a false D | it...soo] as his nature is to be W2D | his] *om.* Ho | nature] nature
 and his kynde Wo | clerkes] gret clerkys D 141 is¹] it is D | infenyte...repetaunce] that a man wil
 nat repente hym of his synne never in al his lif Wo | repetaunce] any repentance D | be] with Wo
 deliberacion] deliberacioun and advisement Wo 142 not...repetaunt] neuer repente (hym D) W2D
 ne¹...of¹] nor aske W2D | of¹] *om.* Ho | mercy ne] *om.* WoHo | ne²...of²] for D | ne³...143 not]
 nor wyll W2D 143 turned] turned fro them D | hym] *om.* Wo | godnesse] mercy and the goodnes
 of god Wo | God] bothe body and soule *add.* D | in] *om.* D | this] his W2, this W2bW2c
 144 consentynge] consent W2D | and¹...145 þerinne] *om.* W2, vnto þat dethe depart hym D 145 He]
 dowltes 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 | forzeuen] forzeuense [*sic*] H3
 146 here...elleswhere] *om.* WoHo | ne] nor W2 | wolde] wil WoW2D | in] *om.* Ho | goodnesse...
 þe²] *om.* WoHo | and] nor W2, nor ʒet D 147 forzeueneesse of] mercy for D | forzeueneesse]
 foryeuenes of the holi gost and aske foryeuenes Wo | and] for Wo, and therefore W2D | a man] he
 W2D | no¹...aske] have no mercy WoHo | no¹] not H3 | may...mercy²] noo mercy shall (he D)
 W2D | no²] not H3 148 This is] for his synnes be W2D | is] *om.* H3 | woman] a woman W2
 or²] and WoHo | alle...149 þe] thus Wo 149 þe] þese H3HoW2D | kan] may D 150 alwey¹] *om.*
 HoW2D | hem] hym Wo | thei ben] he is Wo | thei] þen they D | mysplayed withal] sory therof
 W2D | withal] with hem and he is nat pleasid therwith Wo | fleen] fleeth Wo | alwey²] alwey
 hastely W2, away hastely D 151 goddys mercy] the mercy of god W2D | *manicula in margin* H3 | it]
 dowltes it D, is W2c | to²...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 | þouʒ] yff þat D 152 often]
 neuer soo ofte W2D | in the²] *om.* Ho | in²] *om.* WoW2D | And] *om.* H3 | þouʒ] yf D | ʒe] he
 Wo 153 vturly] *om.* W2D | ony²] to D | lyen] hayth abyde D 154 consent] assent Wo | þanne]
 ye than ought to W2, dowltes þen aght ʒe to D | beeth] if he be Wo | God] of god Wo
 155 forzeueneesse] [*forgyuenes* W2, *mercy* D] with [*as* W2, a W2c] grete contrycyon as god wyll gyue
 you grace W2DW2c | euere more] than W2D | fully] wilfully Wo | þat] *om.* W2D

surmountheth all synnes þat euere were doun *and* euere schul be don. [For þou3 a man had don all þe synnes þat euere were don and euere schul be don], þou3t, and seyde into þe day of jugement, *and* he were wery contrite *and* asked God for3eue\ne/sse, and mekely lowned hym to þe sacramentis of holy cherche, he schuld haue mercy *and* for3euenesse of all his synnes. 160

þe mercy of God is so gret þat it passeth alle his werkes.³¹ And þou3 somtyme 3e heren speke or reede in bokes sharpe wordes *and* harde sentencys, comfرتeth 3oureself *and* þenke weel þat alle swiche harde wordis ben seyde *and* wretyn to chasteise synneres and to withdrawe 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. 165
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, 3e shul not taken hem to 3ou-ward, but þenketh in comfرتe of 3oureself þat alle harde sentens moun ben fulfillyd in the Iewis *and* Sarasyns. For the cristen þat wiln ben

156 surmountheth] surmountith and passith Wo | all] all maner of D | synnes] the synnes Wo | were] *om.* Ho, was W2D | and euere] or Wo | and] or W2D | schul] shal Wo | For...160 and] though a man had synned in them all as well in dede as (in W2c) thought he beyng truly contrite *and* confessed mekyng hymselfe lowly to almyghty god and to his sacramentes of holy chyrche doubt ye not he so askyng mercy shall haue full W2W2c, and alof a man hayd synned in theym all as well in dedys as in thought he beyng truly contrite and confessed þerapon and *with* a true wyll and hart thyngkyng neuer to fall agayne mekyng hymselfe lowly to almyghty god and to hys sacramentys of all holy churche dowte 3e nott he or sche þat that thus dothe aske mercy schall haue full D | For...157 don³] *om.* Cb 157 and¹...158 seyde] or saide or thought Wo | euere²] *om.* Ho 158 *manicula in margin* H3 | into] to Ho 159 mekely...hym] mekid hym lowly WoHo 160 haue] verily Wo 161 þe] for the W2D | gret] gret and myche D | passeth] far passeth D | And] and therfore W2D | þou3] yff D | somtyme...162 3e] *rev.* W2D 162 heren...bokes] by heeryng spekyng wrytyng or redyng in bokes heere H3 | speke...reede] by spekyng or elles [of W2, by D] wrytyng or redyng W2D | in bokes] *om.* WoHo | and] and of WoHo | sentencys] sentance D | comfرتeth] comfرتeth *with extra minim* Cb, yet comfرتe W2D 163 alle] *om.* Ho 164 synneres] the synners W2 | to¹] *om.* D wikkednesse] euyll W2, yll and synfull lyuyng D | purge...165 pure] pure and to purge WoHo 165 pure] purifye D | specials] specyall louers W2D | is...furneys] the metall is in the fyre afore rehersed W2, metall is in þe fyere as is before rehersed D | the] *om.* Wo | furneys] the furneys H3WoHo | of] in W2, doutles in D | hous] duellyng place D 166 wete it] witith Wo | it] 3e D many] that many Wo | wordis] wordys of holy scripture D | þat] *om.* Wo, whiche þat D | ful¹] right Wo | ben] is WoHo | in...167 vndirstondyng] whan they be well (and goostly D) vnderstonde W2D 167 þou] albeyt D | wordes] goode wordis Wo | harde] ryght hardely W2D | as þe] and as sume D spekyth] sheweth W2D | 3e...168 shul] yet sholde ye W2D 168 hem] nor iuge them *add.* D þenketh...3oureself] comfرتe yourselfe and thynke W2D | þenketh] thynketh hem Wo | of 3oureself] ful grete to yow Wo | 3oureself] yow Ho | alle] al suche WoD, all those W2 169 sentens] sentencys H3Ho, textis Wo | moun] shall W2D | the¹] *om.* WoHoW2D | and] and in W2c cristen] crysten people W2D | wiln] *om.* D

159 lowned hym] 'humbled himself

170 contrite and truste to Goddis mercy, or haue a wil þat it were soo, þei schuln ascape
 alle perels, so þat þei schul not perishe but be saued. And þe Iewes *and* Sarasyns in þo
 perils schuln perische to perdicion, for thei haue not þe strenghte of baptyem ne þe
 precyous oynement of Crystes passyon þat schulde to here soules zeue lyf *and* heele.
 Off þis we haue gret exauple *and* figure in holy writ, where þat Moyses ledde þe
 175 childeren of Israel, Goddis peple, ouere þe Rede See. Moyses went afor hem and
 f. 104r smot | þe watir *with* his zerde, and þerwith þe watir departyd and the childern of
 Israel wentyn ouere saf *and* sound, and thei of Egypt perisheden *and* drounchen in
 the watir. Be Moyses I vndirstonde oure lord Ihesu Crist, and be þe zerde þat
 departed the water þat þe children of Israel wern not perished I vnderstonde his
 180 passyon, and be the childern of Israel cristen peple. A man þat stondesth in disese, he
 his holden to seken alle þe weyes he may to comferte hymself. Oure lord Ihesu Crist
 cam from his fadris bosom into þis see of tribulacions *and* temptacions to be oure
 ledere. He goth befor vs, and *with* his precyous passyon he smyteth away the pereles

170 and truste] *om.* Wo | to...mercy] in þe mercy of god D | to] in W2 | or...wil] and leue
 there synnys *with* a gud wyll D | þat...soo] so for to do W2D | þei] doutles they D 171 alle] all
 suche Wo | not] *rep.* D | perishe] be perished WoHo, be dampned D | And] where as W2D | þe]
om. WoHo | þo] the Wo, they W2D 172 perische...perdicion] vtterly be dampned to euerlastyng
 paynys of hell D | perische] be perished Wo, vtterly perysse W2 173 oynement] *om.* Wo | þat]
 wyche D | to...zeue] gyue to theyr soules W2, gyue vnto þer soules bothe D | heele] helthe D
 174 we] they W2D | gret] *om.* H3WoHoW2D | and] of holi writ and a Wo, and a W2D | figure]
 greete figure H3WoHoW2D | where þat] that where as W2D | Moyses...175 See] *om.* D
 175 Goddis...See] ouer the reed see whiche were goddes people W2 | Rede] grete WoHo | See]
 watir Ho | afor] bifore WoW2D | hem] *om.* WoHo 176 zerde] rodde WoW2D, rodde or yerde
 Ho | þe²...departyd] departed the see Wo | departyd] parted W2D 177 saf...sound] in suertye W2,
 in a *verray* suertye D | thei...178 watir] doutles þan all of agypte þat foload þem where *perrysschyd* and
 drowned thus is thys fygure vnderstande D | perisheden...178 watir] that folowed perysshed *and* were
 drowned W2 | perisheden] wern perished Wo 178 I vndirstonde] is vnderstande D | I] *om.* Wo
 lord] lord god Ho | Ihesu Crist] *rev.* WoHo | Ihesu] swet ihesu D | zerde] yerde or rodde W2, rode
 D | þat] þat he D 179 þat...perished] *om.* W2D | perished] drowned in Wo | I vnderstonde]
witball is vnderstande D 180 passyon] holy (swet D) passyon W2D | *nota mark in margin* H3
 cristen] I vnderstonde Wo, that were not perysshed all crysten W2, which were saued and not
perrysschyde is vnderstande all crysten D | A...181 hymself] *om.* W2D | A] for trustith fully that the
 passion of our lord ihesu crist and the precious bloode that he shedde wil clense and hele the sikenesse
 of al the soulis that mekely wil take for medycyn. And thus yee and euery Wo, for trustith fully the
 passion of oure lord crist jhesu and the precious blod that he schadde wil clense and hele the seekenesse
 of alle thoo soules that mekli wele takin it for medecine. And thus ye *and* eche Ho 181 þe] *om.* Ho
 he...to²] that he can Wo | he may] *om.* Ho | hymself] hysilf with Wo | Oure] for ryght so our
 W2D | Ihesu] swet ihesu D | Crist] *om.* WoHo 182 into þis] to the WoW2. \to/ þe D | into] to
 H3Ho | tribulacions] gret tribulacyons D | oure] a wise WoHo 183 ledere] gyude *and* leder W2D
 He goth] thus goyng D | and] *om.* W2D | he] and W2D | pereles] gret perellys D

of oure tribulacions *and* temptacions, so þat we schal not perische, but it schal
 brynge vs to safte, þat is euere lastyng blisse. And þerfore synge we to hym 185
 þangkynges *and* herynges or preysynges as the childern of Israel deden. And þough a
 cristen man were neuere so wikkyd ne so synful, *and* stood in the same sentens of
 hardest wordes þat ben wretyn, zet he schulde trusten to Goddis *mercy*, for if he
 wolde forsaken his synnes *and* ziue hym to go\o/d liff, he schulde haue *grace and*
 forzeueneesse, and the scharpe wordes of dampnacion schulde turne hym to *mercy* 190
and sauacion. For þus seyth oure lord God in holy wryt be his *profete* Ieremye:
 '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, wursched and þanked be he euere! He is so good and so
 benyng *and* so ful of *mercy* to þe repentauntes þat he chaungeth his sentensis fro 195
 scharpe vengeaunce into forzeueneesse, and of þe peynes zeueth alegeaunces. He
 seyth also be his *profete* Ezechiel: 'I schal forzetten þe synnes of ony man þat with
 wery contricion wil | drawen hym to goode.'³³ And þis gret *mercy* schewed oure lord *f. 104v*

184 tribulacions and] troublous W2 | tribulacions] troubles D | schal!] shuln Wo | but] bott
 at þe last D 185 safte...blisse] (þe D) suertye of euerlastyng lyf W2D | safte] be sauf Wo | is] is to
 WoHo | synge] gyue W2D 186 þangkynges] euermore thangkys D | and...or] louynges *and* W2D
 herynges or] *om.* Wo | or preysynges] *om.* Ho | preysynges] infynyte praysynges W2D | childern]
 true childer D | And] for W2D | þough] alof D 187 wikkyd...so²] *om.* W2D | and] thynkyng
 hymselfe þat he W2D | same] *om.* W2D | sentens] sentences W2, sentence W2bW2c | of] or in the
 Wo, of the HoW2D 188 wretyn] in all holy wrytting D | he schulde] shal he Wo, *rev.* W2D | to...
 mercy] faythfully in the (gret D) mercy of god W2D | if...189 wolde] and he wyll W2D 189 wolde]
 wil Wo | ziue] tourne W2D | go\o/d] good and vertuou W2, god and vertuose DW2bW2c | he]
 verreyly he D | schulde] shal WoW2D 190 forzeueneesse] forgyuenes of all synnys D | scharpe] harde
 sharpe W2D | schulde] shal WoD | hym] to hym Wo 191 sauacion] to saluacioun Wo | God...
 wryt] *om.* Wo | God] hymselfe D | wryt] scripture D | his] the Wo 192 Þough] alof D | gret] *om.*
 Wo | þretes] þretenynges Wo | schal] wil Wo | if] yf that D 193 behold] beholde here D | lord]
 lord god Wo 194 constreyneth hym] (alwaye W2, euermore D) constrayneth hym to mercy W2D
 wursched...euere] worshyp and thankes be euer to his goodnes W2, nowe worshippe and thankynges
 be euermore to hys goodnes D | wursched] praised Wo, heried Ho | good...195 repentauntes]
 benygne and mercyfull to them that be repentaunt W2, leuyng and *mercyfull* to all them þat hayth true
 repentaunce D 195 to...þat] that to hem that repenten hem Wo, that to the repentantis Ho
 chaungeth] chang\e/þ H3, frely wyll chaunge W2D | sentensis] sentence WoHoD 196 into] to W2,
 to make D | and...alegeaunces] *om.* Wo | þe] *om.* Ho | peynes] paynes that they be worthy to
 suffre W2D | zeueth] gyue them W2, gyues them D | alegeaunces] allegaunce or lytter to suffre
 H3, allegaunce Ho, alygeaunce or lyghter payne to suffre W2, throughe hys *mercy* lyghter paynes to
 suffer D 197 his] the H3WoHoW2D | Ezechiel] Isaye W2D | forzetten] foryeve WoW2D | synnes]
 synne WoHo | ony] euery WoW2D | þat...198 hym] whom *veray* contricion wil drawe Wo
 198 wery] very true W2D | goode] good and vertuou [lyfe W2, lyuyng D] W2D | schewed] shewith
 WoHo | lord] lord god Ho

openly be the cyte of Niniue, *and* also be kyng Ezechie. *Perfore* dispeire no man for
 200 synne, but alwey trust fully to Goddis mercy þat so weel kan redresse alle oure
 myscheues and turne alle oure woo to wele *and* oure sorwe into joye. O þou glorious
 myghteful God, þat þus merueilously werkest in thy creaturis, quat þi mercy is brod
and large þat maketh þe to chaunge 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
 205 turne *and* chaunge alle oure infy[rm]yte to oure beste³⁴ if we wele vs self flee to þi
 goodnesse and asken mercy. But God forbede þat ony man schulde ben the more
 bolde or necligent to synne wilfully or wytyngly be deliberacion for oure lord is so
 merciful, for I dar sauely seyn þat euery creaunt soule *and* curteys wil be the more
 loth to offenden hym.

210 But 3e þat ben tempted azens 3oure wil, *and* wolde not be 3oure good wil for
 alle þe wor\ld displese God wilfully, but ben yled *and* taryed *with* peynful þoughtes,
 beeth not afered of þe fende ne of his affrayes. He his foule discomfited quan he seeth

199 be¹] vpon W2D | kyng] the king HoD | dispeire...200 synne] lette noo man dyspayre
 W2D 200 alwey] euermore D | fully] *om.* Wo | to] in D | Goddis] Gooddis Cb | þat] wyche D
 kan] can and wyll D | alle] *om.* W2D 201 myscheues] synfulnes D | to] into D | into] to
 WoHoW2 | þou] yee WoHo 202 myghteful] and almyghtyfull D, *and* myghtyfull W2c | God] lord
 WoHo | þus] *om.* D | werkest] worchith WoHo | thy] your WoHo | quat] o swete lord that Wo,
 it is to se that W2D | þi] your WoHo | brod...203 large] (verry D) large and brode W2D 203 þat]
 whiche W2D | þe] yow WoHo | thi¹] your WoHo | sentence] sentencis Wo | whiche] that W2
 is] before was bothe W2D | thi²] yowre WoHo | thi³] *om.* WoHoW2D 204 Blessed] nowe blessyd
 D | þou¹] yee WoHo | thyn] yowre WoHo | holy] *om.* WoW2D | þou²...wilt] ye can and may and
 wil Wo, ye can may and wole Ho 205 oure¹] yowre Wo | infyrmyte] infynyte Cb, infyrmytees W2D
 beste] moost proufyte W2D | if] yff þat D | wele] wiln Wo | vs...flee] not flee from the but
 (euermore D) tourne W2D | vs] our WoHo | to²] vnto D | þi] your WoHo 206 asken] *om.* Wo
 But] but for all this (thy W2) grete goodnes W2D | man] man or womman WoD 207 bolde...208
 curteys] bolder to synne or wylfully and wytyngly by delyberacyon sholde presume to falle to synne
 vpon trust of thy mercy. And therfore our lorde is so mercyfull I surely trust that euery true courteys
 soule W2, bolder to synne or wylfully and wytyngly withe deliberacyon sholde *presume* at fall þe *more*
 to synne apon a trust of þi þe gret *mercy* for doutles all suche may knawe that for truthe þe pope may
 nott absolue them. And *perfore* oure lorde is so *mercyfull* that I surely doe trust þat euery true curtese
 saule D | or wytyngly] *om.* H3 | or²] and Wo | deliberacion] deliberacioun and advisement Wo
 lord] lord god Ho 208 creaunt] creaunte or trewe H3, kynde WoHo | and curteys] *om.* WoHo | be]
om. D 209 hym] his goodnes W2, hym for hys gret goodnes D 210 But...211 wor\ld] and as for all
 those þat be tempte agaynce theyre wylls and wolde nott for all þe gooddes of worlde onys D | But]
 and as for W2 | 3oure¹] *om.* Ho | wolde...wil²] wyll not W2 211 þe] this Wo | ben...with] that ye
 be thus begyled and encombred by the fende with many W2, þat they be thus dyssaued and trowbled by
 þe fynde *with* mony ferfull and D | peynful] pensiful Wo 212 beeth not] be ye not W2, be not ye
 W2c | afered] afrayde W2, therof affrayed D | ne...affrayes] nor of his ferefull assawtes W2D | He...
 discomfited] for he is full sore [dyscomfited 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 whiche he tempteth is not aferde of hym. Somtyme þe fende cometh and tempteth a soule fiersly like a dragon. Somtyme he assaileth a soule rampantly lyke a lyon. But and a man strenghte hymself sadly in þe go\o/dnesse of 215 God *and* arme hym in his *precyous* passyon, an hundryrd feendes, howeuere thei come, schul haue no more poure ouere hym þan haue as many flyes or knattis. And þerfore strenght 3ou alle in God and eschewe 3e not *and* beeth not abaysched to strengthe *and* arme 3ou in hym [þ]ou3 3e bee synful, for he seyth hymself in the gospel þat he cam for þe synful.³⁵ Also in another place of þe gospel | he seyth þat he *f. 105r* cam for *mercy and* not for vengeance.³⁶ He cam, þe good lord, to be oure scheld *and* oure strengthe, and so lete vs homly *with* a meke herte take hym. And if 3e fele 3et ony dredis be ymagynacion or temptacion, or for wordes þat 3e haue herde or haue rede in bokes be þe whiche 3e dowte of sauacion, þanne þenketh on tho wordes þat Crist hymself taughte to a man þat doutyd *and* asked of oure lord who schulde be 225 saued, for hym þoughte hymself it was ful hard to e[s]chewe all þe poyntes þat ledyn to perdicion. And oure lord seyde to hym: Crede in deum patrem omnipotentem;

213 a²] *om.* WoHoD | tempteth] soo tempteth W2D | is...214 tempteth] *om.* Wo 214 fiersly] greuously D | like] as H3, like as Wo | Somtyme] and sumtyme H3WoHoW2, and other sumtyme D | he...215 lyon] like a lioun he assailith a soule rampauntly Wo | assaileth...215 a¹] assaylleth hym lyke a rampyng W2D 215 and...man] and yf a creature W2, then let þe saule D and] if Wo | strenghte] strengthyng W2 | sadly] *om.* WoHo, sadly and surely D | go\o/dnesse] passyon W2D 216 God] almyghty god W2, swet ihesu D | in...precyous] (strongly D) with that holy W2D | precyous] *om.* Wo | an] and than an Wo, and then doutles a D | hundryrd] thousande suche W2D | howeuere] hov that ever Wo, howsomeuer that W2, howesoeuer D 217 schul] schul not Ho more...hym] power over hym no more WoHo | ouere] of D | hym] (*hem canc.*) hym Cb | flyes... knattis] flees D 218 alle] euermore D | and¹...not²] be nat eschewed ne WoHo | eschewe...and²] *om.* W2D | and²] ne H3 | not²] nothyng D | to] so to W2D 219 strengthe] strenght you D þou3] 3ou3 Cb, alof D 220 þat¹] *om.* W2D | cam] com<yth?> Ho, came downe D | þe synful] synners W2, synners saluacyon D | synful] sinne Ho | Also] and also Wo, and W2D | he seyth] *om.* Wo | þat²] *om.* D 221 for²] for noo W2 | He...lord] the goode lord cam Wo, and W2D | to] for to D | scheld] champioun Wo 222 oure] *om.* HoW2D | so] therfore D | homly] \mekely/ D | take] so take Ho | And if] also yf þat D 223 3et] *om.* WoW2D | dredis] gret dredys D | ymagynacion... temptacion] vane ymaginacyons or temptacyons D 224 haue rede] <redien?> Ho | haue] *om.* WoW2D | þe] *om.* Ho | tho] the WoHoW2D | wordes] worde DW2c, worlde W2b 225 Crist] he Wo, *om.* Ho | hymself] hym D | taughte to] sayd vnto D | man] certan man D | and asked] sayenge and askyng W2, wiche man sayd and asked D | who] how he Wo 226 hym...hard] he thoughte it was to harde [to W2, for D] hymselfe W2D | hymself] *om.* H3WoHo | to] for to W2 eschewe] enchewe Cb | þe] *om.* D | ledyn] leedith Wo, ledde man W2, lede a man D 227 seyde... Crede] badde hym (for to W2) saye Credo W2D | Crede...228 seyth] credo quia omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Biliue quod our lord ihesu for to hym that bilevith Wo | Crede] credo Ho | omnipotentem] creatorem celi et terre. Et in iesum christum filium eius *add.* W2

'beleve', seyde oure lord Ihesu, '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 forzeue *and*
 230 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 wole.³⁴ And
 trusteth fully þerto he wole saue 3ou and brynge 3ou to his euere lastynge joye quan
 he seeth beste tyme for 3ou, for he hath bought 3ou þerto ful dere *with* his precious
 blod and peyneful deth. And I dare safly seye þat þer is non so synful a caytef þat is
 235 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, 3ha *and* were juged
 to be dampned be alle scripture, *and* he wolde forsake his synne *and* be contrite *and*
 asken God forzeuenesse he schuld haue mercy *and* forzeuenesse 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 Ihesu scheweth vs be an
 f. 105v exaumpel in the gossell of þe woman þat was | founden in avoutrye.³⁸ By Moyses
 lawe, þat was ordeyned of God, [sche] schuld haue be stoned, but þe myght *and* þe

228 Ihesu] god D | God...fader] þe father of hewyn D | almyghtyful] almyty H3W2D | as...
 230 redresse] and that no thyng to hym is impossyble but that he may forgyue all synnes and redresse
 all wronges W2D 229 to¹] vnto Wo | is...hym] possibilite WoHo | may forzeue] may and wil
 foryeve 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] thynke ferthermore W2, then thynke
 moreouer D 231 myght] myght and power W2D | þinge and] that W2, thynges þat D | and¹...232
 wole] in his goodenes and wisdom trustith fully for he can and wil Wo 232 trusteth...þerto] therfore
 truste fully that by his goodnes (and mercy D) W2D | to] vnto D | his] om. W2 | joye] blys in
 hewyn D | quan] when as D 233 beste] þe best D | for 3ou] om. WoW2, for your saluacyon D
 3ou¹] 3ou(e *canc.*) Cb | 3ou²] om. Wo | þerto] om. W2D 234 I...seye] doutles I dare say sayuely D
 dare...seye] sey that safly Wo | þat¹] om. Ho | þat²...235 cristen¹] wiche þat be crystened D | þat²]
 wiche W2 235 cristen¹] crystened W2 | or...cristen²] om. D | cristen²] crystened W2 | on] in D
 erthe] the erthe W2 | and þough] though for than Wo, alof D | and] all W2 | for...236 dampnable]
 dampnable for synne in the sight of god Wo, for sinne dampnable in the siht of god Ho | for synne]
 om. W2D 236 and¹] and ryght so D | also...were] and also WoHo | also] om. D | 3ha and] and
 gyffe þat he D | and²] and yet W2 237 and¹] doutles and D | wolde] wil WoD | his] om. Ho
 238 forzeuenesse¹] mercy beyng in perfyte wyll neuer to fall agayne D | he¹] but that he Wo, doutles
 he D | mercy and] om. Ho | hym] all hys synnys D | he²...239 soo¹] it were so that he stode in that
 case W2D | he²] (3e *canc.*) he Cb 239 wil] mynde W2, mynd (or *canc.*) *and* wyll D | þe] om. Ho
 tyme] howre D 240 þe] om. W2D | so¹] om. H3 | moche...gret] grete W2, myche D | so²] om.
 WoHo | surmounteth] surmountith and passith Wo 241 and¹] om. W2D | and²...scripture] om.
 Wo | alle scripture] scryptures W2D | scripture] scryptures H3Ho | so] om. Ho | vs] om. Wo
 an] om. WoHoD 242 in¹] of WoHo | þe] a W2D | By] for bi WoHo, and by W2, and accordyng to
 D 243 lawe] lawis Ho | þat] wiche W2D | of] by W2 | sche] om. Cb, þat she W2 | haue be] be
 W2D | stoned] stoned to the deth WoW2, stoned to dethe D

wisdam of God schewed to þe Faryseyes here owne synnes þat accused here, so þat
 þei myght not for schame demen here but stolen away oute of þe temple. *And* oure 245
 lord Ihesu demed here not, but he of his gracious mercy forʒaf here alle here synnes.
 And þerfore be a man or a woman neuere so synful *and* þouʒ thei fele neuere so many
 bodyly *and* gostly synnes al day rysynge *and* styryng withinne hem, thei schulden
 neuere the rathere dispieire of þe mercy of God ne be discumforted. For þer as meche
 synne is, þer is meche mercy and grace, and the goodnesse of God knowe: þat is to 250
 seye in the forʒeuenesse of synne, quan a man turneth hym fro synne and is very
 contrite. But God schilde, as I seyde afore, þat ony creature be the more recheles or
 bold to synne wilfully. But for þe mercy of God is so large, we owen to ben the more
 besy *and* diligent to loue *and* plesse God, for þat he is so good *and* so ful of mercy.

God werketh lyke a good lyche, for a lyche suffereth somtyme the dede flesh to 255
 growe on hym þat he hath in cure, but aftirward he taketh away the dede flesh *and*

244 God] that blessyd lorde (god W2) W2D | schewed] *om.* Wo, was soo gretely shewed W2D here¹...so] þat acuseden her þer owne synnes were so vopenly schewed afore þem H3, that accuseden hir hir owne synnes so WoHo, whiche accused her that they so largely (and so oppynly D) perceyued they (awne D) synnes W2D 245 here] hyr to dethe D | stolen away] priually stale away one after another D | stolen] they stale Wo | And] and then D 246 Ihesu] swet ihesu D | demed...not] wolde not deme her W2D | he] *om.* W2D | gracious] glorious and gracious Wo, glorious Ho | here alle] *om.* WoHo 247 a¹] he H3 | a²] *om.* H3WoHoW2D | and] *om.* Wo | þouʒ] that W2D 248 and¹] or WoD | al day] alwaye W2, euermore D | rysynge...styryng] rise and stire hem Wo, risen *and* <steren?> Ho | and styryng] *om.* H3 | hem] hym Ho | thei] doutles they D 249 neuere...rathere] nat WoHo | rathere] tytter D | of¹] *om.* WoHo, in D | mercy] gret mercy D | ne] nor D | þer] there that Ho | meche...250 is²] is moche synne is WoHo 250 is²] is shewed W2D | meche] redy if it be duely asked moche Wo, gret D | grace] yff þat they be in *perfytte* wyll and mynd to amende without þe wiche neuer one may be saued *add.* D | and²] for D | goodnesse...252 contrite] goodnes of god is knowen by the forgyuenes of the synne whan a body turneth hym there from and is very contryte W2, goodnes and myghty power of god is knawen by the forgyueyn [*sic*] of synnys when as a creature is fully turned *perfro with* a contryte hert as I sayd before D | knowe] knowyng as saith seynt augustyne Wo 251 of synne] *om.* Ho | synne¹] tho synnes Wo | man] man or womman Wo | hym] *om.* WoHo | very] *om.* WoHo 252 But...afore] bott I say agayne that god forbede D | schilde] forbede W2 | seyde] haue sayd W2c | afore] before HoW2 | be] sholde be D | recheles] herdy D | or... 253 bold] *om.* WoHo 253 But for] for insomoche (þat D) W2D | But] *om.* WoHo | mercy] merite Wo | we...254 mercy] doutles we be so myche more bondon dylygenly to fle þe occasyon of synne and to loue hym and prase hym specyally and so I trust þat euery true curteyse soule wyll do D | we owen] but hym owith Wo, but he howith Ho 254 loue...God] please god and to love hym Wo | plesse... mercy] prayse hym W2 | þat] *om.* Ho 255 God] almyghty god W2D | werketh] dothe werke in vs D | good] *om.* WoHoW2 | for...somtyme] sumtyme he suffrith Wo | suffereth somtyme] sumtime sufferith Ho | suffereth] (summetyme *canc.*) suffers D | somtyme] <letters eras.> somtyme Cb | the] *om.* Wo 256 in cure] cure apon D | the] that Wo | dede flesh] same W2D | and] with his medicynes and Wo, and *with* his medecinis he Ho

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
 260 aftirward of his gret pyte *and* mercy he putteth to his hond of grace, and hem þat
 weren dedly wounded þoru3 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-þoru3 he
 f. 106r 3eueth hem self. Oure lord God is also like | a gardener, for a gardener suffereth
 somtyme wikked wedys to growen in his gardeyn, and whanne the erthe þoru3 reyn
 265 is moyste *and* tendre, he taketh away the wedys bothe rote and rynde. And in the
 same wyse doth oure [good lord]. He suffereth somtyme in his gardeyn, whiche is
 manis soule, wikked wedis of synne growe, but *quan* the herte wexeth tendre be
 meknesse *and* moyste þoru3 contricion, oure benyng lord taketh away þanne alle þe
 synnes bothe rote *and* rynde, and planteth and setteth in his gardeyn goode herbes
 270 *and* frutes of good *vertues*, and wattereth hem *with* þe dewe of his blissed goodnesse,
 wher-þoru3 thei schal com to euere lastyng 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 horryble synnes, ful moche more, as 3e may weel wete, he is

257 maketh] so makys D | growe] growe ageyn Wo | so¹] þen D | he] *om.* Ho | man] sike
 Wo, pacyent W2D | Right] and Wo | lord] swet lorde D 258 þat...259 be] Ihesu cryste maker of
 heuen and (of D) erth W2D | is¹...is²] ful of benignite is euere Ho | is euere] *rev.* Wo | euere] euer
 so H3 | and is] *om.* Wo | erthe] of erth Wo 259 He] *om.* W2 | a²] *om.* H3WoHoD | but] bott
 then D 260 pyte...mercy] mercy and pyte W2D | and hem] for they W2D 261 þoru3] *with* D
 heleth hem] hayth heylled them agayne D | wascheth] wasched D | in...262 \his/] with the water of
 his [well W2D, wyll W2b] of W2DW2b 262 the] *om.* WoW2D | wher-þoru3] wherby W2D
 263 hem self] [to W2, vnto D] theym euerlastyng lyfe W2D | self] lyfe H3WoHo | *nota mark in*
margin H3 | God] *om.* D | is...like] may be also lykened vnto D | is also] *rev.* Wo | also] *om.* Ho
 for...gardener²] *om.* H3 | suffereth...264 somtyme] *rev.* D 264 and] and then D | þoru3] bi Wo
 reyn...265 and¹] moysture of rayne wexeth W2D 265 moyste] moisted Wo | he] than he WoD
 taketh] taketh *and* pulleth W2D | away] vp D | wedys] weede Wo | bothe...rynde] cleyne by the
 rote D | And...266 same] so in lyke W2D 266 good lord] lord good *marked for transposition* Cb, lord
 god Wo, lorde Ihesu cryst W2, lorde ihesu D | He] wiche D | his] þe D | whiche is] of D
 267 wedis] dedes W2D | growe] to growe H3WoHoW2D | herte] herte of man W2D 268 moyste
 þoru3] moysture of W2, mosture by true D | oure...þanne] [he than W2, than he D] taketh away
 W2D | þe] hys D 269 bothe...rynde] cleyne vp by þe rote D | goode] *om.* W2, bothe D 270 good
 vertues] vertu Wo, gret vertue D | and²] and so D 271 wher-þoru3 thei] [wherby W2, whereapon D]
 the soule of man W2D | blisse...reste] rest and joye WoHo | blisse] *om.* H3W2D | Now] now than
 W2 | þat] *om.* WoW2 272 God] *om.* Wo | so²] and so Wo | haue...273 offendeth] offendeth W2D
 273 in] by *commyttinge* of W2D | gret] *om.* W2D | ful] *om.* W2D | as...wete] *om.* W2D | weel]
om. H3

merciable *and* hath pyte *and* compassyon of a soule þat is azens his wil taried *with*
trubles *and* temptacion, but oonly þat God suffereth hem to be so wexed for helthe 275
of here soules. And þerfore, suster, be not douteful ne hevy, for it schal neuere turne
zou to perell, but it schal turne zou to gret profyte. For therby ze schal wyne the
crowne of worchip and þe palme of victorie, whiche schal ben to zou gret worchip
and glorie in the blisse of heuene þo[r]u3 þe þank þat ze schuln haue of oure lord
God for zoure withstondyng of suche temptacions *and* for zoure pacyens if ze taken 280
it mekely. And to þe fend it schal turne to schame *and* confusion. And þou3 it seme
zou somtyme þat ze feele a discorde betwyn God and zou, be not þerfore
discomfortid. For þus seyth oure lord be þe profyte Ysaie: 'A lytel while I haue
forsaken the, *and* in a moment I haue hyd my face fro the, but I schal | gadere the *f. 106v*
azen in many mercyes, and I schal haue mercy on the, and that mercy schal euere 285
laste.'²⁹

Capitulum quintum

And þerfore grutche no man azens 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 azens here wil, and thei *witbstonde* it, þat is to seye not *with* a 290

274 merciable] merciful WoHoW2D | and hath] *witb* D | is...276 soules] thorughe trouble
and temptacions falleth to synne for almyghty god suffreth often tymes the soule of man for to be
tempted and vexed in withstandyng temptacions wherof it deserueth the more meryte W2, þat
thorughe gret trouble of temptacions fallys into synne for almyghty god suffers oftetyms þe soule of
man to be tempt and wexed in *witbstandyng* of temptacions wherof he deserueth þe more meryte in
hewyn D | his] hir Ho | taried] entaryed H3 275 troubles...temptacion] synnes WoHo
temptacion] temptacions H3 | oonly] ony Ho | þat God] *om.* Wo | so] *om.* Wo | helthe] grete
merite and helth WoHo 276 suster] doughter or sone man or womman Wo, *om.* W2D | be] be ye
W2D | ne] nor D 277 perell] peryll [ne W2, nor D] daunger W2D | it...zou²] *om.* W2D | ze
schal] *rev.* WoHo | ze] *om.* H3 278 worchip¹] glorie WoW2D | to...281 mekely] gyuen [to W2,
vnto D] you for withstandyng of suche temptacions W2D | worchip²...279 and] *om.* WoHo
279 þoru3] þou3 Cb 280 for¹] with Wo | suche] *om.* WoHo | zoure²] *om.* WoHo 281 to¹...
schame] more it schall turne þe fende to gret schame D | þou3] alof D 282 zou¹] to you W2D | a]
om. W2D 283 discomfortid] recreaunt ne dyscomforted W2D | þus...lord] almyghty god sayth
W2D | oure...Ysaie] the prophete Isaie in the voice of god Wo | þe] his W2D, *om.* W2c | A] but a
Wo 284 the¹...haue] and W2D | I schal] \now/ schall I D | gadere...286 laste] call the to me agayne
by my [mafolde [*sic*] W2, manyfolde W2bW2c] mercyes whiche euer shall endure W2W2bW2c, call þe
agayne to me by monyfolde mercyes þe wiche neuere schall haue ende D | gadere] *rep.* Wo 285 many
mercyes] my mercies manye Wo | euere...286 laste] *rev.* Wo 287 Capitulum quintum] *om.* WoHo,
the fyfte chapytre W2, howe a good wyl stondyth in temptacions and of servys and prayers sayng *with*
drynes of deuocyon. *Capitulum quintum* D 288 no man] not W2, neuere D | will...God] mercy of god
and his wil Wo | ne] nor D | not] *om.* D | of²] *om.* H3 289 maner of] *om.* WoHoW2D | the] *om.*
D | more] more that WoW2D | or woman] *om.* Wo | woman] a womman H3W2 | is] be H3W2
in...290 wil] *om.* WoHo 290 maner] *om.* W2 | thei...291 wil] he withstandith nat *witb* ful Wo
with...291 wil] wyllingly W2, wyllfully D

quemeful wil consentynge þerto but mekely suffereth it, þe more thei ben sadded in
good *vertues* [and] *profyten* in þe syghte of God, þou3 it be hyd fro hem. But
paraenture *quan* 3e stonden sharply tempted 3e þenken þat 3e ben to dulle and to
negligent in goostly *exercyse*, for þoru3 weikenesse of 3oure spirit þat is fortraueiled
295 3e seme þat 3e haue in wil consentyd to swyche temptacions as 3e ben tempted *with*,
but it is not soo. For 3e schuln vnderstonde þat *euery* 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 downward enclynynge to synne, and þe good wil cometh of grace, þe whiche is
alwey vpwarde enclynynge to alle goodnesse. And whiles þat 3e haue alwey, whanne
300 reson cometh to 3ou, a good wil to do weel, and ben myspayd *with* all yuele þoughtes
and sterynges þat 3e feele, and wolde neuere feele ne don other þanne is the wil of
God, þou3 suche wikked þoughtes *and* sterynges come among into 3oure herte *and*
be gret violens of scharpnesse of trouble *and* disese 3e ben enclyned to þe wil of þe
sensualite, zet do 3e it not, ne 3e consente not þerto, but it is þe sensualite þat dooth

291 consentynge] consentith Ho | it] the same W2D | thei...sadded] douteles thei waden Wo,
thei wade Ho | ben sadded] shall encrease W2D 292 good] *om.* W2D | vertues] *vertu* D | and
profyten] *profyten* Cb, *om.* WoHo, to the proufyte of theyr soules W2D | þou3] alof D | But] for
W2D 293 stonden] *arn* Wo, be W2D | 3e²] then 3e D | þat] *om.* W2 | to¹] *om.* WoHo, varey D
dulle] bold WoHo | to²] *om.* WoHoW2D 294 in...exercyse] therin WoHo | for þoru3] thorughe
W2, thorughe þe D | weikenesse] wikednes WoW2D | 3oure] the Wo, *om.* Ho | fortraueiled...295
haue] (so D) sore trauayled and vexed wherby ye thynke that ye (haue W2) W2D 295 3e seme] it
semeth to yow WoHo | in] a W2 | to swyche] therto to the WoHo | to] vnto D | temptacions]
temptacion Ho | as] that WoHo | with] in Wo 296 but] trustith *verily* that *add.* Wo, doutles *add.*
D | schuln] schulde H3, shal WoW2 | man...woman] creature WoHo | or] and W2D | willis] that
is to say *add.* D 297 an yuel] a yll D | wil²] *om.* W2 | yuel²] ynnor Wo, yll D | wil³] *om.* H3
the¹] *om.* H3W2D 298 euere] *euermore* D | downward enclynynge] *rev.* W2D | and] *om.* Ho
þe²...299 enclynynge] whiche [*euermore* dothe styre D, alwey styreth W2] the soule vpwarde W2D
299 And...300 þoughtes] *two maniculariae in margin* H3 | whiles...300 3ou] therefore whan (as D) reason
cometh to you ye haue alwey W2D | whiles] al the while Wo | haue alwey] *om.* Wo 300 cometh]
commyttith Wo | a] yee have a Wo | wil] w(h *canc.*)il Cb | ben myspayd] as myscontent W2, is
myscontent D | myspayd] evil apaied Wo | all] *om.* Ho | yuele] yll D 301 and¹] or D | wolde...
304 sensualite¹] putteth your wyll onely to the wyll of god though ye thurgh suche wycked thoughtes
and sterynges by vyolence and sharpnes be enclyned to sensualyte W2, then puttys your wyll only vnto
þe wylls of god doutles alof 3e thorughe suche wyked thoghtys and styrrynges by violence and
scharpenes be inclyned vnto sensualite D | wolde] ye wold fayne Wo | neuere] neiþer Wo 302 þou3]
than thoug WoHo 303 of¹] and Wo | of²] and WoHo | trouble] troubled Wo | and disese] *om.*
WoHo | wil] (yuel *canc.*) wil Cb 304 zet...sensualite²] *om.* Wo | zet...3e¹] ye doon Ho | do 3e] *rev.*
W2D | ne 3e] ne W2, nor zet D | not²] *om.* W2D | but] for D

294 weikenesse] May be read as either 'weakness' or 'wickedness', as in WoW2D 300 myspayd]
'displeased'

it in 3ou. *And* 3oure good wil stondesth stille in 3ou onbroke, þou3 the cloudes of 305
 yuel þoughtes stoppe away 3oure sight fro þe felynge of youre good wil, as 3e may see
 be exauple 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 away *f. 107r*
 oure syghte, þat we may not seen it in suche tyme as reyny cloudes ben. And soo it
 fareth be 3oure good wil, which stondesth alwey be Goddis grace vnbroken in 3ou, 310
 [þ]ou3 3e fele it nought for trauaileuse [þ]oughtes þat benymeth þe sighte of 3oure
 knowleche. O 3e Goddis childern þat sharply ben vexed *with* tribulacions and
 temptacions, comferte 3e 3ou in 3oure benynge fadir, þat seyth to 3ou in holy writ be
 his profete: ‘My childern, þou3 3e go in the feir, drede 3ou not, for the flaume schal
 not dere 3ou’;⁴⁰ as who seyth: ‘3e my chyldern þat ben Cristen peple *and* in go\o/d 315
 wil to do weel, þou3 3e go in the feer of tribulacion *and* temptacion, drede 3e not, for
 it schal be arettid to 3ou for no perel of soule, but þoru3 my goodnesse *and* the
 merites of my passyon it schal turne to 3ou to gret helpe and profyfe of soule.’
 Þe maner of alle these temptacions and the remedyes þerazens scheweth oure
 sauour to his apostle Seynt Petir in þe gospel wher he seyth þus: ‘Petir, Sathanas 320

305 it] *om.* H3 | stondesth...3ou²] abyde in you styl W2, dothe abyde in you styl D | stille...
 3ou²] holl and Wo, hol Ho | þou3] alof D 306 yuel] yll D | stoppe away] do stope D | may] way
 W2b 307 sonne¹] mone W2D | The...309 ben] for the mone shyneth [alwey W2, euermore D] in
 her dewe place as well whan we se her as whan we se her not. But oftentymes the cloudes shadoweth
 and putteth from vs þe syght therof W2D | The sonne] þat Wo | his] here Ho | as] also Wo
 308 it¹] hym Wo | whanne...it²] ellis Wo | reyny cloudes] clowdis of the rayne Wo 309 it¹] nat *add.*
 Wo | tyme] tymes H3WoHo | reyny] reyne Ho | soo] so in lyke wyse W2D 310 which] it WoHo
 alwey...3ou] [alwey W2, euermore D] vnbroken in you by the grace of almyghty god W2D | Goddis
 grace] the grace of god Wo 311 þou3] 3ou3 Cb, alof D | fele] see WoHo | for] thugh W2, throught
 [sic] D | þoughtes] 3oughtes Cb | þat benymeth] whiche taketh away W2D | benymeth] bien the
 clowdis of the derknes of Wo 312 O...childern] therfore ye good chyldren W2, therfore all 3e þe gud
 chylder of god D | O 3e] be Wo | ben] be thus D | tribulacions...313 temptacions] suche
 temptacions *and* tribulacions W2D 313 3e 3ou] yourselfe W2D | 3e] *om.* WoHo | benynge] *om.*
 Ho, benygne *and* mercyfull W2D | seyth] spekith Wo, *om.* Ho | to] vnto D | in²...314 profete] by
 his prophet in holy wryte W2D 314 þou3] (3o *canc.*) þou3 Cb | flaume] flambe therof W2D
 315 dere] trouble W2, hurte D | 3e...chyldern] 3e W2, all 3e D | þat...in] cristen people that bien (in
 Ho) WoHo | and...316 wil] wylyngly W2 | and in] hawyng a D 316 in] into W2 | tribulacion...
 temptacion] temptaciouns and tribulaciouns WoHo, trybulacions *and* temptacions W2D 317 schal]
 nat *add.* Wo | be...soule] tourne you to no peryll W2D | the] *om.* Wo 318 it] doutles it D | to¹]
om. HoW2D | helpe...soule] proufyte *and* comferte of your [soule W2, soules D] W2D | helpe]
 meede Wo, helthe Ho | soule] the soule Wo 319 these] *om.* D | remedyes] remedie Ho | þerazens]
 of þe same W2D | scheweth...320 to] oure saueyoure swett ihesu cryst dothe schewe vnto D
 scheweth] shewed Wo 320 sauour] ihesu cryst *add.* W2 | to] in Wo | Seynt] *om.* WoHo | in] as it
 appereth in W2D | Petir²] *om.* WoHo

asketh þat he myghte sifte the as who sifteth whete.⁴¹ In as myche þat Sathanas asked this, it schewed weel þat þe fende 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 wolde haue syfted hym as who siftede whete.

325 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 traueiled *with* the fende azens here wil, þe more clene thei ben afor 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

f. 107v
330 may *with*stonde þe fende withouten the helpe of God, þerfore of his helpe he maketh vs sekir *and* seyth þus: 'I haue *prayed* for the, þat þi feyth faile þe nouth.'⁴² And there þat a man fyndeth in his herte a good paciens redily to suffren all diseses mekely for Goddis sake *and* for his loue, not takynge heed of alle the fendis temptacions *and* traueles, þat man þoru3 the myght *and* þe grace of Crist berith doun þe fende, *and* he

321 asketh] asked Wo, asketh *and* desyreth W2D | þat¹...myghte] to W2D | the] yow Wo who sifteth] men syfte W2, men dothe D | In...322 schewed] [wherby W2, whereappon D] it appereth W2D | þat²] as H3Ho 322 asked] askeþ H3 | this it] *om.* WoHo | schewed] scheweþ H3Wo | þe fende] he Wo | had] hath WoW2D | myght] myght ne power W2D | tempte] offende WoHo, attempte W2 | seruaunt] seruantis WoW2D | God] almyghty god W2 323 in¹...troubles] *om.* W2D | but] bot only D | And þat] þe wiche D | openly...in²] euydently knowen by W2D schewed...324 temptynges] in þe shewyng Wo | schewed] seen Ho | fondynges...324 temptynges] temptacions W2, temptacyon D 324 or temptynges] *om.* H3Ho | and...whete] whome the fende besyfted and (gretly D) tempted W2D | þat] than Wo | siftede] sifteþ Wo 325 Taketh kepe] takith kepe as shewith experience Wo, for W2D | cast...seve] syfted *and* cast from syde to syde W2D | fro...seve] to and fro and from side to side Wo | a] *om.* Ho 326 þe...þat] it farith be Ho | or woman] *om.* Wo | woman] a woman HoW2 | is traueiled] be tempted W2D | here] his Wo 327 thei ben] he is Wo | afor] bfore WoD | And...openly] [wherfore W2, wherappon D] it appereth playnly W2D here...lerned] herby we lierne WoHo | God²] almyghty god W2D 328 not] neuer D | beste] grete wele *and* profyte W2D | but²...330 God] yf they purpose them selfe (*with* a good wyll D) myghtely to withstande the fendes temptacyon whiche no man may withstande without the helpe of god W2D but²] be H3Ho, *om.* Wo | *nota mark in margin* H3 329 derlynges] seruauntis WoHo | But] and Wo 330 his] our Wo 331 sekir] sure W2D | and...þus] lyke as he sayd to peter these wordes W2D | þe] *om.* WoHoD | And] *om.* Wo | there...333 loue] therfore that man whiche (þat D) pacyently is redy to suffre all troubles and dyseses for the loue of [his maker almyghty ihesu W2, god D] W2D | there] þerfor H3 332 paciens] pacient wil Wo | redily] redy WoHo | mekely] myghtily Wo 333 takynge...fendis] regardyng eny feynde D | temptacions...334 traueles] mocyons and temptacions W2D 334 þat] that a Wo, wiche þat D | and¹...Crist] of god WoHo | þe¹] *om.* W2D | Crist] swet ihesu D | doun] and ouercometh *add.* W2D | fende] wherby he may be called a [vaynquyssher W2, conquerer D] or (a D) ouercomer *add.* W2D | and²...335 þerwhith] *om.* W2D | he...335 þerwhith] previth hymself that he is the seruaunt of god Wo

325 Taketh kepe] 'take heed'

hymself *preued þerwhith*. And to suche men oure lord seyth þus: ‘Þou þat art thus 335
 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 tauzt þee, ellis þou art onkende.’⁴²
 Salamon seyth þat oo brother is a myght sent azens the fende.⁴³ And þerfore thei þat
 ben sorweful and scharply traueiled, *quan* thei haue herd the good counceil of here
 brother or suster, thei ow\le/n to taken comfort to hem *and* seyth these wordes *with* 340
 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 *mercy*, and to hym I knowleche þat hym I schal
 serue, be I neuere so myche traueiled ne trubled.’⁴⁴ And suche men þat þus ben [XIV.]
 traueiled *and* taried *with* scharpe peynful þoughtes *and* sterynges, thei owen to taken
 the counceil *and* techynge of wys men þat ben goode *and* discrete, and be no weye þat 345
 thei folwe here owne wielde fantasies, for þat wolde vtterly schende hem.

335 *preued þerwhith*] *preuith* Ho | *preued*] *ys preued* H3 | *And*] *and* *doutles þerfore* D
suche] *all suche* D | *oure...þus*] *may be sayd thus* W2D | *lord*] *lord Ihesus* Ho | *seyth*] *saide* Wo
 336 *to¹*] *vnto* D | *God*] *almighty god* W2D | *in*] *by the vertue of* W2D | *but...conferme*] *counsaile*
 WoHo | *conferme*] *to conferme* H3 337 *hath*] *htah* [sic] W2b | *ellis*] *and ellis* WoHo, or *elles* W2,
doutles ellys D | *onkende*] *vnkynd and* *out of true charite* D 338 *Salamon*] *for salomon* D | *brother*] *well*
counseylled and *confermed by another* *add.* W2D | *a...sent*] *to another brother a comferte* Wo
myght sent] *myztty cytee* H3W2D, *myzt set* Ho | *thei*] *all those* D 339 *sorweful...traueiled*] *sharply*
trauaylled and *tempted* W2D | *sorweful*] *sorwefulli* Ho | *herd*] *om.* H3, *had* W2D | *good*] *om.*
 WoHo 340 *brother*] *bretherne* D | *or suster*] *om.* W2D | *thei*] *verely they* D | *comfort*] *gud*
comforth D | *and...341 Dauid*] *sayenge with Dauid whiche sayth (thuse D)* W2D | *with...341*
Dauid] *om.* WoHo 341 *þou¹*] *om.* W2D | *drery...soo²*] *vnstedfast thus (sore D) to assayle and* *trouble*
me W2D | *drery*] *drie* Wo | *þou³*] *om.* Ho | *soo²*] *om.* Wo 342 *fully*] *onely* W2D | *good God*] *thy*
god and lord jhesu Wo | *good*] *almighty* W2D | *þat¹*] *whiche* D | *ful*] *so ful* WoHo | *mercy*] *benygynte*
and *mercy* W2D | *and...343 serue*] *whome I onely confesse and knowlege to serue* W2, *to*
whome I onely confesseme and knalege to serue *all þe days of my lyue* D | *hym¹*] *thee* Wo | *hym²...*
 343 *serue*] *I shal serve hym* Wo 343 *myche*] *om.* Wo, *sore* W2D | *traueiled...trubled*] *trowblid and*
trauailid Ho | *ne trubled*] *wiþ sharp peyneful thoughtis and stirynges* Wo | *ne*] *or* D | *suche...344*
þoughtes] *to suche men thus vexed with thoughtes mocyons* W2, *to all men thus troubled and* *wexed*
with thoughtys mocyons D | *suche*] *whiche* WoHo | *men*] *men or wymmen* Wo | *þat*] *om.* Ho
þus ben] *rev.* Wo 344 *traueiled...taried*] *taried and trauailed* Wo | *traueiled*] *trobeldid* Ho | *thei*
owen] *is behouefull* W2, *is behouearable* D 345 *the*] *om.* D | *techynge*] *the techyng* Wo | *wys...*
discrete] *(the W2) wyse and dyscrete persones* W2D | *and³...346 folwe*] *fleynge vtterly* W2D | *be...*
weye] *for nothyng* Wo 346 *folwe*] *folowe nat* Wo | *wielde*] *wil ne their wielde* Wo, *wyllys and* D
for...hem] *whiche often tymes gretely troubleth them* W2, *wiche oftymes desayvys mony one and*
brynges theyme into wexacyon and troubles for defaute of true experience D | *þat...hem*] [*triewly* Wo,
sothli Ho] *it shendith many a man* WoHo

- [IX.] *And* in the mene tyme of suche troubles, þei musten zeu[e] hem to som good lizt occupacion, and somtyme to redyng *and* syngyng the seruise of God, *and* to other good dedes, and euere among preyenge to God of helpe, *and* þat he sende hem
f. 108r strenghte *and* pacyence. And þouȝ thei fynde in hemself no | maner of swetnesse ne sauour to Goddis seruise, zet thei owten not to care ne ben heuy þerfore, for it is jnow to helthe of mannes soule þat he wolde haue reste *and* swetnesse in the seruise of God. For in the doom of God, the wil stondesth as for dede, and so seyth holy wryt, whiche may not ben ontrewed, þat euery good wil is acceptid as for dede. Seynt
 355 Bernarde seyth þat somtyme God withdraweth deuocion fro preyer to make the preyer the more medful. God wold be serued somtyme in bitternesse and somtyme in
 [X.] 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 heuynesse of herte *and* vnlykyng
 360 to serue God þanne whanne a man is in good lykyng and ful swetnesse *and* reste of soule, wherfore dredeles it is the more medeful. It was no maystrye for Seynt Petir quan he saw oure lord Ihesu on the hyl in blisse to seye: ‘Lord, it is good vs to dwelle

347 in...troubles] yf they intende to exchew and ouercome all suche temptacyons D | the... tyme] eschewyng W2 | troubles] temptacyons and troubles W2 | þei] doutles they D | zeu[e] zeu Cb | hem] hemself W2D | som...348 occupacion] good *and* vertuous occupacyons W2D | som] oon light or sum Wo 348 and somtyme] as W2D | and²...349 dedes] prayng wrytyng or other good hande occupacyon perteynyng vnto vertu D | and syngyng] or sing Wo, or singyng Ho | syngyng] sayenge W2 | the...God] *om.* WoHo | God] almyghty god W2 | and to] or Ho | to²] suche Wo, doynge W2 349 good] vertuous W2 | euere...God] alwey prayng to god among Wo | euere] alwey Ho, euermore D | preyenge...350 pacyence] hertly besechyng almyghty god to gyff them strenght to resyste all suche temptacyons D | God] almyghty god W2 | of...350 pacyence] they may haue strength in theyr soules to resyste suche mocyons and temptacyons W2 350 þouȝ] yff þat D | in hemself] *om.* D | in] *om.* Wo 351 sauour] of sauour Wo | to¹] in W2D | zet...owten] that lete hem Wo | to²] *om.* Wo | care ne] *om.* W2D | ne] ne lete nat hem Wo | ben] to been Ho | for... 353 God¹] yf theyr wyll and mynde be to fulfill the same W2D 352 helthe] the helth WoHo | *nota mark in margin* H3 353 in...354 þat] as holy [wryte W2, scripture D] sayth W2D | the²] þeir Wo as for] for a Wo | as] *om.* H3 354 ontrewed] vntrewthe Ho | as...dede] for the dede W2, in þe seghte of god for a good dede D | as for] for a Wo | *nota mark in margin* H3 | Seynt] and also sanct D 355 God] almyghty god D 356 the] *om.* WoW2D | God wold] for he wyll W2, for doutles sumtyme he wyll D | wold] wil WoHo | be...somtyme¹] sumtyme be serued Wo | somtyme¹] *om.* D | in¹] with D 357 swetnesse] suetnes of deuocyon D | and] whiche W2D | receyue] resaued with thanks vnto god D | And...361 medeful] *om.* WoHo | *manicula in margin* H3 | And...resoun] and therfore arystotle sayth W2, for arystotle sayth D 358 and¹...þat] dyffyculte and trauayle W2D | hardere] the harder H3 | vertues...goten] all mayner of vertu dothe begyn D | þe²...361 medeful] the more they proufyte and encrease in the soule W2, and doutles þe more they schall profet and incesse in þer saulys D 360 to] *rep.* Cb | ful] fulle of H3 361 for] to Wo 362 quan] when as D | oure...Ihesu] almyghty god W2D | lord] *om.* Ho | on] apon D | in] of W2D | *manicula in margin* H3 | vs] *om.* WoHo, for us W2D | dwelle] dwell styl D

here.⁵² But aftirward *quan* he saw hym amonges his fomen tormentid, a womans
word mad hym afered and soo sore in dreed þat he seyde he know hym not.⁵³ But
aftir þat, *quan* he was confermed þoru3 the myght of the holy gost, þer was no 365
turment in erthe, ne kynge, ne prince, þat myghte make hym aferd. Right soo if a
man be in swetnesse and reste of herte it is no maystrye to seruen God, but it is a
maystrye *quan* a man is traueiled 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 370
aftir trauailes be strengthed of the holy gost, þer schulde no | fende in hell haue
myght to affere hym not gretly. And þou3 it be longe or he feele comfort, lete hym
not drede, for oure mercyful sauayour wotheth wel what tyme comfort is most
nedeful to hym, and thanne fayleth he nought. And þerfore lete hym trusten verly
þat it is al for his beste, þou3 þat he knowe not Goddis abydyng. Somtyme the 375
feelynge of swetnesse and of comfort is withdrawn from a man, for ellis he schulde

363 But] then D | aftirward] *om.* WoHo | *quan*] when as D | fomen] enemies W2D
tormentid] cruelly turmented W2D | a] doutles a D 364 mad...in] fered and put hym in suche W2,
mayd hym so ferde and put hym in to so myche D | seyde...not] forsok and denyed his mayster
W2D | seyde] saide that Wo 365 aftir...gost] whan thorough the myght of the holy ghoost he was
reconsyld and confermed agayne W2D | aftir] aftirward Ho | þat] *om.* Wo | *quan*] *om.* H3Ho
þer was] then was there W2, doutles then was þer D 366 erthe] þe erthe W2c | ne¹...aferd] that kinge
or prynce put vnto hym coude fere hym W2, þat kyng ne prynce myght put vnto hym þat cowthe feyr
hym D 367 swetnesse...reste] perfyte rest and quyetnes W2D | maystrye] maystry for hym W2D
God] god truly D | but...368 hym] *om.* D 368 *quan*...traueiled] to hym that is in trauayle W2
reste] quyetnes of herte W2 | to...hym] *om.* WoHo | But...372 gretly] therefore [that W2, þe D]
creature that is tempted or vexed in the seruyce of almyghty god and is in wyll to withstande the sayd
temptacyons [tyll W2, vnto D] he after (may D) be strengthed and comforted by the holy ghost
(doutles D) the fende shall neuer haue power to fere [ne W2, or D] put hym in (to none inordynate D)
drede W2D 369 if...370 haue] the more meede shal he have if a mannes wil be goode and wold (that
Wo) it were wele WoHo 370 if] *om.* Wo | pacyently] *om.* Wo 371 trauailes] his travails Wo | gost]
the more meede shal he have *add.* Wo 372 not] *om.* WoHo | And] for W2D | þou3] yf D | lete]
yet let W2D | hym²...373 not] *rev.* W2 373 not drede] haue no drede ther apon D | sauayour]
maker swet ihesu D | wotheth wel] knoweth W2, best dothe knaw D | wotheth] wot fulle H3 | wel]
ful wele WoHo | tyme] tyme as D 374 nedeful] nede Ho | and...nought] *om.* D | and] *om.* W2
thanne] whan W2bW2c | fayleth...nought] wil he nat faile WoHo | fayleth he] *rev.* W2 | nought]
to gyue it hym *add.* W2 | And...375 abydyng] *om.* W2D 375 it...al] al is Wo | his] the WoHo
þat²] *om.* H3WoHo | Somtyme] for somtyme W2D 376 and...comfort] *om.* W2D | of²] *om.* Wo
a] *om.* HoW2D | for] or WoHoW2D

363 fomen] 'enemies'

waxen proud *and* presumptuose or necligent *and* recheles in vertues, and þerfore it is withdrawen for the beste to helthe of his soule. And also hardenesse *and* scharpnesse sent to a creature is ful profitable to the soule. For Seynt Augustyn seyth þus in
 380 techyng of vs alle, þat þe manere of God is þat quan a man is feble *and* newly turned to hym, to 3eue hym pees *and* swetnesse *and* soo to stable hym in his lawe and loue; but quan he is stablede and sadly set *and* grounded in loue, \þan/ suffereth he hym to be al tottrauailed, for twoo skylles. Oon is to preue hym and to crowne hym the more hyze in the blisse of heuene. And another is to purge hym of his synnes in this
 385 worlde.

Capitulum sextum

[XI.] And for as myche as many men kunne not in tyme of temptacion ne woln not see it, but ben sory and dredeful of complexion, þerfore to alle suche men thre thynges ben nedeful. The firste is þat thei be not myche alone. The secunde is þat
 390 thei þenke not ne seche no þing deeply, but fully reule hem, as I seyde afore, be som

377 and¹] or Wo | or...378 soule] *and* thyngke hym selfe to be as holy as a angell. And so for gret goostly pryde *and* vaneglorye he schulde do as lucyfer dyd wiche fell from þe heghte of hewyn vnto þe depyst pytte in hell. And therfore swetnes of deuocyon is withdrawne from hym for þe best vnto þe specyall helthe of hys sawle D | and²] or Wo | vertues] vertuous luyng W2 378 helthe] the helth WoHoW2 | his] *om.* H3 | And also] wherfore W2, whereapon it appereth þat D 379 to¹] vnto D ful] meruelouse D | to²] vnto D | For] *om.* Wo, as W2, for as D | þus] *om.* W2D 380 techyng] the teching Ho | of¹...þat¹] vs of W2D | God] almyghty god W2D | is¹] *om.* W2D | þat²] this that Wo 381 to hym] vnto god D | to 3eue] he yevith WoHoW2D | and soo] to the entent W2, for þe intent D | soo to] *om.* Wo | stable] stablysshe W2D | lawe...loue] love and lawe Wo 382 quan] when as D | stablede] stablysshed W2D | set and] *om.* W2D | and²] in H3 | in loue] *om.* WoHo loue] his loue W2D | \þan/] þen doutles D | suffereth he] *rev.* D | he²] *om.* H3 383 al tottrauailed] vexed and [trauaylled W2, troubled D] W2D | for] and that is for Wo | skylles] reasons W2, causes D | to¹] for to WoHo | and] *om.* Ho | the...384 hyze] more hier Wo, the hyer W2D 384 the... of¹] *om.* D | And] *om.* WoW2D | of²...synnes] *om.* WoHo 385 worlde] þat he in no wyse be longe from hym in þe toþer worlde *add.* H3WoHo, that in noo wyse he [be W2, schulde depart D] from hym in the [euerlastyng worlde W2, worlde euerlastyng D] *add.* W2D 386 *sextum in margin* Cb Capitulum sextum] *om.* WoHo, the syxte chapytre W2, Of iij remedys necessary for them þat be tempte. *Capitulum sextum.* D 387 And...temptacion] but many men in tyme of temptacioun can nat WoHo | in...not²] nor wyll not in (þe D) tyme of temptacion W2 388 see] se or perceyue W2D ben...of] [haue a W2, euermore haue D] dredefulnes and a [sorynes W2, sorennes D] in themselfe by steryng of theyr W2D | ben] thei bien Wo | þerfore] and WoHo | men] *om.* Ho | thre...389 thynges] thetenynges Wo 389 nedeful] nedefule to hem H3Ho, nedefull *and* necessarye W2D | .i. *in margin* Cb | .ij. *in margin* Cb 390 not...deeply] ne study to depely in ony (one W2) thyng W2W2bW2c, nott nor studye to depely in any thyng, most specyally in hye thynges whiche þat be aboute theyr vnderstandyng D | seche] seeke nat WoHo | þing deeply] high thynges or deepe thynges Wo | þing] thinke Ho | reule] ordre W2D | hem] them selfe D | as...391 persone] by some dyscrete persone as afore i sayd W2, by counsell of summe discrete person as I haue sayd before D as...afore] *om.* Wo

good discret persone. And þou3 it com into here herte *and* mynde þat þei schuld be
 lore or in perell þou3 þei wold beholde here counsell, thei owen to taken non heed in
 suyche þou3tis *and* sterynges, ne charge hem. Take thei non heed of suyche
 ymagynacions or sotyl conseytes, for it may neuere turne hem to dampnacion the
 counseil of wise men | þat is 3ouen to hem for here sauacion. God seyth in the gospel *f. 109r*
 þat if þe menyng be good of a manis purpos, þe dede is good. The thredde remedy is
 this: þat for as myche as the fende traueileth 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 fende and right in dyspyct of hym, þat he strengthe hymself to be
 glad and mery, þou3 it be azens herte, and drede noþing the fendis malice. For þe 400
 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 worchepe of God and dispitte of þe
 fende. For holy writ seyth þat þe aposteles zeden away mery *and* glad quan the jewes,
 Goddis enemyes, hadden schamfully beten hem.⁵⁵ Also a man oweth to be glad quan
 the fende tempteth *and* turmenteth hym for thre skelles. The first is þat he is 405

391 good...persone] discrete man H3 | good] *om.* WoHo | into] in W2D | herte...mynde]
 mynde and into their herte Wo, mynde and herte Ho | herte and] *om.* W2 392 lore...perell]
 in jeopardy or peryll vterly to be lost W2, in iopardie or perell to be vterly lost bothe body and soule D
 þou3...393 hem] for they wol nat bihold her thoughtis and her sterynges ne charge hem nat Wo, for
 thei wolde not beholde her thou3tes *and* her sterynges ne charge hem Ho | þou3...counsell] *om.*
 W2D | wold] wolen H3 | thei] yet they D | owen to] sholde W2D | heed] regarde D | in²] of
 W2, vnto D 393 þou3tis...sterynges] sterynges or thoughtes W2D | ne...394 conseytes] *om.* W2D
 394 may neuere] neuer may W2 | turne] bryng Wo | dampnacion] daunger of theyr soules W2D
 the...395 sauacion] *om.* W2D | the] lete hem felawly [*sic*] Wo 395 wise men] their wiser WoHo
 for] to Wo | God] almyghty god W2D 396 þat] *om.* W2D | if] yff that D | menyng] entent
 W2D | be...purpos] of a mans purpos be goode WoW2D | þe²] doutles þe D | dede] dreede Wo
 .iij. *in margin* Cb 397 þat] *om.* WoHo | traueileth faste] laboureth W2D | faste] *om.* WoHo
 398 þanne...he] a man agayne ought W2, þen aghte a man agayne D | þanne] *om.* Ho | worchepe...
 399 hym] honour of god and confusyon of the fende W2D | helpe] grete mercy and the help of his
 glorious passioun Wo | and³] and to Wo 399 þat he] to W2, for to D | strengthe] wil strength Wo
 to...400 and¹] and be W2D 400 herte] the herte Wo, his herte W2D | fendis] fende D 401 þat¹]
om. Ho | a...herte] he feleth in hymselfe W2D | mede...403 fende] meryte he shall haue whan he (so
 D) enforceth hymselfe to be mery to the honour of god and in [spyte W2, disspyte D] of his ghoostly
 enemy the deuyll W2D | so...402 strengthe] that strengthith WoHo 402 glad...mery] myrry and
 gladde Wo 403 For...404 hem] *om.* WoHo | For] for as W2D | writ] scripture D | þat] *om.* W2D
 aposteles] holy appostles W2, blessyd appostyllys D | zeden] wente W2D | quan] when as D | jewes]
 weked Jewes D 404 Goddis enemyes] enemyes of god W2, *om.* D | quan...405 skelles] for thre causes
 whan the fende tempteth and turmenteth hym W2, and mery in god for other iij causes whan as þe
 fende tempteth and tormanthe hym D 405 tempteth] temptith hym Wo | .i. *in margin* Cb | is¹]
om. Wo | is²] may be gladde that he is Wo

turmentid of Goddis enemy. The secunde, for in suche tormentes and temptynge the fende scheweth þat he is ful his enemy, and þerfore oweth euery man to be glad þat Goddis enemy is his enemy. And the threde is for be suche tormentes a man is not only releed of the peynes of purgatory, but also it maketh hym to wynne heuene
 410 blisse to his meede. Ihesu seyth in the gospel: ‘Blissed be thei þat sufferen persecucion for rightwysnesse, for here is þe kyn\g/dom of heuene.’

Capitulum septimum

[XII-XIII.]

Also oure olde enemy the fende *and* serpent is often tymes aboute to begyle mannes soule in many sondre maneris. He cometh somtyme vndir þe colour of
 415 goodnesse to disseyuen hem þat fayn wolde doon wel, and specyally of thre þinges I weele speke of. On is this, þat þou3 a creature, man or woman, be neuere soo wel ne so ofte schreuen and in reste of soule, þe fende maketh hem to beleve þat þei ben not
f. 109v | wel schreuen, and alle he doth to brynge þe soule to heuynesse. And somtyme þe fende be to myche trauaile and noi3aunte maketh a man fully to forzete somþing þat

406 turmentid...enemy] troubled by the enemy of god W2D | .ij. in margin Cb | secunde] .ij.is WoHoW2D | for in] that in WoHoD, by W2 | tormentes...temptynge] temptacyons and turmentes W2D | temptynge] temptynges WoHo | *nota mark in margin* H3 407 scheweth] sheweth playnly W2D | ful] *om.* W2D | his enemy] of envy Wo | his] *om.* Ho | and...408 enemy²] *om.* WoHo þerfore...man] euery man ought W2D 408 Goddis] hys H3 | his] goddis H3 | .iij. in margin Cb And] and then D | for] that W2, *om.* D 409 releed] releysed D | of¹] fro Ho | of²] in W2D heuene] euerlastynge W2D 410 to...meede] *om.* W2, in hewyn D | Ihesu...411 heuene] *om.* WoHo Ihesu] our lorde jhesu W2, oure lorde swett ihesu D 411 here is] they shall haue W2, doutles they schall haue D 412 Capitulum septimum] *om.* WoHo, the seuenth chapytre W2, Of iij temptacyons especyall D 413 Also] *om.* WoHo, also it is to vnderstonde that W2D | olde] (lorde *canc.*) olde Cb and serpent] *om.* W2D | and] *om.* Ho | serpent] (the Wo) serpent of helle WoHo | aboute] abowtewarde D 414 many sondre] dyuers and many W2D | sondre] dyvers Wo | maneris] maner of ways D | He...somtyme] [somtyme W2, summe tymes D] he styreth man W2D | vndir þe] in WoHo | þe] *om.* H3W2 415 hem...wel] hym whan (as D) he is well dysposed W2D | hem] man and hem Wo | fayn wolde] *rev.* Wo | of] in W2D | thre...416 of] iij thyngys. The first is when he counsellys vs to ouer moche eyse . . . [extract from Rolle’s ‘Form of Living’ follows: see textual introduction to ME2] D | þinges] temptaciouns WoHo, thynges whiche W2 | I...416 of] *om.* Wo 416 weele] wolde H3 | .i. in margin Cb | On...this] The secunde. The secunde temptacyon is D | this] *om.* W2 | þou3] alof D | man] be it man W2D | ne...417 ofte] *om.* WoHo 417 schreuen] confessed D and...soule] *om.* WoHoW2D | þe] yet the W2D | hem] hym Wo | to] *om.* W2 | þat] *om.* W2 418 schreuen] confessyd D | and alle] þe wyche D | alle] that W2 | þe¹...to²] a man into Wo | to²] into H3HoD, in W2 | And...419 fully] and so anyeth *and* troubleth the poore soule that he maketh hym W2, and so he troubles þe pooer soule þat he makys hym D 419 be...maketh] makith hym this man or womman bi moche trauaile and nysaunce Wo | noi3aunte] no\y/3aunce H3 | fully] *om.* WoHo | to²] for to H3 | somþing þat] what W2D

419 noi3aunte] ‘trouble’

he wolde seye, and þanne he maketh þe soule oute of reste tyl he bee eftsones 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 blyndet for synne, and þerfore he myghte not maken hymself clene. Þe secunde gyle vndir colour

420 wolde] wold or shuld Wo, schulde D | þanne he] *om.* Ho, therby W2D | þe soule] hym W2D | tyl] or Wo, vnto þat D | eftsones...421 schreuen¹] shriven ageyn Wo, newly shryuen agayne W2, newe confessyd agayne D 421 And...for] bott doutles þe fende dothe not þis be cause that D And] but W2 | he¹] the devil Wo | for] for that WoW2 | þat] *om.* Ho | a man] ony W2D often] often and well W2D | schreuen²] confessyd D | fully...422 entarye] for to tarie Wo | fully] hys intente is fully D 422 entarye] lette and trouble W2D | hym¹] hem H3D | to²] *om.* Wo hym²] hem H3D, *om.* Ho | beleue] to bileeve WoHoD | he were] they are D | he] *om.* H3 | oute... 423 synne] blyndet [by W2, with D] synne and out of grace W2 423 and þerfore] wherfore W2, where apon D | he] he as graceles WoHo | þe...470 not²] bott hathe left summe synne behynd that makys hym vnclayne. Bott doutles for all thes fantesys no man ne woman aghte to dowt ne take thought bot verely thynge þat it is by þe false suggestyon of theyre goostly enmye þat wolde lett them from rest and peace of thayre sawlys. And þof it be so sum tyme þat by þe meane of suche fantesys and troubles þat they for geyte sum thyng of thayre charge or duty vnsayd wiche that thay are bondon to say let them be confessyd yf þat they may conveyantly haue þer confessor redy. And yf they may nott lett them then haue a true wyll and purpes to be confessyd as schortly as may be possible. And in þe meane tyme crye god mercy with a contryte hart. And so say afterward at hys best lassure all þe charges wiche he hayd forgyeten yff he may. And þan trust fully þat god hayth forgyffen hym it. For ther is no man in þe warlde so redy to aske god mercy for hys synnys bot doutles oure lorde god of hys gret goodnes is a .C. tymes more redy to forgyue them. The thyrd temptacyon. The therd temptacyon is when a man or woman by deuoute styryngys of thoughtys hathe felyngys of contemplacyon and meditacyon as peraventure mony solitary hayth. Þen he makes \þem/ to thynke þat to holde and kepe thes swetnes of meditacyons is to thayre most profet. For þe intent þat they schulde leve vnsayd ther dyuine serues wiche þat they are bone to say and brynge them in to suche a combrance þat they woite nott wiche way is best for them to take. And all thys he dothe vtterly to dessayue them and cause them to be vnquiet to fulfyll awther of þem bothe. Bott when he attempys any man to leve hys seruyce vnsayd þat he is bone to say þen aghte he þe more diligently deuoutly and reuerently with a gud avysement to say it. And yf it be so þat he say hys seruys alone þen may he when as good thoughtys comys or þat it wyll please god with swetnes or sum hys vysytacyon of þe holy goost to vysyte and towche hym þen shall it be full well done for hym to stynte of hys seruys and attende to þat meditacyon for þe tyme wiche wyll nott long indure and so afterward say furthe hys seruyce where as he leste so þat is seruyce which þat he is bondon vnto be nott lefte vnsayd or vndone. And in thus doying it shal be bott lyttyll lettyng to hys serues and doutles he shall fynde comforthe therin. For þof it lett hym for þe tyme it shall myche more forther hym vnto þe qwykenes of hys soule another tyme. The iijth temptacyon. The fawurte temptacyon is when as a man or woman gyffyth them to to [*sic*] honest dyssporte to strenght þem selfe agayne hys falce wyles and to þe comforth of theyre awne soulys þen wyll þe fenynde cause them to haue a gret conscience therof and puttys into þer myndys þat all such dyssportes is noght bott tyme myspeude in synne and vanyte and that they do synne in vayne and ydyll spendyng of þe tyme and ofte tymes brynge into þer mynde þe synnys wiche they haue byn confessyd appon. And doutles all þis dothe he for to bryng them in to hewenes and dyscomforthe to þe intent þat he myght bryng þem into dyspare. Bott for all suche temptacyons take ze no thoughte for it is þe goostly enmye þat so tempys and trowbles you falsely. D | .ij. in margin Cb | gyle...424 goodnesse] whyle and colour W2 | vndir] of WoHo

of goodnesse þat the fende tempteth *with* is þis. Whanne somme men or women
 425 haue be custom good sterynges and deuoute þouȝtes and felynges of meditacions *and*
 of contemplacions, of suyche *para*uenture as ben solatarye, he wele þanne tempte
 hem to lothe here dyuyn *seruise* þat thei ben bounden to, or [be] werysom, 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 werkynges *with*inne-foorth of
 430 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. And þis ȝe may weel wete is þe fende, for alwey he cometh *with*
 tarynges or *with* false plesaunce. And þis doth he not for thei schulde occupye hem
 highly in contemplacion or in goode meditacions, but for he wolde lette *and*
 435 disturbe hem þerfro, and also he wolde maken hem vtterly to leue þe *seruise* of God
 þat þei ben bounden to. The thredde colour of gyle þat he tempteth *with* is þis.
 Whanne a man or a woman ȝeueh hem to honest solace to strenghte h[e]mself *with*
 f. 110r azens the fendis tormentes in comfort of h[ere] owne soule, þanne the fende | wele
 stere h[e]m to haue consiens þerof, and putteth in here hertis þat alle suyche

424 tempteth...þis] maketh to withdrawe goodnes is that W2 | somme...427 lothe] a man or a woman by deuout sterynges of thoughtes haue felynges of contemplacyon and medytacyon as parauenture some solytarye persones hath and he maketh them to thynke that to holde *and* kepe that medytacyons is to theyr moost proufyte to thentent they sholde leue W2 | somme] somme *with* *minim added above the line* Cb | or] and Wo 425 custom] goode custom Wo | meditacions] goode meditaciouns Wo 426 of¹] *om.* WoHo | contemplacions] contemplacion Ho | as] that WoHo 427 hem] hym H3 | to lothe] *om.* H3 | or...werysom] or werysom Cb, *om.* H3WoHoW2 | and] to Ho 428 make...436 to] bryngeth them in suche a combraunce that they wote not whyche waye is best to them to take and all this he dooth vtterly to deceyue them and cause them to be vnquyet to doo any of theym bothe W2 | to ben] *om.* Wo | weersum] weery Wo | to²] of to H3 | steryth] wil stire Wo | it²] þey H3 429 best] most best Wo | more] *om.* Wo, most Ho | werkynges] werkes H3, werkyng Ho | withinne-foorth of] and Wo, inforth of Ho 430 þat²] *om.* WoHo | at] *om.* WoHo 431 trauailed] taried WoHo 432 to] *rep.* Ho | þis] þus *with* *minim cancelled* Cb | is] that it is Wo 433 tarynges] tariaunce WoHo 434 meditacions] meditacioun Wo 435 þerfro] þer(to *canc.*) fro Cb he wolde] to H3WoHo | God] *om.* Wo 436 .iij. Cb | colour...gyle] crafte or wyle W2 | þat²] is þat [sic] Wo | þis] *om.* WoHoW2 437 a²] *om.* H3WoHo | hem] hym Wo | solace] dysporte W2 hemself] hymself CbH3, hym WoHo | with] *om.* WoHoW2 438 the¹...soule] his false wyles to the comforte of theyr owne soule W2 | in] and H3 | here] his CbH3 | soule] soulis WoHoW2c the²...439 haue] wyll the fende cause theym to haue a W2 439 stere] stire Wo | hem] hym CbH3 *nota mark in margin* H3 | in] in to W2, in W2c | here hertis] hem Wo | hertis] myndes W2

428 weersum] 'hesitant'

disportys is but synne *and* vanyte. And somtyme he wele brynge to here mynde her 440
 fore-don synnes for to tary hem. This he doth for to drawe here hertis to heuynesse,
 for thei schulde no comferte haue but al care and trouble, and so to tempte hem to
 dispeir and to bitter þou3tis.

But the remedies of these temptacions ben þese. As vnto þe firste, þat þe
 feende tempteth a man or woman, þou3 thei ben neuere soo wel schrewen, hem 445
 semeth þat þei ben not wel schr\e/wen but alwey dou3ten þat it is not aright doon,
 or som [synne] is for3ete whiche thei seen nought, but take þei right non heed of
 suyche þoutes, 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 þoru3 trauelouse þou3tes for3eteth somþing of charge þat he 450
 wolde haue seyde, þanne schape a tyme *and* be confessed þerof. And if he may not
 lyztly haue his confessour, þenke þat he wolde ben confessed þerof *quan* he may haue
 his goostly fadir. And in the mene tyme, crye God *mercy* and aske hym for3euenesse
 of alle his trespace, and troust fully it is for[3]ouen. For a man is not so redy to asken
 for3euenesse and *mercy* þat 3et oure *mercyful* lord of his grete goodnesse is more 455

440 disportys] dysporte W2bW2c | And...441 hem] *om.* WoHo | somtyme...443 þou3tis] many tymes bryngeth in to theyr myndes agayne the synnes that they before had done and were confessed of and all that dooth he to brynge them in to heuynes and dyscomferte to thentent he myght brynge theym to dyspayre W2 441 for²...drawe] to dryve WoHo 442 al] alwey Wo | so] so þan WoHo | hem] (*hym canc.*) hem Cb 444 But...451 þerof] neuertheles there be good remedies in these temptacions for as vnto the last where the fende putteth them in a fere whan they dyspose them to honest dysporte and also whan they be neuer so clene shryuen alwey putteth them in a doubte that they haue not shryuen them well or elles that there is yet some synne in theym that they perceyue not but for all these fantasies they oughte to take noo fere nor thought but verayly thynke that it is by suggestyon of theyr ghostly enemy that wolde lette theym from rest and peas of theyr soules and though it be (so W2) somtyme that by the meane of suche fantasies and troubles they for3ete somethynge of theyr charge whiche they ought for to haue sayd lette hym than be confessed yf he may W2W2c | the] *om.* Wo | remedies] remedie Ho | ben þese] is this WoHo | .i. *in margin* Cb 445 woman] a womman Wo | *nota mark in margin* H3 | þou3...ben] that bien thei WoHo | hem...446 schr\e/wen] *om.* Ho 447 synne] tyme Cb, thyng WoHo | take] *om.* H3 | þei right] *rev.* Ho 448 suyche] thises Ho | gnatte] fully it is þe feend to lette *and* distrouble pees *add., canc.* Cb 449 þenken] thynk thei Wo | distrouble] distroy Wo, to distroube Ho | soule] soulis Wo | And if] if it Wo | so bee] *rev.* Ho 450 þoru3] be trauailed thurgh Wo | for3eteth] foryetyng Wo 451 schape] schape he H3, ordeigne Wo 452 lyztly...confessour] haue his confessour lyhtli Ho lyztly] conueniently and lyghtly W2 | þenke...453 fadir] than lette hym haue a full wyll and purpose to be confessed as soone as he can possyble W2 | þenke] late hym thynke Wo | he?] \he/ H3 453 and] and with a contryte herte W2 | hym] *om.* W2 454 of...trespace] for his synnes W2 | and] and than W2 | for3ouen] for þouen Cb, forgyuen hym W2 455 and *mercy*] *om.* WoHo | þat 3et] but that Wo, but W2 | is...456 redy] *om.* Ho | more] moche more W2

redy to zeue it hym. And as touchynge the secunde temptacion, þat þe feende wolde
 lette and forbarre a man fro his dyuyne seruyse þat he his bounden to and tempteth
 hym vtterly to leue it, is þat he be þanne þe more diligent to seye it weel *and*
f. 110v deuoutly, *with* grete reuerence *and* right good ayusement | or attendaunce. And if he
 460 seye his seruyse alone, he may quan deuoute þouȝtes comen, or loue *with* swetnesse
 vysyteth hym, or som hiȝ 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 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
 465 lette hym at oo tyme, it schal supporte hym another tyme. The thredde temptacion
 is þis. Whanne a man in comendable tyme zeueth 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
 afoore don he putteth to his mende for to tarye hym. But alle ȝe þat ben taryed þus
 470 of the feende *with* þese þouȝtes and sterynges, beleue hem not ne charge hem not, for

456 zeue...hym] forgyue theym W2 | zeue] foryeve WoHo | .ij. *in margin* Cb | And] (as
canc.) and Cb | touchynge] to W2 | the] to þe H3 | þat] wherby W2 | wolde] wil WoHo 457 and
 forbarre] *om.* W2 | bounden to] bounde vnto W2 | and²...458 vtterly] vtterly temptynge hym W2
 458 is...þanne] than ought he to be W2 | is...he] he must WoHo | be þanne] *rev.* Ho | to²...459
 attendaunce] deuoutly *and* reuerently with good aduysement to saye it W2 459 deuoutly] diligently
 and deuoutly Wo | right] *om.* WoHo | ayusement or] *om.* WoHo | ayusement] a ayusement Cb
 And...460 alone] yf it be so he say alone his seruyce W2 460 his...alone] aloon his seruice Wo
 deuoute] good W2 | or...swetnesse] with love (and Wo) swetnes and WoHo | loue...462 þat¹] that it
 wyll please god with swetenes 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...hiȝ] and sumtyme bi Wo | visitacion] (*v canc.*) visitacion Cb | of...hym²] touchith hym of
 the holi gost Ho | toucheth] whanne he towchith Wo | stynte] sinyte [*sic*] Wo 462 aftir þat] than
 WoHo | þat²] to W2 | þat³...463 seruyse] his seruice that it Wo 463 seruyse] seruyce that he is
 bounde vnto W2 | ondoon...vnseyde] vnsayd or vndone W2 | ne] and H3, neither Wo | if...þus] in
 thus doynge W2 464 to] vnto hym of Wo, to him Ho | due] *om.* W2 | but] and W2 | comfort...
 eese] ease and comforte WoHo | comfort] grete comforte W2 | And] for W2 465 at oo] for the
 W2 | supporte hym] well [further W2, rofther [*sic*] W2b] hym to the quyckenes of his soule W2W2b
 supporte] support and comfort Wo | another] at another Wo | .iij. *in margin* Cb 466 comendable]
 conuenyable H3WoHo, due W2 | hym] hymselfe W2 467 solace] dysporte W2 | in strengthynge]
 for the strength and comforte W2 | the] and the W2 | 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
 charge for it is the ghostly enemy that so tempteth and troubleth you W2W2bW2c 468 beleue] to
 bileeve Wo | to hym] ther in Ho | and²...469 hym] *om.* WoHo 469 his] *rep.* Cb 470 beleue] be |
 be leue Cb | hem¹] it WoHo | ne...not²] *om.* Ho | hem²] it Wo | for] (for W2) neuertheles ye may
 be sure that W2D

461 stynte] 'cease'

alle þing þat is treuly groundyd in God, it pleseth God *and* not displeseth. Þerfore
 Goddis *seruauntis* musten alwey grounden hem weel in God and don be þe counseil
 of holy cherche, and if thei don so, þei schuln neuere be disseyued. And in as myche
 as all þing hath tyme in Goddis seruyse,⁵⁹ a man auzte to tende to no þing, be it
 neuere soo good, þat schulde lette hym fro Goddis seruyse. And also a man þat is 475
 traueiled and taketh hym to solace in dispyt of þe feend, he ouzte not þat tyme tende
 to þat þing þat wolde tarye hym, but he oweth to schape hym a tyme to crye God
mercy and aske forzeueneesse of all his trespas *and* synne. Þanne ouzte he to taken to | *f. 111r*
 mynde þat þe firste mynde was but a taryenge of þe feende, for he þat is endeles good
 schulde rather stere a man to þenke on his synne in helpe of his lyf þanne in taryenge 480
 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 [XIV.]
 hem so myche errour þat thei wene þing þat is no synne or *paraenture* is weel don
 semeth to hem synne, and of a venyal synne maketh it to seme greuouse as dedly 485
 synne, and of þing of no charge maketh it to seme as þou3 it were don in dispite of
 God or of his seyntes. And some the enemy the fende tarieth so gretly þat *whateuere*

471 þing] thyngs D | þat] wiche W2, wiche þat D | is] *om.* Ho | in] (it *canc.*) in Wo | it...
 displeseth] pleaseth his goodnes *and* no thyng offendeth hym W2D | Þerfore] wherfore all W2,
 wherapon all D 472 musten] thei musten Ho | alwey] *om.* W2D | weel] silf 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] doutles 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 away all other fantasyes and at tyme conuenient 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 trowbled well done it is for to take hym *summetyme* vnto dysporte in
 dyspyte of þe fynde and putt away all other fantesys and then att tyme *convenyant* to crye
 god *mercy* of all hys offences *euermore* prayng vnto hym for *grace* to amende D | *manicula in margin*
 H3 482 Capitulum octauum] *om.* WoHo, the eyght chapytre W2, a specyall gud remedy in
 all *temptacyons*. Capitulum octauum D 483 to¹] for to D | men...487 seyntes] meue men
and women to tender conscience and to brynge them in suche *erroures* and maketh them
 wene somtyme when they do euyl they do noo synne. And somtyme that is well done they
 thynke it synne and maketh a venyall synne as greuouse as a deedly W2, meue men and
 wemen vnto tender conscience throughe wiche he intedyth to bryng them in suche
errowrys as makys them to trust sum tyme when as they do yll þat they do no syne. And
 other *summe* tyme when they haue done well doutles they thyngke they haue done syn.
 And so they make (of *canc.*) a venyall synne as mych and as grevouse as and it wore a
 dedly synne D | women] to wymmen Wo 484 is²] thyng that is Wo 485 a] *om.* Wo | it
 to] hym Wo | it] *om.* H3 | to²] *om.* Ho | as] and WoHo 486 þing] nothyng Wo | to] *om.*
 WoHo | seme] grevous and deedly synne and of thyng of no charge makith it seeme of
 grete charge and Wo | in] in þe Wo 487 some] somtyme also W2D | the enemy] *om.*
 WoW2D | tarieth] encombreth them W2D | whateuere] whatsoever W2, what thyng so euer D

thei doo or leue to do, thei ben so byten in consyens þat þei kan no while togydir
 haue reste in hemself. And alle þis the fende doth þoru3 fals dreed *and* blynde
 490 consyens. But þe remedy of þis temptacion and of all other is þat þei gouerne hem
 be here confessour, or be some good discret persone, and rule hem fully aftir hym
 and not aftir here owne blynde mysrulyd consciens. For suyche a man as is þus
 taryed, if he folwe his owne consyens, 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
 495 muste nedes fallen into gret erroures of þe feende *and* into his handys. And if suyche
 an errour of consyence made be the enemy seye onto zou þat other men feele not
 þat þat 3e feele, and þerfore thei kune not deme ne zeue zou good remedye þerto, and
 þerfore 3e muste folwe zoure owne fantasyes, or ellis 3e þenken þat 3e schuln be lore,
 take 3e non heed of this þouzt *and* steryng, ne of no suyche fantasyes þat comen into

488 leue...do] loue [*sic*] vndone W2, leue vndon D | to do] that thei don nat Wo | byten] sore
 bytten W2D | no...togydir] nat ne wil nat Wo | while] space D | togydir] *om.* Ho 489 reste] ony
 rest W2D | And] and doutles D | alle] *om.* D | fende] cruell enemy W2D | þoru3] by the meane of
 puttyng them in a W2, vnder þe crafte by [*sic*] puttyng of them in a D 490 consyens] consyence
 [that W2, wiche D] he bryngeth them [to W2, vnto D] W2D | þe remedy] *om.* D | remedy]
 remedies Wo | þis...other] these and (of D) all other temptacyons W2D | þis temptacion] þese
 temptacyons H3WoHo | þat...hem] to be gouerned W2, most specyally best to be gouerned D
 491 be¹] aftir Ho | confessour] confessours Wo | or...492 consciens] yf so be þat he be a gostly *man*
 and hayth 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 truly bone to folow theyre counsell *and* leue þe fantasies of þer awne selfe wyll *and* blynde
 conscience D | be²...persone] sum fadir that is a goode man and a wise that is expert in the fiendis
 disceites temptaciouns and subtilitees Wo | be²...good] some other W2 | good] *om.* H3 | rule...492
 consciens] fully put them to theyr rule as afore is sayd and nothyng folowe theyr owne blynde
 consyence W2 | hem] hym Wo | fully] triewly WoHo 492 here] his Wo | blynde mysrulyd] wil
 and Wo | For...493 consyens] *om.* Wo | suyche...493 taryed] *om.* W2D | as] that Ho 493 he¹]
 they W2D | his¹] theyr W2D | consyens...494 wit] wytte *and* conscience doutles it may well be
 reputed for a gret *presumptuose pride* an so myche þat he wolde repute hys awne wyll D | pryde] *perel*
 and a grete *perel* [*sic*] and a grete pride Wo | þat] in that W2 494 wit...þan] withoute bettir and
 Wo | loore] counseyle W2D | þerfore] for W2D | a] þat D | wolde...soo] so wyll doo W2D
 wolde] wole H3Ho 495 into¹] in W2 | of...handys] and in to the fendes handes (and *power* D)
 W2D | if] though WoHo, yf so it be þat D 496 of...onto] be made be thyn enemy it seemyth Wo
 made] made to you W2, made vnto you D | the] your W2D | enemy] ghostly enemy W2D | seye...
 zou] make you thynke W2, wiche wyll make you thyngke D | onto] to H3Ho | feele not] dothe nott
 feyle D 497 þat þat] that W2, þat thyng so sore as D | þat²] *om.* H3 | feele] do feyle it D | þerfore]
 therfor yow seeme that Wo, for that cause W2D | kune] yan [*sic*] W2c | deme...þerto] gyue you good
 (and true D) counseyle or remedye W2D | ne] neither Wo 498 muste] must and wil Wo, nedes must
 W2 | fantasyes] fantastycall mynde wiche 3e aghte nott for to do D | or...500 not] yet for all this
 charge not your herte (to mych D) therwith W2D | ellis...þenken] yee thynk ellis WoHo | schuln]
 shal Wo 499 take] but be my counsail take Wo | and] or Wo, of Ho | into] to WoHo

3our herte, ne charge hem not, but putteth away all suyche erroures | of consciens; as *f. 111v*
 faste as thei comen to mende, lete hem lightly go. And if ony seye þat þei may not
 putten hem away, thei seye not right. For whoso is in wil to do away a fals
 conscience *and* errour, tofore God it is away, þou3 þer leue in hym neuere so many
 fals domes. And þerfore þou3 a man haue neuere so many terynges azens his wil in
 his consciens, he dare not drede hym, for dredeles God schal euere comforte hym or 505
 he deye. *And* the lengere þat he suffereth suyche tarynges, the more is he wurthy in
 the syghte of God.

Capitulum nonum

And þou3 þe feende putte in 3ou ony þou3t of dispeir, or maketh 3ou to þenke
 þat in the our of deth 3e schuln haue suyche yuele þou3tes *and* sterynges and þanne 3e 510
 ben but lore, beleue hem not ne charge it not but answere hym þus, þat 3e haue put
 fully 3our trouste in oure lord God. And þerfore þou3 he tempte 3ou *with* ony
 temptacions, þo[r]u3 the myght of God and merites of his passyon it schal be no

500 charge hem] hevieth yow Wo | away] hem alwey Wo, away in as myche as 3e 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 away] away suche thoughtis Wo | hem] it Ho | thei] verely they D | right] truly W2D
 wil] very wyll W2, veray true wyll D | do] putt D | away²] alway W2c | a...504 domes] ony suche
 false suggestyon [tofore W2, before W2bW2c] god it is put away though they haue in them neuer soo
 false demynges W2W2bW2c, all suche false suggestyons of þe fende doutles it is clene put away in þe
 syght of god þof they haue neuer so false demyngys in them D 503 tofore] before H3 | hym] hem
 H3Ho | neuere so] *om.* Wo 504 þou3...in] haue ye [sic] neuer so many of them ayenst the wyll of
 [his W2, your D] conscyence W2D 505 he...not] 3e nede neuer to D | dare not] nedeth not to W2
 dare] thar Wo | hym¹] them W2D | dredeles] out of doubte W2, *with* owt dowe D | God] almyghty
 god W2D | schal euere] wyll W2D | euere] *om.* Wo, fully Ho | hym²] hym fully Wo, þem D
 506 he¹] they D | deye] *with* grett consolacyon and comforthe *add.* D | the¹] *om.* D | lengere] lenger
 tyme W2D | he²...he³] a man or woman dothe suffer heyre in thys mortall lyue all suche vexacyons and
 troubles doutles þe more are they D | tarynges] tarynges agenst his wil in his conscience Wo,
 vexacyon and trouble W2 | more] more meede Wo | is he] *rev.* Wo | wurthy] thankefull W2D
 507 God] almyghty god and shall haue þe gretter ioe and reward in hewyn D 508 *nonum in margin*
 Cb | Capitulum nonum] *om.* WoHo, the nynth chapytre W2, Howe god doth chastye qwome he luffys
 also a swet narracyon of þe gret mercy of god. *Capitulum nonum* D 509 And] also W2D | þou3t]
 poynt Wo | to] *om.* H3WoHo 510 deth] yowre deth Wo | suyche yuele] 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] *om.* H3 | hem] hym H3WoHo | not¹...not²] noo thyng W2D | it] hym Wo, hem Ho
 hym þus] hym and sey WoD, him Ho, *om.* W2 | put...512 fully] fully put W2D, rully put W2b
 512 oure lord] *om.* W2D | þou3...ony] for all his W2D, for all this W2bW2c | þou3] if Wo
 513 temptacions] temptacioun Wo | þoru3...myght] by the grete power W2D | þoru3] þou3 Cb
 God] almyghty god W2D | merites] þe merytys D | passyon] swet passion D | it] thynke verayly it
 W2D | no...514 3ou] to yow no perel WoHoW2, vnto you \no/ perell D

perel to zou of soule, but to hym it schal turne to schame *and* confusion. And if ony
 515 creature, man or woman, seie to zou ony bytynge woord or wordes of discomfort,
 taketh it mekely *and* paciently, and þenketh þat parauenture it is don þoru3
 temptacion of the fende to distroblen zou and lette zou, or it is a chastysyng of God
 for som worde or for dede þat ze haue don or seyde. For oure lord God dooth lyke a
 louynge modir. A louynge modir þat is wys *and* weel tau3t, sche wole þat here
 520 childern be vertuose *and* weel norischid. And if sche may knowe ony of hem *with* a
 defauzte, sche wole zeue hem a knocke on the heed; and if thei don a gret defaute,
f. 112r sche wole zeue hem a buffet vndir the scheke; and if thei haue don | a grettere
 trespas, sche wole bylasche hem scharpely. Þus doth God, þat is oure louynge fadir
 þat al vertu *and* go\o/dnesse cometh fro. He wole þat his specyal *and* his schosen
 525 chyldern ben vertuose *and* weel tau3t in soule. And if thei don a defaute, he wel
 knocke hem on the heed *with* suyche wordes of displesaunce *and* of discomfort; and
 if thei doo a gret defaute he wole zeue hem a buffet *with* gret scharpenesse in sondry
 maneris, aftir þat the sundry defaultes ben; and if thei don grettere trespaces, he

514 to²...confusion] tourne to the shame and confusyon of your ghostly enemye W2, all shall
 turne vnto þe gret schame *and* confusion of your goostly enemye D | it] *om.* Ho | if] yf þat D
 515 seie] speke W2D | to] vnto D | ony...discomfort] sharpe or dyscomfortable wordes W2D
 516 parauenture] *om.* Wo | þoru3] by the W2D 517 distroblen zou] disturbe Ho, trouble W2D
 lette] to lette Wo | or] or that W2, or ellys þat D | a] þe D, *om.* W2bW2c | chastysyng] signe to
 chaste yow with Wo 518 som] *om.* Ho | worde] wordes D | for²] *om.* WoHoW2 | dede] deydes D
 or seyde] contrarye to his wyll (and plessure D) W2D | For] *om.* Wo | dooth] doeth ful oft Wo
 519 louynge] kynde W2D | modir¹] for a W2D | tau3t] taught her selfe W2D | sche...520
 vertuose] *om.* Wo | sche] doutles sche D | wole] wolde W2D 520 be] were W2D | vertuose]
 vertuously W2 | norischid] nortured W2D | if] yf þat D | knowe...of] perceive WoHo 521 hem]
 hym Wo | knocke] lytyll knoke D | thei...defaute] the defaute be more W2, þe faute be more D
 gret] grettere Ho | defaute] faute Wo 522 sche wole] þen wyll she D | hem] hym WoW2 | vndir]
 on HoW2D | thei...523 trespas] he doo a grete faute W2, they do a grett defawte D | haue] *om.*
 WoHo 523 trespas] defaute Wo | sche wole] þen wyll she D | bylasche...scharpely] sharpely lasshe
 (hym W2, them D) with a rodde W2D | bylasche hem] lassh hym Wo | Þus] and thus W2, and
 doutles accordyng vnto þe same maner D | God] almyghty god D | þat] wiche D 524 þat¹...fro]
 from whome all vertue and goodnes cometh W2D | vertu] vertues WoHo | fro] *om.* Wo | He]
 doutles he D | specyal...525 chyldern] chieldren than [*sic*] bien his special chosin that thei Wo,
 children the whiche been his special chosin Ho | and his] *om.* W2D 525 vertuose] vertuously
 H3W2D | soule] theyr soules W2D 526 knocke...suyche] yeve hem a buffet with stif Wo | the
 heed] theyr hedes W2, þe heddys D | suyche] which Ho, some W2D | displesaunce...discomfort]
 dyscomforte and dyspleasure W2D | displesaunce] (displaunce *canc.*) displesaunce Cb 527 gret¹]
 gretter WoHoW2D, great W2c | defaute] faute W2D | he wole] þen wyll he D | with] in H3
 gret²] gretter WoHo | in] *rep.* D | sondry...528 maneris] dyuers maner wises Wo | sondry] dyuers D
 528 þat...ben] the dyurse condycyon of the defaultes W2, (þer *canc.*) þe dyuers condycyons of þe
 defawtes D | þat] *om.* Ho | sundry] *om.* Wo | don] wyll nott amende bott zet doe D | grettere
 trespaces] a (moche W2, more D) greter trespas W2D | trespaces] defaultis Wo, trespas Ho | he] than
 he W2D

chastyseth hem ful scharpely *with* gret duresses. And alle þis oure good lord dooth
for a specyall loue, for he hymself seyth þat þo þat he loueth he chastyseth.⁶⁹ O 530
treuly, and we token good keep of these wordes, we wolden be gladdere of his
chastysynges þan of alle þe worldes cherysynges. And if we deden soo, alle diseses and
trybulacions schulden turne to comfort *and* joye.

But it is ful harde in tyme of charpenesse, *quan* a soule stondest naked fro alle
goostly *and* bodyly comfort, to take *and* fynde joye in disese. But þei þat stonden in 535
suyche inwarde duresse, thei must seke in all weyes of discomfort how þei mowe
comfort hemself in God, and þenke alwey þat it is for here beste, and trusteth fully
þat God sent neuere chastysyng þat he ne sent comfort, be long tyme or be schort,
where þoru3 he brengeth hem oute of \here/ disese. Þe prophete seyth: 'Many ben
the tribulacions of rightful men, and of all þo God schal delyueren hem.'⁷⁰ And þou3 540
3e fele somtyme sterynges of dispeir or of vnkendely and onreuerent þou3tes, comfort
3ou 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 dreedis | *f. 112v*

529 ful...duresses] with grete sharpnes and dures Wo, moche more scharpely W2D | duresses]
duresse H3Ho | And] and doutles D | good] blessyd W2D 530 a] the W2D | loue] loue (þat D) he
hath vnto vs W2D | he!...þat!] as he sayth hymselfe W2D | he!] *om.* Ho | þo] them W2D | he³
them he W2D | O...531 treuly] forsoth Wo | O] now W2, and therfore D 531 and] yf þat D
keep] heede WoW2D | these] his Wo | wolden] shuld Wo | gladdere] gladd Wo
532 chastysynges] chastysyng W2D | þan...cherysynges] *om.* Wo | þe] this W2 | cherysynges]
cherysshyng W2D | deden soo] so dyde W2D | deden] do WoHo | alle²] veraly all maner of D
diseses...533 trybulacions] dysese and trouble W2, sekenes *and* trowbles D 533 schulden] shal
WoHo | turne] *tourne* vs WoHoW2D | to] vnto D | comfort...joye] gret ioe *and* comforthed
534 harde] harde thus to doo W2D | tyme] the tyme WoW2D | charpenesse] sharpe heuynes W2,
gret scharpnes *and* hevynes D | quan] when as D | a] the Wo | soule] pooer sawle D | stondest]
(th *canc.*) standith Wo 535 goostly...bodyly] bodily and gostly WoD | and²] or WoHo | disese] gret
deseyse D | But...stonden] *neuer* þe lesse all tho þat be D | But] al be it W2 | stonden] be W2
536 inwarde duresse] weywardnes and sorow Wo | in...weyes] at all tymes D | weyes of] wise in suche
Wo | of discomfort] *om.* W2D | how] howe þat D 537 comfort] best comforthed D | and¹] and þen
D | alwey...beste] *om.* W2D | it] al Wo | here] the WoHo | fully] triewly Wo 538 sent¹] sendith
WoD | chastysyng...539 disese] suche chastysyng but that he wolde in longe tyme or in shorte sende
comferte wherby they sholde be brought out of these heuynes W2, suche chastesyng bott þat he wolde
in long tyme or ellys in schorte tyme sende þem gret *comferte* wherby they schulde be brought owte of
all thes gret hevynes D | he] *om.* Ho | comfort] comforyng Wo | be²] *om.* Wo 539 þoru3] (þou
canc.) þoru3 Cb, by Wo | disese] dysesy H3WoHo | þe] for the W2D | seyth] sayth that D
540 rightful men] the rightful man WoHo | rightful] ryghtwys W2D | o²...hem] all suche god shall
delyuer W2D | all þo] hem alle Wo, *om.* Ho | hem] him Ho 541 somtyme] somtymes W2
dispeir...onreuerent] desyres of suche vnkendly [euyl W2, yl D] W2D | vnkendely and] vnreuerent
Wo | þou3tes] wordis and thoughtis Wo 542 more] *om.* WoW2 | in²] *om.* H3 | peyneful] gret
panefull D | þat] wiche þat D 543 suffered] suffreth for you W2, sufferd for you DW2bW2c | And...
as²] for W2, for doutles ofty n tymes D | many] man Wo, many of the (true D) seruautes of god
W2D | desperacions] desperacioun WoHoW2D | dreedis] drede W2D

of sauacion, and specyally Goddis *seruauntes*, and also wordly men and women the
 545 feend tempteth hem to dispeir *quan þei* beholden here greuou synnes, and the
 goostly lyueres he tempteth to dispeir be inputtynge of false dreedys *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*
 dispeir hath be *trauayled*. And amonges all tho þat God hath comfortede *and* broute
 550 oute of þat errour I am steryd to telle of oon of hem, which was a squier þat hizte
 Iohn Homeleis.

This squier þat I haue named had ben a synful man, and soo at þe laste þoru3
 the beholdynge of his synnes and be the feendes temptacions he feel into dispeir soo
 deeply *and* so greuouly þat he had ny lost his mynde. And þus he was traueiled
 555 fourty dayes, þat he myght neyther slepe ne ete, but wasted away *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

544 and¹...547 *predestinacion*] as well worldely men as other goostly lyuers puttynge in worldely
 mennes myndes the greuounesse of theyr synnes and to the goostly lyuers he putteth drede *and*
 strayte conscyence W2, as well warldly men as other goostly luffers oftime puttyng in to warldly mennys
 myndys þe gret grevousenes of theyre synnys and also vnto goostly mennys myndys he puttys oftime yll
 thoughtys gret drede *and* strayte conscience D | the...545 dispeir] *om.* Wo 546 inputtynge] puttyng
 in Wo 547 ymagynacion] imagynaciouns WoHo | *predestinacion*] *predestinacie* Ho | and in] in
 many W2, of many D | in] *om.* Wo | sondry wyses] maners D 548 ful...God] yet for all thys þe good
 lorde D | hath...sent] sendith Wo, sent Ho | comforted] *euermore* comforted D | and²...550 errour]
 [theym W2, his luffers D] and brought theym out of [theyr W2, all D] errours W2D 549 God] he Wo
 550 þat¹] þe H3, *om.* Wo | I...551 Homeleis] I wil tel yow of oon Wo | I¹] and now I W2, a
 narracyon. And therfore now I D | steryd...telle] styred and moued for to tell you W2D | of²] a
 narracyon of D | of hem] *om.* D 551 Homeleis] holmes W2D 552 This...ben] ther was a squier
 that was Wo | *Narracio in margin* Cb | This] A narracyon. This W2 | named] manyd [*sic*] Ho,
 before named D | synful] grete synful W2D | man] mony yeres *add.* D | soo...553 temptacions] in a
 tyme as he bithought hym of his synful livyng that he hadde many yeeris lived in bi the temptacioun of
 the fiend Wo | þoru3] throught W2b 553 his] (*hym canc.*) his Cb | synnes] grete synnes W2, synnys
 wiche he thought was gret D | and] and ryght so D | feendes temptacions] temptacyon of the fende
 W2D | into] in Ho 554 so] *om.* W2D | ny] nere hand WoD | his mynde] all hys fyve inwyttys and
 cleyne owte of hys mynde D | þus...was] *veraly* he was \thus/ D | traueiled] troubled W2D
 555 dayes] days togedder D | þat] so þat D | he] *om.* H3 | myght neyther] ne myght Wo | neyther]
 not D | ne] nor Wo | ete] ete nor dryngke D | away] fast awayward D | in] in the W2D | to] for
 to D 556 spille] destroye W2D | good God] that blessyd gracyous lorde W2D | good] *om.* Wo
 þat] wiche D | ful] so ful HoW2D | pyte...mercy] mercy and pite WoHoW2D | wolde] (*w canc.*)
 wolde D | lore] loste W2D 557 on...he] as he in a day Wo, as he on a day Ho | on] vpon W2, þen
 apon D | in¹...sorwe] *om.* WoW2D | alone] al aloone Wo | an...hym] þer came vnto hym an angell
 D

556 spille hymself] 'kill himself'

in fourme of a man, and saluted þe squier ful goodly, 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 disese?' 'Nay,' seyde the squier, 'it is not the 560
 to telle.' '3is,' seyde the aungel, 'þou wost neuere how weel I may helpen the, and thi
 disese remeue. A man schulde', seyde þe aungel, 'alwey in discomfort *and* heuynesse
 discourere his herte to some creature þat myght ese hym. For þoru3 good counseil, he
 myght', seyde þe aungel, 'recouere bothe | to comfort and to heele, or in sum wyse *f. 113r*
 haue good remedy.' The squier answard the aungel a3en and seyde þat he wiste weel 565
 þat he cowde not ne myght not helpe hym, and þefore he wolde \no3t/ 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 a3enwarde haue seyde som word þat schulde
 vtterly haue disesed hym. And quan the aungel siz þat he wolde be no weye tellen
 hym, he seyde to hym in this wyse: 'Now,' seyde he, 'sethen þou wilt not telle me thi 570
 greuaunce, I schal tellen it the. Þou art', seyde the aungel, 'in dispeir of thi sauacion,
 but truste fully þou schalt be saued, for the mercy of God is so gret þat it passeth alle

558 fourme] likenes Wo, þe forme an lykenes D, þe fourme W2c | man] erthly man D
 saluted] salued WoHo | goodly] goodly and mekely D | talked] þen commounde D | Þanne...559
 hym] and saide thus Wo, in full curteys maner sayenge vnto hym W2D 559 Þou] man thou W2D
 seyde he] *om.* H3WoW2D | seyde] queth Ho | a...of] to haue grete W2D | heuynesse] hevynes
 quod the aungel Wo | sorwe] ful of grete sorowe Wo 560 Telle...the!] I prae the tel me Wo, where
 apou I hertly beseche þe to tell me D | the!] you H3 | what causeth] what is the cause of Wo, the
 cause of W2D | thei] yure H3 | disese] disease *and* hevynes D | seyde] qvath Ho | it] that Wo, by
 my faythe it D | the³...561 telle] to be tolde to the W2D 561 3is] yes hardely W2D | seyde] quath
 Ho | neuere] not W2D | weel] *om.* WoHo, well þat D | the²] *om.* W2 | thi...562 remeue] remoeve
 thi disease from the Wo, remoue thy dysese W2D 562 A...563 herte] for a man beyng in
 dyscomforte sholde [alwey dyscouer W2, euermore dyscouer *and* schew D] his heuynes W2D
 schulde...aungel] quoth the angel shuld Wo | seyde] quath Ho 563 discourere] (discomf *canc.*)
 discouere Wo | ese] helpe D 564 seyde...aungel] *om.* WoHoW2D | bothe] *om.* W2D | to¹] *om.*
 WoHoW2D | to²] *om.* WoHoW2D | heele] helthe D 565 haue] he myght haue Wo, *om.* Ho
 good] *om.* W2D | and seyde] *om.* Ho 566 þat...not²] he neyther coude ne myght W2, þat nawther
 cowthe he \ne/ myght D | þat] *om.* Ho | not¹] nat do that Wo | ne] nor he Wo | hym¹] hym he
 saide Wo | telle] tell it to W2, tell it vnto D 567 This] the Wo, this sady [*sic*] W2, and thus the D,
 this sayde W2bW2c | wende] wenyng W2D | alwey] euermore D | this aungel] thangel Wo | he...
 568 hym] he hadde told him he dredde that Ho | he] *om.* W2, gretly D 568 þat¹] *om.* H3 | if] and
 Wo | tolde] tolde it vnto W2 | wolde a3enwarde] sholde W2D | a3enwarde...569 disesed] have
 yeven hym wordis of more discomforte ageyn that shuld vtirly have displeasid Wo | seyde] sayd vnto
 hym D | word] word of discomfort Ho, grewouse wordys D | schulde] wolde D 569 disesed hym]
 greued hym more W2D | disesed] displesid Ho | quan] *om.* H3 | siz] sawe wele Wo | þat] *om.*
 HoW2 | wolde] wolde not Ho | be...weye] in no wise Wo | be no] nott by no maner of D | tellen]
 tell it vnto W2 570 he¹] þen he D | to hym] vnto the squyer W2D | wyse] maner D | Now...he²]
om. WoHo | seyde he] *rev.* H3, *om.* W2D 571 greuaunce] greue W2D | I] doutles I D | the¹] to
 the D | seyde] quoth WoHo | dispeir] dy\3s/peyre H3, gret dyspare D 572 fully] me faythfully W2,
 me truely D

his werkes and surmounteþ all synnes.’ ‘It is sooth,’ seyde þe squier, ‘I wot weel þat
 God is *merciful*, but he is *rightful* also, and his *rightwysnesse* muste nedys punysche
 575 synne, and þerfore I drede his *rightwysnesse* in iugementes.’ The aungel answerde
 hym azen, and tolde hym many exaumples, how God ful graciously is *merciful* to
 synneres. But þis squier of whom I telle was soo deeply fallen in heuynesse and in
 dreed 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
 580 open schewynge þat þou schalt be saued?’ seyde þe aungel to the squier. ‘I haue here
 thre dises þat I wole þrowe, and þou schalt throwe, 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 sauacion?’ 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
 f. 113v he, ‘certis þat dar I not, | for I wot wel, þou3 I caste þe dise, mo þanne þou hast cast

573 surmounteþ] surmountith and passith Wo | all] all maner of D | seyde] quoth WoHo
 574 but] and H3, but also Wo | rightful also] *rev.* W2D | also] *om.* Wo | rightwysnesse] right Wo
 muste...575 rightwysnesse] *om.* H3 | nedys] (pu *canc.*) nedys D 575 synne] and deeme every man
 after that he hath deserved *add.* WoHo | rightwysnesse in] *om.* WoHo, ryghtfull W2D | in] and H3
 The] þen þe D | answerde] spake vnto W2, sayd vnto D 576 exaumples] grete examples W2D
 God...merciful] gracious and mercyfull our lorde god is W2D | graciously] of grace Wo 577 But]
 Bott for all þat he cowthe say D | þis] the W2D | of...telle] *om.* WoD | I telle] we spake W2
 deeply fallen] deepe Wo | in¹] into D | heuynesse...578 dreed] dyspayre W2D 578 take...comfort]
 no comforthe take D | comfort] (kon *canc.*) comfort Cb | þing] noþinge H3WoHo, ony thinge W2D
 he seyde] þe angell spake D | seyde] coude saye W2 | Þanne...579 seyde¹] *om.* Wo | spake...aungel]
 the aungell spake agayne W2, þe angell sayd D | to] vnto D 579 and seyde] in this maner W2, agayne
 in thys maner D | O] a Wo | seyde²...þat] ihesu mercy D | seyde he] quoth thangel WoHo | quat
 þat] *om.* H3WoHo | quat] *om.* W2 | hard] veray harde D | haue] haue (*haue canc.*) Cb, nowe haue
 D 580 schewynge] knowlege H3, prove D | seyde...aungel] than sayd he W2, and sayd D | seyde]
 quath Ho | to] vnto D | I...here] beholde here I haue D 581 þat] *om.* WoHo, wiche D | wole] shal
 Wo | throwe] throwe them also W2, throwe also D | whoso] he that Wo, who þat HoW2D | most]
 þe most D | on] in Wo, of W2D 582 sekirly...saued] shal be saved sikerly WoHo | sekirly]
withowtyn dowte D | he] *om.* W2 | A] a a D | seyde] q<uath?> Ho | myght] may D | in...583
 certeyn] trowe throwyng of the dice that bien vncerteyn to be an open signe Wo | in] <thorw?> Ho
 þrowynge] this throwyng W2D | dyses] the dyce W2D 583 in] *om.* W2D | my] my(*n canc.*) Cb
 and¹...it] I holde this he saide Wo | a] as a D | The] that notwithstandinge the W2,
 nottwithstandyng þe D 584 had] he Wo, he had W2D | on] vpon Wo | dee] of the dyce W2, one of
 þe dyce D | syxe] the nombre of syxe W2D | he...þanne] than he bad Wo | bad þanne] *rev.*
 H3HoW2D | þrowe] to throwe Wo | O] a Wo | seyde...585 he] quoth the squyer WoHo, than sayd
 the squyer W2D 585 certis] certaynly W2D | þat...not] I dare nat throwe the dice Wo | not] not
 doo W2D | þou3...dise] thow hast cast and Wo | þou3] and D | caste] thraw D | þe dise] *om.*
 W2D | þou] þe W2b | cast] *om.* Ho

schulde I not haue, and if I hadde lesse þan þou hast, I schulde vtterly falle in discomfort.' But soo þe aungel spak, þat at þe last þe squier threwe the dise. And in the þrowynge, be Goddis myght, euery 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 590 brynge hym oute of his wo. And þanne he cau3te so gret comfort *and* ioye in þe mercy of God and in þe goodnesse of his grace þat alle his sorwes and dredis wenten clene away, and he becam þanne Goddis seruauant, and was a blissed leuere. And *quan* he schulde departen fro þis worlde, he diuysed þat whanne he was deed, þere schulde be leid upon hym a ston wreten *with* þese wordes aboute þat folwen: 'Here lieþ Iohn 595 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 redde upon hym the

586 schulde¹...haue] may I nat cast Wo, can I nott do D | schulde I] *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...vtterly] sholde I W2, doutles sholde I D in] *in* to HoD 587 discomfort] ferther 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, desyred and spake W2 | at...last] *om.* Ho | þe³...dise] he toke þe dyce and threw þem D | þe³...threwe] he cast Wo, he threw Ho | And] and so D | in] *om.* H3 588 the] *om.* W2 | þrowynge] castyng Wo | Goddis myght] the gracyous myght and power of god W2D myght] grace H3 | claf atweyne] deuyded in two W2D | atweyne] in tweyne H3, on twynne Ho oon] in Wo | eche] euery WoW2D | dee²] halfe H3 | sixe] the nombre of syxe W2, cast vpwarde þe nowmber of sex D 589 so...hadde¹] \so/ hayd he D | the] *om.* WoHo | merueiled...this] was (gretly D) meruaylynge therupon W2D 590 vanyschid] (hadde *canc.*) vanyschid Cb, vanysshed away Wo, sodanly wanyshed away D | oute] *rep.* Cb | þo...wel] wherfore he thought veryly [than W2, that W2c] W2W2c, whereupon he thoughte *verraly* þat D | it] that it Wo | an aungel] aungel Cb | sent] that was sent Wo | of²] from WoHoW2D 591 his] this Wo | wo] sorowe W2, sorowfull pane and trowble.D | cau3te] toke to hym Wo, toke W2D | so gret] moche W2D 592 mercy...grace] goodenes and mercy of god WoHo, grete mercy *and* goodnes of god in suche maner W2D | sorwes...dredis] dredes and sorowes W2D | wenten...593 away] were cleene away and agoo Wo, weren clene away Ho, were clene departed (from hym D) W2D 593 clene] *om.* H3 | and¹] and after þat D þanne...leuere] a vertuous man and the very seruauant of god and lyued blyssydly W2, a *mervelouse vertuose man* and þe *veray* true *seruaunde* of god and so lyffyd blyssydly mony yerys after D | þanne] *om.* Ho | leuere] 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 wryten aboute it W2D | upon] on WoHo 596 Homeleis] homelay Wo, holmes W2D | þat] wiche D | mercy] gret mercy D | may seyn] *om.* Wo | seyn] crye D | largeis] this is þe wrytyng vpon the same man his grave *add.* Wo | I] for I Wo, doutles I D | knew] knowe H3WoHoW2bW2c | wurchipful] worthi Wo | persoone] man Ho 597 þat¹] wiche D | þere...lyeth] \þer as he is buried/ Wo | þere] where W2D | as] *om.* Ho | þat²] and he Wo, and Ho, wiche þat D | upon...598 seyde] the same wordes afore sayd wryten on his tombe W2, þe same scripture before rehersed wrytten apon hys tombe D | the] these 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 mercyful lord God, þanked *and*
 worchepid mote he bee, sent þus goodly comfort to þis man þat was a wordly synful
 600 man, and receyued hym to his grace, and brouzte hym oute of dispeir, þer schulde no
 man ben heuy ne discomforted þouȝ he fele temptacions of dispeir, for hardily God
 wole comforten hym whanne he seeth tyme. 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 blissyng of holy cherch, for
 f. 114r holy writ seyth: ‘Blyssed be | thei þat suffren temptacions, for whanne thei ben
 preuyd thei schuln taken þe crowne of lyf, the which God hath behizt to hem þat
 louen hym.’⁷¹

Capitulum decimum

O ȝe childern of holy cherche þat haue forsaken the worlde for helthe of youre
 610 soules and princypally to plesen God, comforte 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 example
 of Petir in the gospel, where þat he asked oure lord Ihesu what rewarde he schulde
 haue þat had forsaken alle þing to folwe hym, and oure lord answerde hym *and* seyde
 þat he schulde iugen *with* hym þe twelue tribis or kynredis of Israel at þe day of

598 sethen] sythen þat D | God] *om.* Wo | þanked...599 bee] *om.* W2D 599 sent...comfort] that sent comfort so goodely WoHo | þus] vs W2c | goodly comfort] godly H3 | goodly] his gracious W2D | þis] his Wo | þat] wiche þat D | a wordly] worldly and a Wo | synful...616 alle] *omitted due to missing folio* Ho 600 to] vnto D | his] *om.* H3W2D | þer...601 dispeir] *om.* Wo þer] verraly me thyngke þer D 601 heuy...dispeir] dyscomforted nor (ȝet D) dyspayre of ony temptacions W2D | hardily God] *rev.* H3 | hardily] dowltes D 602 whanne...603 comfort] *om.* H3 whanne] when as D | tyme] best tyme Wo, his tyme W2D | to...603 comfort] comfort to a man Wo | to] *om.* W2D 603 anon] shortely W2D | it] dowltes it D | is...the] shall be to his W2, shalbe vnto \hys/ D | eerne hym] make hym to deserue Wo | eerne] gete H3 | And] *and* therfore W2D | alwey] euermore D | quan] when as D | feele] thynke of W2, haue D 604 temptacions] temptacioun Wo | blissyng] blesynges W2 | holy] all holy W2D 605 writ] scripture D temptacions] temptacioun Wo 606 preuyd] well proued W2D | thei] dowltes they D | taken] haue W2D | lyf] euerlastyng lyue D | the] *om.* Wo | God] almyghty god W2D | behizt] promysed W2D | to] vnto all D | hem] hym H3 607 hym] hym truely D 608 Capitulum decimum] *om.* Wo, the tenth chaptyre W2, the conclusyon of this treatyse. A frutefull *and* dewoute exhortacyon. *Capitulum decimum* D 609 O] T *painted initial* H3 | þat] wyche þat D | helthe] þe helth WoW2, þe specyall helthe D 610 soules] soule Wo | plesen] serue Wo | ȝe¹] yow Wo | whom] whome þat D 611 serue] to serue Wo | ful] mercyfull D | example...612 of] the wordis that crist spak to Wo 612 þat] *om.* Wo, as W2D | asked] askeþ H3, asked of Wo | oure] \our/ D | Ihesu] Ihesu cryst W2D | rewarde] warison and meede Wo 613 þing] thyngs D | to] for to D | and¹...hym²] *om.* H3 614 iugen] sitte and juge Wo | tribis or] *om.* Wo | or kynredis] *om.* D | or] of W2

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 any other worldly good, þei schuln hauē
 here in þis lyf an hundirt folde mede and blisse *witbouten* ende.⁷² Þerfore, suster,
 caste away all fals dredis þat wolde disturble and lette 3ou fro loue *and* hope in God.
 For no þing pleseth so moche þe feende as to see soules *witdrawen* 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 discomfourt: ‘Allas, I feele not þat loue, I haue not þat loue þat is soo
 good’, and so be youre owne ymagynacion falle in discomfourt *and* heuynesse of herte, 625
 and þenk and | deeme 3oureself lore, but put away alle heuynesse and discomfourt, and *f. 114v*
 þenk weel it cometh of the enemye þe feende to entarye 3ou. Haueth a good wil to
 loue *and* to plesē God, and prenteth wel þese woordes in 3oure herte, þat a good wil
 is acceptid as for dede 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
 W2 | all] al thoo Wo, *om.* W2D | only] *om.* Wo | on...616 þat¹] he bott D 616 þat¹] *om.* W2
 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)
 W2D | other] *om.* H3WoHo | good] for his love *add.* WoHo 618 here] *om.* H3W2D | mede] of
 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 blisshed [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 dyscomfourteth 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 | haue] feele WoHo 625 owne] *om.* Wo | ymagynacion] imagynaciouns Wo | falle] to falle
 Wo | in] into WoD 626 þenk] to thynke Wo | and deeme] *om.* WoW2D | 3oureself] you D
 lore] but lore WoD | but] nay nay W2D | heuynesse...discomfourt] suche dyscomfourtible heuynes
 W2D 627 weel] *om.* Wo | it] þat yt H3WoD | the] your W2D | enemye...feende] feend your
 enemy WoHo | to¹...3ou] *om.* W2D | entarye] tarie WoHo | Haueth] and lokith that yee haue
 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 | dede] a dede W2

630 And comforte zow alwey in þe name of Ihesu, for Ihesu is as moche to seie as
 sauour. Þenketh weel þervpon and haue it weel in mynde, *and* his passyon, and also
 his holy *vertues*, for noþing schal put away so soone alle þese veyne dredis and
 temptacions and alle maner of fantasyes as for to haue weel in mynde þe name of
 Ihesu, his passion, *and* his glorious *vertues*. Þese thre been schelde *and* spere, armure
 635 and strengthe to dryue adoun the feende, be he neuere soo fersly aboute man or
 woman. And specyally to þenk on his gracyous *vertues*, how God þe fadir in hym is al
 dyuyne 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
 640 forzeue. Not thre goddis but oo God in thre persones, thre persones and oo God
 only, in whom is al blisse and al glorye. He is so fair and bright schynynge þat all
 aungell[s] wondern of his bewte; his glorious blisful *presence* feedeth and fulfilleth
 alle þe court of heuene *with merthe and* melodye þat is euere lastynge. In hym is al
 benignyte, kepynge vs fro vengeaunce; in hym is al grace and gentilnesse, curtesie,

630 And] and then D | alwey] euermore D | name] holy name Wo | Ihesu¹] swete ihesu D
 to] for to Wo 631 sauour] a sauour W2, a sayveoure or a helper D | þenketh] *and* therefore thynke
 W2D | þervpon] euer therupon W2, euermore thereapon D | haue...in] bere it in your W2D
 mynde] your mynde Wo | and²] and thynkith oft vpon Wo, with W2D | passyon] blessed passion D
 also...632 vertues] vpon his most mervailous mekenes and vpon his contynual fervent love that he hadde
 and ever hath to yow and to al mankynde and vpon his chastite pacience and other *vertues* Wo
 632 holy] other grete W2D | put...soone] so soone putte away WoW2, putt so shortly away D
 þese...and] dredefull W2D | veyne] (v *canc.*) veyne Cb 633 and] of Wo | alle...of¹] *om.* W2D | of¹]
om. H3Wo | for...of²] the remembraunce of this (swet D) name W2D | þe...634 passion] his most
 blissed name ihesu and his most painful passioun Wo 634 passion] bytter passyon W2D | his²] *om.*
 W2D | Þese] doutles thes D | thre...spere] ben þre scheldys and speres H3 | schelde] *veray* shielde
 WoHo 635 adoun] downe W2D | feende] fendes power W2D | fersly aboute] fiers al vnto Wo
 aboute] set to tempte W2D | man] a man Ho | or...636 woman] *om.* Wo 636 gracyous] moste
 merciful goodenes and Wo, grete W2D | *nota mark in margin* H3 | how] *om.* Wo, howe þat D
 hym] hym sylfe H3WoHoW2D | is] hath W2D 637 in] and *veray* god in Wo, *and* in W2D | is al]
 hys ally H3 | myght] myght and power and W2D | to] and to Wo | no...638 possibilite] is all
 thyng possyble and nothyng (is D) impossyble to hym W2D | is²] *om.* Wo 638 possibilite]
 possibilite is in hym that he may do al thyng what that ever he wil Wo | and¹] also D | is al]
 wyche is
 \all/ D | made] may make W2D | all þing²] *om.* W2D 639 is] in whome is D | loue...bounte] oon
 in trynite Wo | *nota mark in margin* H3 | þat] that of his gracious and mervailous bounte Wo, wiche
 D | moment] mynvtte DW2bW2c | all...640 forzeue] may forgyue all synnys D | may] bien Wo
 640 Not] I saye not to you W2D | oo¹...persones¹] *om.* W2D 641 only] *om.* W2D | and¹...glorye]
 glorie and joie Wo | al²] *om.* H3HoW2D | and²] and so D 642 aungells] aungell Cb, the aungelles
 W2, þe angellys in hewyn D | wondern] joien Wo, meruayle W2, dothe gretly mervell D | of] on
 WoHo | blisful] (and D) blessydfull beaute *and* W2D 643 court] holl court Wo | merthe] suche
 myrthe W2D | þat] wiche D | is euere] ever more is Wo | is¹] *om.* Ho | euere lastynge] euermore
 lastyng *withowt* end D | *two manicularae in margin* H3 644 kepynge] sparyng WoHo | in] and in
 W2D | gentilnesse...645 largynesse] goodenes fredom curtesye and al gentilnes al largesse Wo

freedoam *and* largynesse, pite, mercy and forzeuennesse, joye, swetnesse, and endeles 645
helthe. Suster, he is in alle oure tribulacions *quan* we clepen onto hym, | oure *f. 115r*
comfort, oure strengthe, oure helpe, and oure soules helthe. Suster, þis is zoure
spouse, whom 3e 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 þenke, ne tunge telle; the blisfulnesse of his *presense* may not 650
be seyde ne wreten. Ioyeth þerfore in oure lord Crist Ihesu, for he hath bouth zou ful
deere to brynge zou 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 descende fro þin
hyge trone down into þis weylynge worlde, the valey of woo *and* wepyng, and heere to
taken oure kynde, and in þat kynde þou sufferest peyne and passyon *and* cruel charp 655
deeth to brynge oure soules onto thy kyndom. Þou merciful lord, for3eue me all þe
synnes þat I haue don, þou3t, *and* seyde. Glorious trinite, sende me clennessse of herte
and purete of soule, restore me *with* holy vertues, and strengthe me *with* þi myght,
þat I mowe alwey *with*stonden synne *and* all temptacions. O goode lord, comforte me
with thin holy gost, and fulfille me *with* *perfi3t* grace, þat I may fro hens forth lyue 660
vertuosly and loue þe *with* all my myght, *with* alle myn herte, and *with* alle myn

645 and¹] *om.* Ho | joye...646 helthe] our ioye and swetnes and al welth and endles Wo
endeles...646 helthe] al endles welthe Ho 646 Suster...oure¹] our socour he is in all W2D | Suster]
om. WoHo | clepen onto] call vpon W2, wyll call appon D | onto] to H3WoHo 647 oure¹...helpe]
and help and strength Wo | oure¹] *and* Ho | and] and al Wo | Suster...zoure] he is our Wo
Suster] Iwys syster W2, verraly D | þis] he D | zoure] our W2 648 spouse] true spowse D | 3e
desyre] we ought Wo | desyre] sholde *euermore* dissire D | his] *om.* D | ne] *om.* D 649 into...650
þerinne] [to W2, vnto D] all them that be in the courte of heuen W2D | into] in WoHo | þat] *om.*
H3 650 may¹...herte] noo herte can W2, no hart may D | ne] nor W2D | tunge] (*tong canc.*) tonge
D | telle] may tell D | the] for the W2D | blisfulnesse] blyssydnes W2D | may not] can can [*sic*]
neyther W2, can nawther D | may²] it may Wo 651 seyde ne] *om.* Wo | seyde] thowte Ho | ne] nor
W2DD | Ioyeth] ioye ye W2D | Crist Ihesu] cryst ihesu cryst [*sic*] W2D, ihesu cryst W2bW2c | he]
om. Ho 652 to þat] vnto D | And] therfor Wo | seith] therfore saye W2D | somtyme] *om.* W2D
to³] vnto D | with...herte] *om.* W2D | a] *om.* WoHo | herte] in this maner or bettir if ye can *add.*
Wo, this wordes *add.* Ho 653 holy] blyssyd lorde *and* D | þe] *om.* H3, yow WoHo | þin] yowre
WoHo, the W2D 654 trone] trone of heyvyn D | weylynge] wretched W2D | worlde the] worldis
Wo, <world?> Ho | the] and D | wepyng] wrechydnes D | and²] *om.* Wo 655 kynde¹] nature
W2D | kynde²] nature W2D | þou sufferest] ye suffred WoHo | peyne] peynes Ho, gret payne D
and³] with W2D 656 onto] to WoHoW2 | thy] yowr WoHo | þou] yee Wo, o ye Ho, therfore
W2D | þe] my W2D 657 don...seyde] done in ded thought or worde D | þou3t...herte] of hertly
pride Wo 658 and¹] *om.* W2D | holy] thy holy W2D | and²] *om.* W2D | þi] yowre WoHo
659 mowe alwey] alway may W2, *euermore* may D | synne] the fende W2D | all] *om.* Wo
temptacions] euyll temptacyons W2, hys temptacyons D 660 thin] your WoHo, þe D | *perfi3t*] yowre
parfite Wo | grace] grace and charyte W2D | fro...forth] hensforward Wo | fro] *om.*? Ho 661 loue]
to loue D | þe] yow WoHo | myght] herte W2D | herte] myght W2D | with³] *om.* WoD

soule, and neuere to offende the, but euere to folwe thi plesynges in wil, word, þou3t, and dede. Graunte me this, God infinite þat eternaly schal dure. Amen.' Suster, if 3e don thus, I hope it schal doon you eese.

665 And þou3 3e fynde no maner of comfort ne swetnesse ne deuocion quan 3e
 wolde, be not þerfore discomforted, but suffereth mekely. Many ben þat stry[u]en
 f. 115v with himself as þou3 thei wolde haue swetnesse and | deuocion be maistrie, and I sey
 3ou, so wole it not come, but be mekenesse it wil sunnere be had; and þat is þus, þat
 a man holde hymself vnworthy to haue ony swetnesse or comfort, and offer\e/n hym
 670 lowly to the wil of God, and put his wil fully in Goddis wil. A man schulde not
 desyre to haue swetnesse and deuocion for his owne comfort and plesaunce, but
 purely for this entent, only to plesse God and to folwe his wil, and þerfore if we putte
 alwey oure wil in his wil it suffiseþ onto vs whether we haue it or noon. Somme also
 wenen but if thei felen swetnesse and deuocion þat thei ben oute of grace. But
 675 certeynly somme þat felen in himself no swetnesse ne deuocion, þei ben in more

662 and...to¹] so that I neuer W2D | the] yow WoHo | euere] euermore D | thi plesynges] yow plesyng Wo, youre plesing Ho | plesynges] pleasures W2, pleasure D | word...663 dede] in worde in dede and thoughte D | þou3t] om. Wo 663 Graunte] now graunte W2D | this] this prairer WoHo | God] good lorde that arte W2, good lorde whiche art D | þat] whiche W2D | dure] endure WoW2D | Amen] om. WoHoW2D | Suster] and Wo, and now good syster W2, and þerfore good brother or suster D 664 thus...hope] after þis lyttyl counsell before rehersyd doutles I trust þat D eese] grette ease W2, gret comforthe and pleasure D 665 fynde] feele WoHo | of] om. H3WoHo ne¹] om. W2D, nor W2c | ne²] nor W2D 666 wolde] wolde haue it D | be...þerfore] yet be nott 3e þe tytter D | be] be ye Wo | suffereth] suffre it W2D | mekely] and that shall ye fynde most best for yow add. Wo | Many ben] many men ther bien Wo, many ther been Ho, for ryght many there be W2D | ben] ben þer H3 | þat] om. Ho, wiche D | stryuen] stryen Cb 667 swetnesse and] swete W2D | and²] and doutles D | I...668 3ou] om. WoHo 668 3ou] to 3ou H3, you for trouthe W2, to you for truthe D | not] neuer D | come] be had W2D | be mekenesse] with mekenes and pacyence D | it²...had] moche sooner it [may W2, wyl D] be gotten W2D | it²...sunnere] for so it wil moche the sonner Wo, it wolde mochil the sonere Ho | þus] as thus W2D 669 holde] holde and thynke W2D | ony] any suche D | and] and þen D | hym] hymselfe W2D 670 lowly...wil¹] vnto þe wyllys D | lowly] holy Wo | God] in the most mekest wise add. Wo | fully] euermore fully D | in...wil³] to the wyll and mercy of that blessyd lorde W2, vnto þe wyllys of þat blyssed and mercyfull lorde D in] into Ho | A] for a W2D 671 desyre] delite WoHo | swetnesse] that swetnes W2D | for] of Wo 672 for...only] and onely entenyng W2D | for this] his Wo | to²] gladly to Wo | his] goddis WoHo | and²...673 wil²] om. H3 | þerfore...673 wil²] than W2, when DW2bW2c 673 alwey] om. Ho | in] into WoHo | his] godes Ho | it¹] that it Wo | suffiseþ] is sufficyent D | onto] to WoHo | whether] wheder þat D | noon] we haue it nat Wo, haue it not Ho, nott DW2bW2c also...674 wenen] persons þer be þat trustes D 674 but...felen] [that and W2, yf þat D] they haue not suche W2D | and] of D | grace] þe state of grace D | But] om. Wo 675 somme] some there be W2D | þat] wiche D | felen...hymself] in themselfe feleth W2D | in¹...swetnesse] no swetnes in hymself Wo | in himself] hemsylf in H3 | no] no maner of D | ne] nor W2D | þei] that W2D more...676 grace] myche more grace and mede before god D

grace þan some þ[at] felen swetnesse and deuocion, and haue many comfortys, for betir were mekenesse *withoute* feelynges þan felynges *withouten* mekenesse. Þerfore, suster, suffere mekely and pacyenly whateuere falleth to 3ou, and alwey haue a good wil to do as most were to þe plesynge of God. And *quan* ony discomfort cometh in 3our herte be ymagynacions or be temptacions of þe enemy, haueth tho wordes in 680 3oure mynde þat often ben seyð in this writynge, þat a good wil schal be accepted as for dede. For and 3e desire to loue and plese God and to be vertuouse, it is take and accepted as for dede of oure lord God, if 3e folwe it to 3oure myght alwey *quan* reson cometh to 3ou *with* desirful wil to don weel. And if 3e haue felt comfort *and* swetnesse, þou3 3e fele þe same temptacions aftir as 3e deden afore, beth not þerfore 685 discomfortide, ne þenketh þus: ‘Allas, it is comen a3en, it wole neuere away fro me’, and so falle in discomfort be 3our owne ymagynacions. But comforte 3ow in God,

676 some þat] the other that W2, they be þat D | þat] þo Cb | felen] fleth W2bW2c swetnesse...deuocion] it W2, it *and* haith it D | and deuocion] *om.* WoHo | and?] for they W2D comfortys] *comforthes and* pleasurs þerin D | for] and W2, and doutles D 677 were] it were W2, it is to haue D | feelynges] feelyng WoW2D | þan] þen to haue D | felynges] feelyng WoW2D 678 suster] *om.* Wo, good broder or suster D | suffere...pacyenly] mekely and pacyently suffer D whateuere] what that ever Wo, whatsoeuer D | to] vnto WoW2D | alwey] euer W2, euermore D haue] se þat 3e haue D 679 as...of] that may be moost plesynge to W2, þat thing wiche may be moost plesyng vnto D | most] most best WoHo | plesynge] plesaunce WoHo | in...680 herte] *om.* W2, vnto you D | in] to Wo, into Ho 680 ymagynacions...temptacions] temptacyon or ymagynacyon W2D | be?] *om.* Wo | þe] yowre WoHoW2, your goostly D | haueth] þen se þat 3e haue D | tho] these Wo, the W2D | in] truely in D 681 ben] is WoHoW2D | in...writynge] in this wrytynge before wiche is W2, before in þis wrytynge wiche is D | writynge] litel wrytynge Wo | þat?] *om.* D as...682 for] for a D, in þe syght of god for a good W2 682 dede] a dede Wo | loue...vertuouse] be vertuous and to loue [and please god W2, god and please hym D] W2D | and?...God] god and please him Ho | it] that desire Ho | take and] *om.* W2D | take] take(d *canc.*) Cb 683 as...God] of our lord god as for (the Wo) dede WoHo | dede] þe dede W2c | of] before W2D | oure lord] þe syght of D | folwe] so folowe W2D | to] in WoHo, with W2D | myght] myght and power W2D | alwey] as W2D | reson] *om.* H3 684 with...wil] desiryng WoHo | with] with a W2D | don] lyue and doo W2D | if] yf þat D | haue felt] ony tyme fele W2D 685 þou3...aftir] and after fele these temptacyons W2, and then *afterwarde* feylleth thes temptacyons D | deden afore] *rev.* Ho | afore] bfore WoW2D | beth] have Wo, yet be ye W2D | þerfore...686 discomfortide] dyscomforted therfore W2, discomfort þerof D 686 discomfortide] discomforte Wo | ne...þus] ne saith nat Wo, <ne?> thinkith not thus Ho, ne thynke therupon say not W2, nor yet thyngke myche þerapon say nott D | þenketh] þenkeþ not H3 | is comen] comys D 687 so...ymagynacions] by the meane of your (owne W2) ymagynacyon (to D) fall agayne in dyscomforte W2D | in¹] into Ho | owne] *om.* Wo But] doo not soo but W2D | in²] euermore in D

f. 116r and beth glad þat þe feende hath | envye onto 3ou, for whiles þe lyf is in the body he
 wil entarye alwey Goddis seruauantis, for he is ful set azens hem, with al malice and
 690 velanye to disese hem in diuers maneris in al þat he kan and may.

[XVII.] Seynt Augstyn seyth many maneris ben þe temptacions be þe whiche þe wrong
 eddere þe feende, enemye to al mankende, tormenteth mannes soule.⁷³ And Seyn
 Gregory seyth þat þer is noþing in whiche we owne to ben so seker of God as for to
 haue taryenges and tormentes.⁷⁴ And if a man seyth þat bodily tormentes ben medeful
 695 and not gostly tormentes, he seyth nouzt right, for dredeles þe gostly tormentes ben
 werse, more peyneful, and more azens wil þan ben the bodily toormentes, and in so
 moche thei ben þe more medeful. And þerfore þat man dooth dishonour to God þat

688 and...3ou] *om.* H3 | and...þat] and say thus. Lord yowr wil ever be do and nat my wil but
 mercifully kepith me as I truste verily in yow. And if ye fynde in yow grete 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...3ou] grete envie 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 seruauantis] he wyll alwey
 trouble and tary the seruauantes of god W2, doutles he wyl be ever more besy to trowble and tarry þe
 true seruandes of god D 689 entarye] tarie Wo | alwey...seruauantis] goddis seruauantis alwey H3
 for] *om.* W2D | ful] so fully W2D | malice] hys malesse and invye D | and...690 velanye] *om.*
 WoW2D 690 disese] disceiue Wo, dysese and dyscomforte W2, discomforth D | in!] in all the
 W2D | in al] *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 temptacyons 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] hape enuye H3 | tormenteth] tormentynge
 H3 | soule] soule(s *canc.*) Cb | And...694 tormentes¹] *om.* Ho | And...693 seyth] and þerfore sayth
 sanct gregory D 693 in whiche] in the worlde whiche W2, in þe worlde in þe wiche D | whiche] the
 whiche Wo | so] *om.* Wo | for...694 tormentes¹] whan we gae [sic] these tourmentes and troubles
 W2, when þat we haue thes temptacyons and trowbles D 694 if a] yf that any D | bodily] sodainly
 Wo 695 tormentes¹] *om.* D | he] *om.* Ho, doutles he D | right] sooth WoHo | dredeles] douteles
 WoW2, withowt dowt D | tormentes²] tornemententys [sic] D 696 werse...azens] more greuous and
 paynefull that come ayenst mannes W2, myche more grevous and panefull wiche dothe come agance
 mannys D | werse] *om.* WoHo | ben] the W2c | the] *om.* W2 | in...697 medeful] soo moche more
 be they [nedefull W2, medefull W2c] W2W2c, þerfore thay be myche more medefull. And verraly þer be
 sum men in þe warlde þat doth labore gretly all þer lyue for þe goostly love with swetnes of deuocyon
 and zet can they neuer geyte it. And whye for þe good lorde kepys it fro them for þe more mede and
 reward in hewyn. For doutles hys ryghtwysnes is so þat he wyll neuer lett a man lyf here in pane all hys
 lyve for hys love bott he wyll rewarde hym dowble in hewyn above them þat are fede all in swetnes 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 thys warlde so comfourth with þe swetnes of contemplacyon
 shall haue þe lesse ioe in hewyn. Wiche doth compare them vnto a seruand þat hayth taken hys wage
 before hande and þen verraly he hayth þe lesse to resayve at þe yere ende. And therefore it is called a
 spyrytuall glotony. Neuerþelesse I say nott bott euery true goostly man is bone to labour for it pacyently
 yf it please god to send hym it euermore preferring þe wylls of god before oure desyrys for þat is þe
 moost hye perfeccyan in all maner of thyngs D 697 þe] *om.* H3 | nota mark in margin H3 | þerfore]
 dowtles D | þat¹...to] many dothe dyshonor D | þat¹...dooth] many men doo W2 | dooth] that
 doeth Wo | to] vnto Wo

seith *with* a ful vysement 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 strengthe and comfort the soule þat þe fende tarieth. For whoso 700
 comforte hem þat ben desolate, þe lord of comfort Ihesu Crist oure lord God wole
 comforte hem endelesly in the blisse of heuene. The whiche lord, þoruþ þe myght
 and merite of his peyneful passyon and his precyous blood, felle down þe poure of þe
 fende, and graunte cristen soules victorie ouere þe feende to þe worchip of al þe
 trinite, fader and sone and holy gost, þat lyueth and regneth *withowten* ende. Amen. 705

Here I haue endid of temptacions the remedie. God for his goodnesse on me
 sinful haue mercy. Amen. Mercy God, mercy God, mercy God on me. Amen. Gloria
 laus honorque Deo patri. Amen. Et sic explicit liber iste.

698 a...vysement] fulle avysement H3WoHoW2D | may...worlde] in this world may W2D
 699 meden] menden H3, gyue meryte W2D | Wherfore] therfor WoHo | treuly...noþing] þer is
 noþyng truely D | is] \is/ Ho | ne¹...700 charitable] charytable nor more godly W2D | goodly]
 gostly WoHo 700 for] om. Ho | tarieth] soo troubleth W2, thus greuously doth trowble D
 701 hem...ben] hym that is Wo | hem] þem here in erthe D | desolate] dyssolate and in sorowe
 W2D | þe] doutles þe D | comfort] all comfourth swet D | Ihesu Crist] rev. H3 | Crist...God]
 goddis sone of hevene Wo, god Ho | God] and god W2D 702 endelesly] endesly Ho, without ende
 W2D | lord] good lorde D 703 merite] the merite WoHo, meritys D | and²] and of H3WoHo
 his²] om. W2D | precyous] blyssed D | blood] bloode that he lete Wo | felle...705 regneth] hayth
 bought all true crysten people to be and reyne *with* hym in hys euerlastyng ioyes of hewyn D | felle]
 hath put W2 | down] om. Ho 704 fende] fendes W2 | graunte] graunten Cb, hath graunten W2
 victorie] the vycory W2 | ouere] to overcome the greate subtil enemy Wo | þe feende] them W2
 705 trinite] hole trynyte W2 | and¹] om. H3WoW2 | and²] and the Wo | ende] eend everlastyng
 Wo, <ende euer?>lesting god Ho 706 Here...708 iste] om. H3WoHo, here endeth þe remedy ayenst
 the troubles of temptacyons W2, thus endyth thys treatyce of þe forsaid devoute fader D

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; I 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.

5 (Lat. 3–6, ME1a 2–8, ME1b 3–9, ME2 3–6, ME3 15–17) Cf. *Ancrene Wisse*, pt. 4, section 80: ‘Hali Chirche . . . bringeð to noht al þes deofles wiheles . . . his wiltfule crokes, his wrenchfule wicchecreftes, ant alle his ʒulunges; ase lease swefnes, false shawunges, dredfule offearunges, fikele ant sweokele reades . . . Hwen he ne mei nawt bringen to nan open vuel, he sput to a þing þet þuncheð god.’ Bella Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, EETS, OS 325, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), I, p. 102.

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 suscitatur . . . Saepe mentem justii variis vexationum doloribus vis daemonum cruciat; unde interdum usque ad desperationis angustiam coarctatur. Permanentem autem in Dei amore animae et ipsa talis angustia ad meritum proficit . . . iste non separatur a Deo, sed conjungitur, quamlibet atroci angustia torqueatur. 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 permissu 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, Colledge 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'asaut 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 tristece.' *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 Inwyt*, the *Mirrore of the Worlde*, and Caxton's *Royal Book*.

17 (Lat. 57–59, ME1a 96–100, ME1b 83–86, ME2 90–95) Constantinus Africanus, *De melancholia*: 'Alii aliter diffiniunt, melancholiam dicentes esse suspicionem animae dominantem, ex qua timor et tristitia generentur . . . Fumus enim cholerae nigrae cum ad cerebrum saliat et ad locum mentis veniat, lumen eius obscurat, turbat et pessundat, prohibens ne quod comprehendere solebat, secundum quod oportet comprehendat.' *Isbaq ibn 'Imran, Maqala Fi l-Malihuliya (Abhandlung uber die Melancholie) und Constantini Africani Libri duo de melancholia*, ed. by Karl Garbers (Hamburg: H. Buske, 1977), p. 88.

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) I 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.

25 (ME3 136) Cf. Matthew 12. 31–32, Mark 3. 28–30.

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)

32 (ME3 191–93) Jeremiah 18. 8.

33 (ME3 197–98) Cf. Ezekiel 18. 21–22.

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).

35 (ME3 219–20) Matthew 9. 13; Mark 2. 17; Luke 5. 32.

36 (ME3 220–21) John 3. 17.

37 (ME3 224–28) Matthew 19. 16–26, Mark 10. 17–27, Luke 18. 18–27.

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 aftyr þat felyng, bot aftyr þe consent of þe reson and of þe wyll’ (f. 91r).

40 (ME3 313–15) Isaiah 43. 2.

41 (Lat. 97–99, ME1a 166–67, ME1b 136–38, ME2 117–18, ME3 320–21) Luke 22. 31.

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.

47 (Lat. 111–14, ME1a 189–99, ME1b 156–61) Augustine, *De verbis Evangelii Matthaei*, sermon 61, ch. 5: ‘Sed cum aliquando tardius dat, commendat dona, non negat. Diu desiderata, dulcius obtinentur: cito autem data, vilescunt. Pete, quaere, insta. Petendo et quaerendo crescis, ut capias. Servat tibi Deus, quod non vult cito dare; ut et tu discas magna magne desiderare.’ (PL 38, col. 411.) Cf. Matthew 7. 7.

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 exaudiuntur 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, *Ethics*, 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) I Corinthians 3. 2.

52 (Lat. 127–29, ME1a 225–27, ME1b 178–80, ME2 152–53, ME3 361–63) Matthew 17. 4,
Mark 9. 4, Luke 9. 33.

53 (Lat. 129–30, ME1a 227–29, ME1b 180–81, ME2 153–54, ME3 363–64) Matthew 26. 72.

54 (Lat. 136–37, ME1a 239–40, ME1b 189–90) Ecclesiastes 4. 10.

55 (Lat. 140, ME1a 249–50, ME1b 194–95, ME2 182–83, ME3 403–04) Acts 5. 41.

56 (Lat. 142–43, cf. ME1a 253–54, ME1b 197–99) II Corinthians 2. 7.

57 (Lat. 145, ME1a 257, ME1b 202–03) II 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) I John 4. 1.

62 (Lat. 185–86, ME1b 250–51) Joshua 5. 13.

63 (Lat. 186–87, ME1a 323–24, ME1b 252–53) Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones super Cantica Cantorum*, sermon 49, pt. 5: ‘Est ergo discretio non tam virtus, quam quaedam moderatrix et auriga virtutum, ordinatrixque affectuum, et morum doctrix.’ (PL 183, col. 1018.)

64 (Lat. 187–88, ME1a 324–25, ME1b 253–54) Cf. Isidore, *Sententiae*, bk. 3, ch. 5, pt. 10: ‘Discretio sanctorum tanta esse debet, ut inter bonum et malum praediti ratione dijudicent, ne eos diabolus per speciem boni fallat. Haec est enim percunctatio Josue dicentis: Noster es? an adversariorum?’ (PL 83, col. 662.)

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 daemoniis 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 fraude et iniquitate, atque omni malitia illum alliciens, atque seducens affectu malitiae, trahit per cogitationes et incentiva vitiorum, quibus ipse plenus est, utpote fallax, nequam et fraudulentus deceptor animarum.’ (PL 40, col. 799.)

66 (Lat. 203–04, ME1a 351, ME1b 272–73) Job 7. 14.

67 (Lat. 204–06, ME1a 351–55, ME1b 273–77) Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, bk. 8, ch. 24, pt. 43: ‘Sed hostis insidians quo eos vigilantes minime superat, eo dormientes gravius impugnat. Quem tamen haec maligne agere superna dispensatio benigne permittit, ne in electorum cordibus ipse saltem a passionis praemio somnus vacet.’ (PL 75, col. 827–28.)

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.

72 (ME3 612–18) Matthew 19. 27–29.

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 secreta 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 Prickyngge 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 *Prickyngge*, see Harold Kane, *The Prickyngge 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.

77 (Lat. 247–48, ME1a 427, ME1b 330–31) Cf. Job 31. 18.

78 (Lat. 258, ME1a 447–48, ME1b 342–43) Matthew 8. 8.

79 (ME1a 454) Matthew 23. 12, Luke 14. 11.

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The prouffyttable boke for mannes soule, and right comfortable to the body, and specyally in aduersitee

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